

NEW-AGE SOCIOLOGY

THE CENTURY
SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES

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EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS, *University of Wisconsin*

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The Century Social Science Series

NEW-AGE SOCIOLOGY

BY

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS, PH.D., LL.D.

PROFESSOR (EMERITUS) OF SOCIOLOGY

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN



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PREFACE

"NEW-AGE" I style this sociology because it aims to light up Modern Society, which takes in now about two-fifths of mankind. I undertake to dissect this type of society, trace the processes which characterize it, lay bare the factors which have made it what it is, identify the forces urging it into its next phase, and set forth the major problems its leaders have to face.

In my *Principles of Sociology* (Third Edition, 1938) I offered what seemed to me a fairly rounded body of theory regarding human societies. In this work I lighten my task by leaving out of account all the vanished *historic* societies—of the Middle Ages as well as of classical antiquity—and *contemporary* societies (*e.g.*, those of Asia) which lie outside that culture known as "Western civilization." My aim is to center attention upon *the type of society we are now living in*, because its outcome means just everything in the world to us. It is one conditioned by a curbed mortality, a controlled fecundity, a great development of urbanism—with a corresponding decline of ruralism—, perfected transport and communication, production with the aid of power-driven machinery, a vast and growing volume of capital, competitive consumption, efflorescence of the capitalist class, ardent cultivation and practical application of the sciences, printing, radio, public education, general literacy, diffusion of worth-while knowledge, and some sharing of the people in government. All the salient analyses and discussions in this book bear on the difficulties which the more intelligent element of this society may be called upon to meet and cope with.

Because *Principles of Sociology*, embodying a system, ignores certain pressing problems-of-the-day, I have in this book supplemented theory with a new section dealing with a dozen questions of practical significance on which social theory sheds light.

The "Tests and Challenges" at the end of the book will assist the instructor in confirming the student's understanding of the text.

In the forty-five years since I joined the little band of pioneers laboring to clear away the tangle of ignorant prejudice and superstition which then mantled most things social, let in the sunlight, break the

soil, and start growing truths, sociology has gained wonderfully in content, organization, and self-confidence. Never once have we had cause to doubt if the drift of the age were with us. Rapidly this young branch has won for itself an honorable place in our schemes of education and our programs of research. In case sociology goes on surmounting crest after crest, this system of mine, outcome of endless toil, will by the close of our century look so pitiful that, were I alive then, I might be tempted to make a bonfire of all my sociological works! Gesture of chagrin? Not at all. Early obsolescence of my lifework would cheer me if it were to be the outcome of sociology's rapid advance in scientific recognition and popular acceptance.

Personal salvation through social science? No.

Social salvation through social science? I'll say "Yes"!

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS.

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PART I
THE SOCIAL POPULATION

CHAPTER

- I. THE MAKE-UP OF THE POPULATION
- II. THE MOVEMENT OF POPULATION
- III. POPULATION PRESSURE AND ITS EFFECTS
- IV. FOLK SCULPTURE
- V. CITY AND COUNTRY

CHAPTER I

THE MAKE-UP OF THE POPULATION

The traits and tendencies of a society reflect its make-up in respect to sex, age, nativity, marital condition, and mental capacity.

Sex. In old countries the sexes nearly balance, but in settling a new country they become in some degree separated. Thus in our Mountain

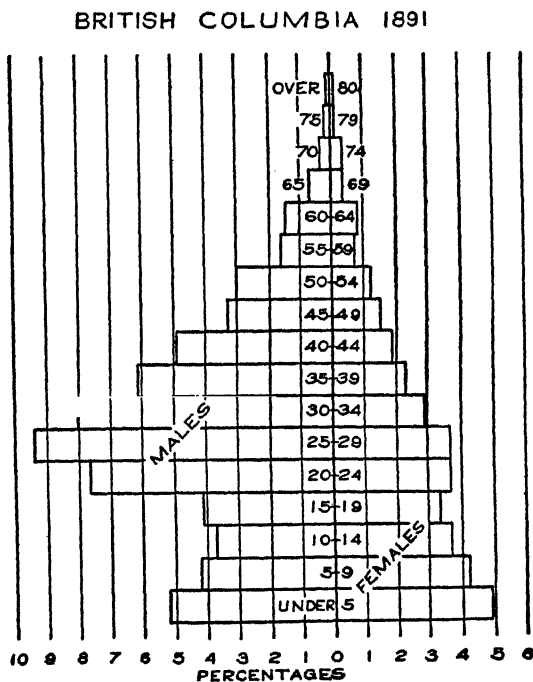


FIGURE I

and Pacific states (Fig. 3) there were in 1920 about three men for every two women. In mining and cattle-raising states the ratios ran: Nevada, five to three; Montana, four to three; Wyoming, three to two. In British Columbia (Fig. 1) and Hawaii (Fig. 2) the spread is even greater.

A population at grips with Nature will be strongly male; but agriculture has more use for women than lumbering or mining.

Men are the readier to break home ties and tempt fortune in a strange land. In our earlier immigration males were to females as three to two;

HAWAII 1920

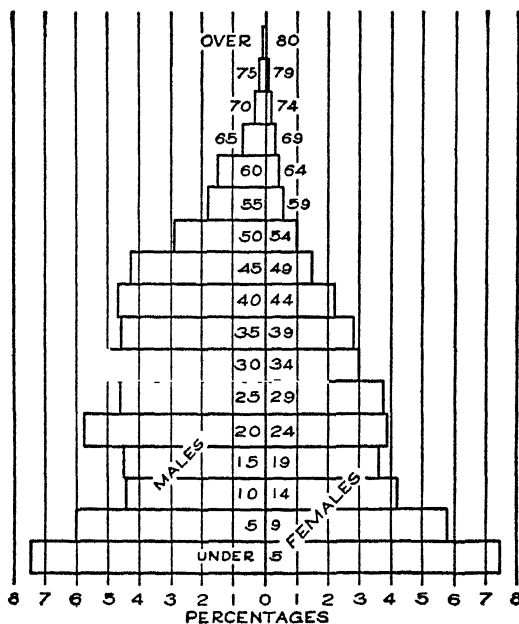


FIGURE 2

but in the later immigration, which came for high wages rather than for land, they were as three to one.

Districts losing by emigration have more women than men. Massachusetts (1920) shows 18 women to 17 men and, for the native stock, 14 women to 13 men. Due to migration to the United States, there were in Italy in 1911 17 women to 16 men.

Cities, with their offer of personal security and opportunity of self-support, lure women more than the rude frontier. Hence, there are more men in the flow to new regions, but more women in the current to the cities. Cities, however, differ greatly in their attraction for women. *Commercial cities* abound most in opportunities for men. Very naturally Duluth in 1920 had 114 men to 100 women; Seattle, 117; Galveston,

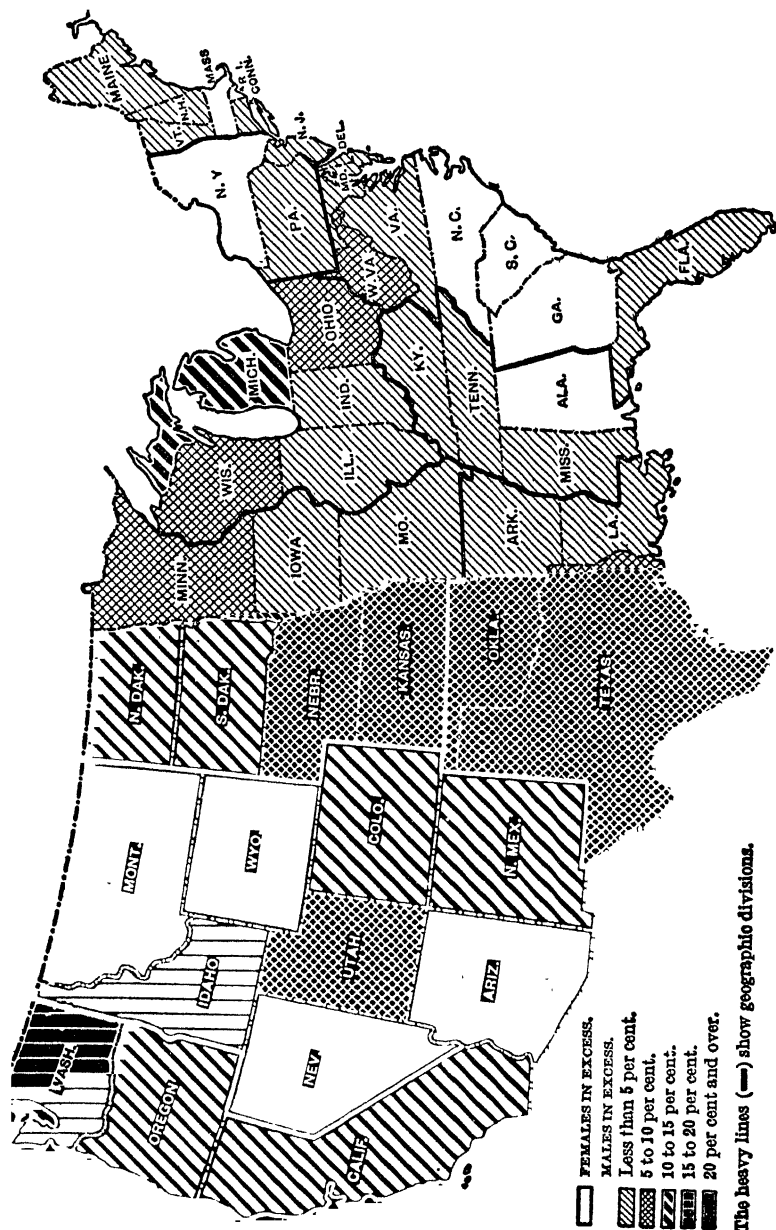


FIGURE 3

RATIO OF MALES TO FEMALES IN TOTAL POPULATION, BY STATES: 1920

118; San Francisco, 121. No wonder such cities are marked by energy, daring, and prompt decision! Demanding much personal and domestic service, *residence cities* show an excess of women. Washington, Richmond, Cambridge and Nashville have (1930) 113-118 women for every

**FOREIGN BORN WHITES
UNITED STATES 1910**

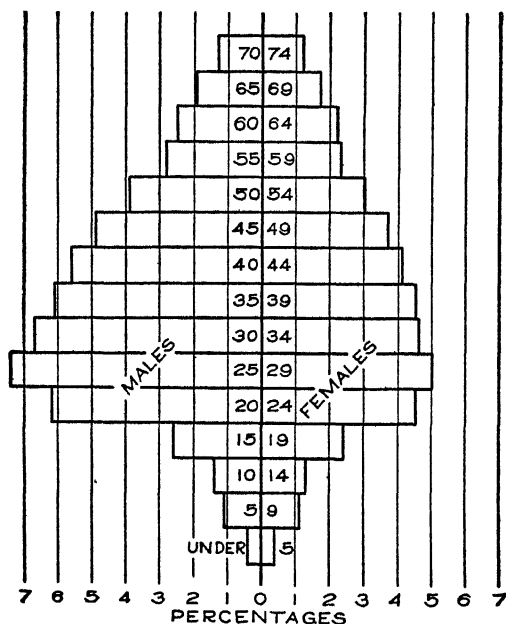


FIGURE 4

hundred men. *Manufacturing cities* lure according to the character of their industry. Metalworking cities like Bridgeport, Gary, Butte and Detroit draw more men; textile cities like Lowell, Fall River and Paterson draw more women. Nevertheless, Cupid abhors "he" towns and "she" towns, so that an excess of one sex sets up a demand for the other.

We do not know what traits an all-women community would develop, but we *do* know the all-men community. In the Far North or on civilization's "rim," the population is in continual flux, for the men tire of a womanless life and presently return to "God's country" to marry and "settle down." Such a community becomes the theater of a ruthless

greed, for its denizens do not treat it as *home*, but as *a place for making money*. Since they do not think of it as *their children's country*, they butcher the land, waste the resources, and maltreat the natives.

In the men's community law is weak, public opinion scarcely exists, and each does what is right in his own eyes save as he respects the other man's "gun"! Life, one's own as well as another's, is held cheap and staked on trifles. Suicide is frequent, seeing that "nobody cares." The daredevil spirit prevails, men resort gleefully to a saloon which calls itself "The Bucket of Blood." Few pay any attention to religion. It used to be said in our Northwest, "No Sunday west of Bismarck, and west of Miles City no God." Make your "pile" and get away. Time enough then to look after your soul!

With the coming of women, homes and children the temper changes. Dependents make a man slower to risk his own life or take another's. A new-born love of peace and security causes brawl and duel to be frowned on. Men begin to lay foundations for law and morality when they expect to rear their children in the community. Getting "soused" ceases to be a joke after women abound. As wives and mothers make their influence felt, the adventuress, queen of the men's community, is discrowned, becomes the "fallen" woman. From women, who crave security and abhor the wanton creation of risk, emanates a sentiment against the reckless gambling by which the men's community relieves its *ennui*. Unable to use the saloon as a social center and seeing in this demoralizing male resort its deadliest enemy, the home wars on the saloon. In the wake of women come schools, churches, and shops to help them make homes that will outpull the bar-room.

That *value varies inversely as supply* holds for the sexes. Communities with an excess of women are ungallant. Men keep their seats before standing women in public conveyances, bar the other sex from the professions, let human hyenas prey on defenseless girls. But in our male mountain commonwealths men pay homage to women. They raise the "age of consent," protect their property rights, give them the ballot, grant them facile divorce, open college doors to them, let them help manage churches and societies, make them jurors, school directors and trustees of charitable institutions.

Age. When those under fifteen are near two-fifths, there is either the stimulus of an underdeveloped country (Argentina, Cuba, Colombia, Hawaii) or else women are in subjection and unchecked disease has left an unusually small contingent of the middle aged and old (India, Mexico, Porto Rico, Bulgaria, Greece). On the other hand, peoples with less

than a third under 15 years of age, curb infantile diseases, deem woman an end in herself, and freely practise birth control. To this group belong the United States, Great Britain, the Scandinavian peoples, Belgium, Holland, France, Switzerland, Finland, Australia and New Zealand.

A graph like that of the native whites of Oklahoma in 1900 (Fig. 5) indicates that people trust the future and are multiplying freely. But

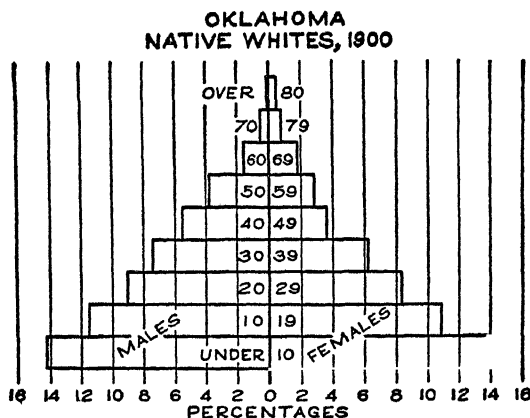


FIGURE 5

that for Sweden in 1920 (Fig. 6) shows that the economic outlook is not rosy and married couples are cautious.

Compare the 1921 graph of English and Welsh (Fig. 7) with that of 1851. The pinching-in at the bottom indicates that in recent years fertility has been sharply curtailed. The greater thickness of the upper half testifies to the success of public health measures in prolonging human life.

When you lay the population graph of Germany in 1920 upon that of 1900 (Fig. 8) a story leaps to the eye. The excess of women in ages 55-75 echoes the loss of men in the Franco-Prussian War. The deep dent in the male side of the 1920 graph in ages 20-35 was made by Thor's hammer. Compared with the women of their age group the men 25-29 show a deficit of 27 per cent, which means that more than a fourth of German youth fell in the World War!

Eloquent, too, is Ireland's 1901 graph (Fig. 9). The smallness of the age group 55-59 is a reminder of the loss of infants and the shortage of births in the Great Famine of 1846-7. The wasp waist of the graph is owing to the vast outflow to the United States. The age group 50-54 is bigger than for 45-49 and the age group 60-64 exceeds that for 55-59

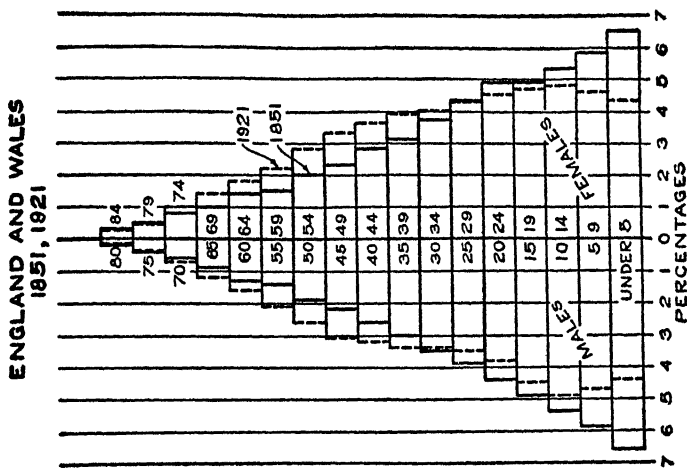


FIGURE 7

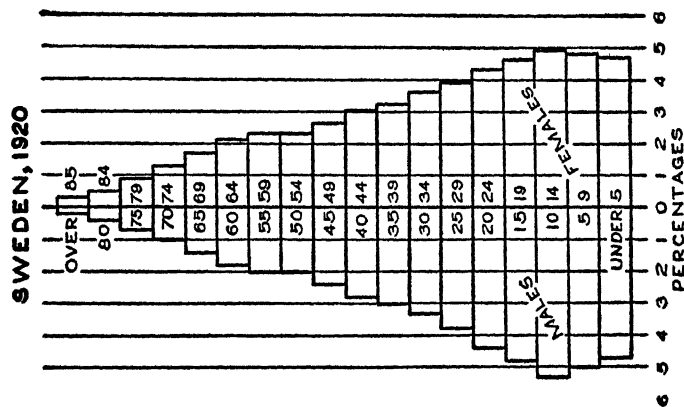


FIGURE 6

because the illiterate old folks, not knowing their exact age, give the nearest round number. That each of the three lower blocks is shorter than the one above it shows that after the famine of 1881 there was a

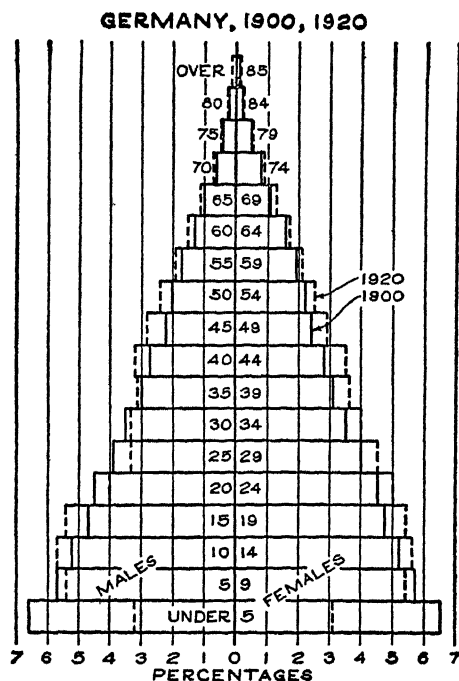


FIGURE 8

constant fall in fertility owing partly to the emigration of young adults and partly to the deferment of marriage. Warned by their terrible famines not to multiply rapidly, and by their clergy not to practise birth control, the Irish postpone marriage as no other people. Less than half the Irish women at age 35 are married, whereas among us the proportion is 82 per cent!

Rapid shrinkage up through the early age groups signifies high mortality among the young. The graph for the American Negroes in 1880 (Fig. 10) proves clearly that the bulk of them were poor hands in bringing up their children.

Population Index for July, 1937, presents a significant chart (Fig. 11).
Comment the editors:

The chart . . . illustrates the distributions generated in populations that have had radically different rates of increase for some years. In Japan the death rate has been falling rapidly. The birth rate has also declined somewhat, but compared with the birth rates of Western industrial countries it has remained extremely high—probably one of the large-

IRELAND, 1901

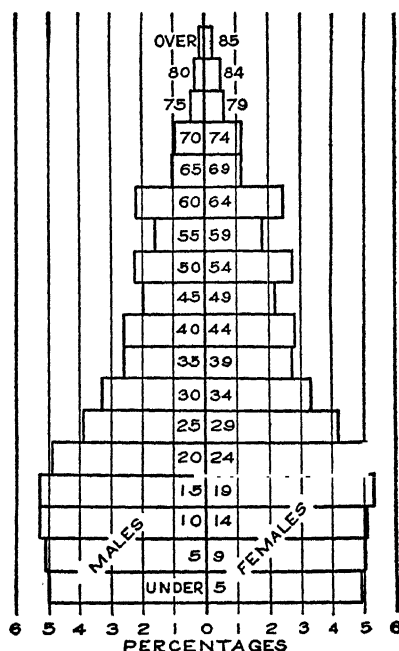


FIGURE 9

est in the world. The resulting population structure is a broad-based pyramid.

In Austria the mortality rate is substantially lower, but the birth rate is extremely low and has been falling rapidly for several decades—fewer persons 0 to 4 years of age than 5 to 9, and fewer 5 to 9 than 10 to 14. The deficiency of age 15 to 19 reflects, of course, the shortage of births during the War years, and the deficiency of males from 35 to 59 is largely the result of war casualties—Austria is developing the typically top-shaped age structure which points to the early onset of a decline in numbers.

The death of children and the low mortality rates account for the larger proportion of Austrians between 15 and 65 years . . . This group represents 68 per cent of the total, contrasted with 49 per cent in Japan.

However, Austria's larger proportion of potential workers stems almost entirely from the latter half of the productive period. In two decades this group will have passed 65 years of age and will be creating added problems of old-age dependency for a population in which . . . the number of young workers will be seriously reduced.

About a generation ago the age structure in most Western countries was quite similar to that of Japan in 1930. The 1934 Austrian popula-

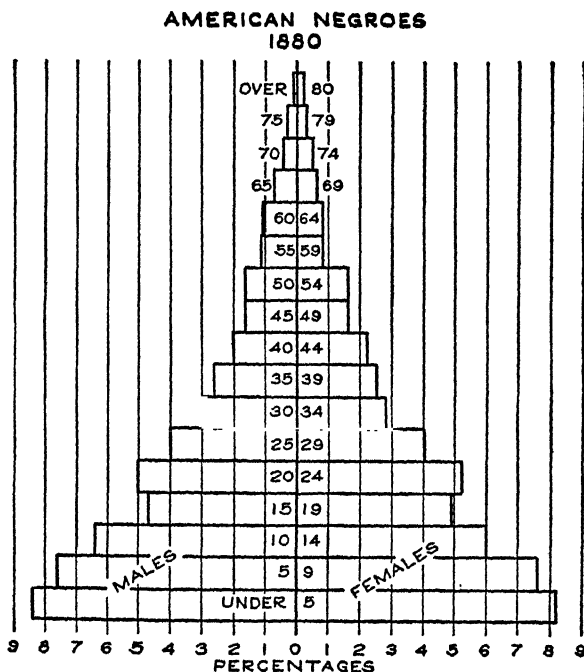


FIGURE 10

tion typifies the present structure in many of these countries and that to be expected in more of them in the near future. The development of such distributions will inevitably have profound economic, political, social, and psychological consequences.

Almost a quarter of a population will have reached age 45; France, however, shows 29 per cent, because her children groups are not well filled. Where, as in Brazil, Mexico, Porto Rico and India, only 12-14 per cent of the people have arrived at middle age, we can be sure that life has been hard for the masses. The strides made in overcoming disease are seen when we note the increase in the ranks of the old. In England and Wales

the proportion above 50 is a third greater than it was seventy years ago, while in the United States it has doubled.

Flight from persecution depletes all age groups; but an *economic* migration withdraws those in the earlier productive years, who are least burdened by dependents. Comparison of the graphs of the foreign-born, 1880 (Fig. 12) and 1910 (Fig. 4), suggests that in the interval

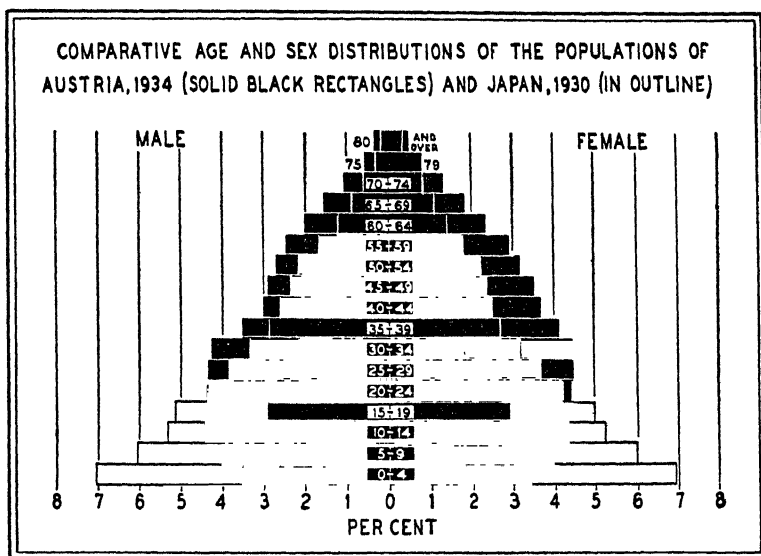


FIGURE II

immigration became much more economic. The graphs of the Negroes of Mississippi and Nebraska in 1900 (Figs. 13, 14) exhibit the age distribution of *emigrant* and *immigrant* communities.

In a people losing by an economic emigration the ratio of dependents to supporters becomes unfavorable, while a people absorbing such a migration gains in industrial and military strength.

Our age make-up (Figs. 15, 16) has significantly changed in ninety years and is headed to change still further. The great shrinkage in the ratio those "under 20 years of age" bear to those in the productive stage (20-60 years) suggests that as a people we should be amply able financially to release all children under 15 from industrial labor and to provide for them far better educational and recreational opportunities than were provided in 1850.

In view of the vanquishing of many diseases which cut people off before their time, the proportion of the population above 50 years of age, above 60, above 70, is bound to grow. This creates such problems as the "hire and fire" policy of employers, the using of the elderly worker

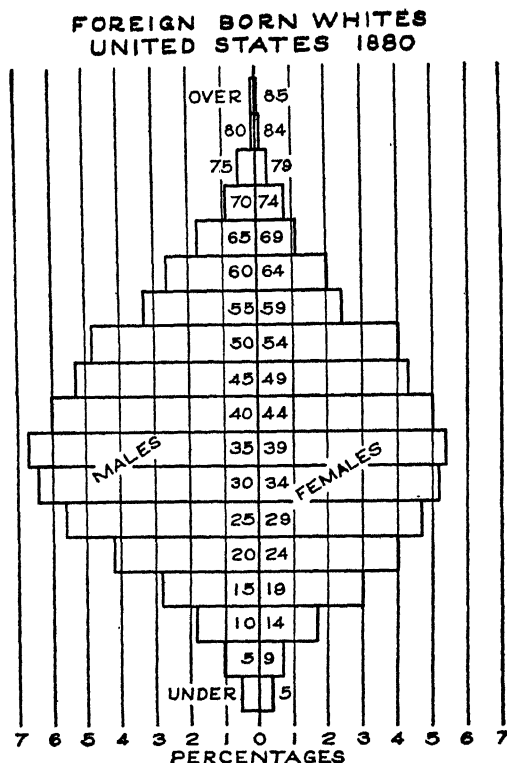


FIGURE 12

in industry, the safe investment of savings for old age, and the setting up of pension systems for the aged.

Age make-up affects the group spirit. A community made up chiefly of persons in their early productive years, is likely to display unusual energy, initiative, fluidity and adaptability. On the other hand, an excess of young children and of the elderly lessens venturesomeness, sharpens the craving for security and makes for timidity and indecision. Communities with many young voters are less swayed in their politics by partizanship and prejudice, more critical of party management, less

governed by feelings from the past, and more hospitable to progressive ideas. A community dominated commercially by men 20-45 years of age will reflect the *money-making* or *business-building* spirit. If, on the

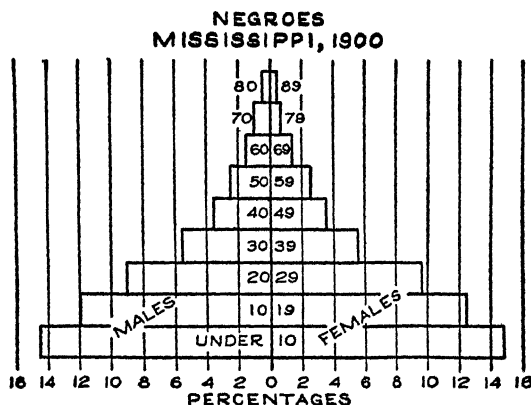


FIGURE 13

other hand, men above 45 wield the baton, the *money-keeping* or *business-keeping* spirit will get the upper hand. The community will sympathize with the demand for safety of investments and freedom from business disturbance, rather than with the enterpriser's plea for a free hand and a square deal.

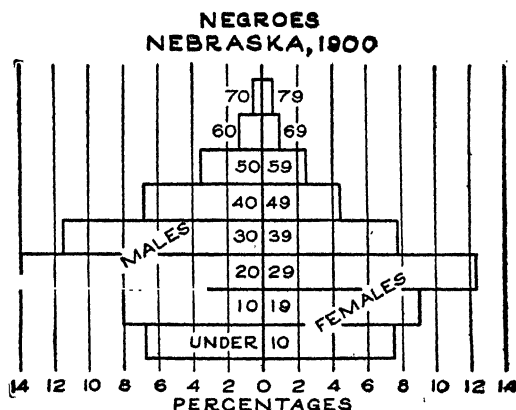


FIGURE 14



FIGURE 15

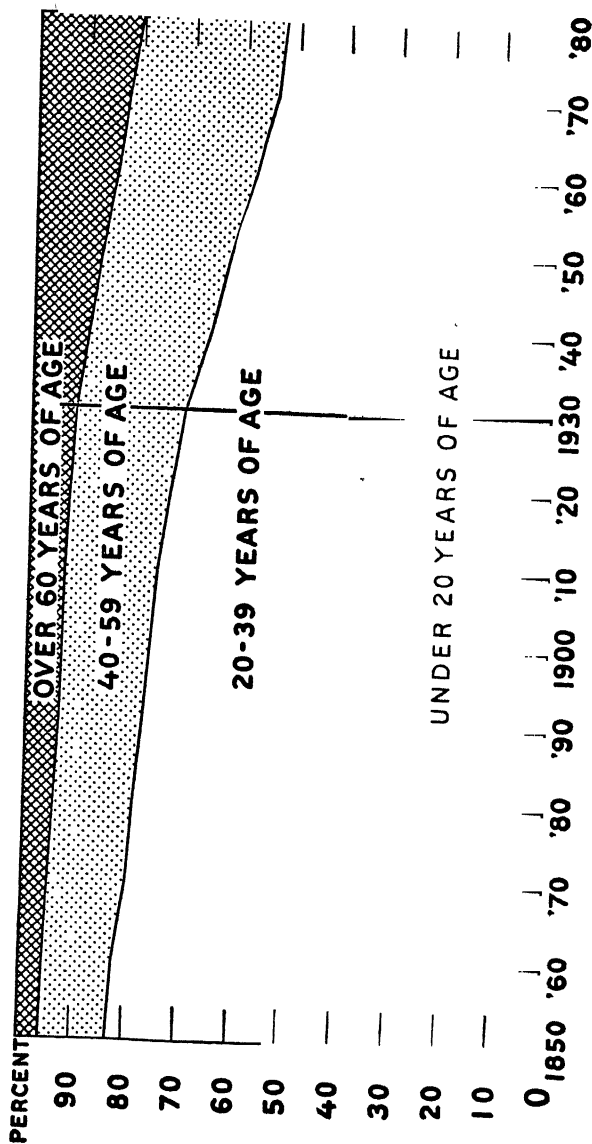


FIGURE 16

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

In 1870 about half the population was under 20 years of age, but in 1930 less than 40 per cent. By 1950 these children and young people will constitute only 30 per cent of the population, and by 1980, or before, only 25 per cent. In 1870 about 5 per cent of the population was over 60 years of age. By 1930 the proportion had risen to 8.6 per cent. By 1950 these old people will constitute 13 per cent of the population, and by 1980 about 20 per cent. In 1870 about 45 per cent of the population was between 20 and 60 years of age, which may be considered, taking the people as a whole, the productive years of life. By 1930 people in these productive ages constituted 52.6 per cent of the total population. By 1950 they will constitute about 57 per cent, and by 1980 perhaps 55 per cent.

Nativity.¹ A stream of immigrants may be *representative*, *sub-representative* or *super-representative* of its people. Oppression starts up a current of *super-representative* migrants because it is chiefly the superior who refuse to bend. The English Puritans, Quakers and Catholics, the Scotch Covenanters, the French Huguenots and the refugee German Liberals of 1848 and 1939 were among the *super-representative* elements which joined us. Discrimination against a people or a race will cause a *representative* outflow, e.g., the Scotch Irish and the Scotch Highlanders of Colonial days, as well as the Armenians, Syrians and Russian Hebrews which came to us latterly.

In energy and venturesomeness wilderness tamers generally surpass their kinsmen who stayed where they were born. It is the trout rather than the carp that finds their way out of the pool into swift water. The American pioneering breed had rare courage and initiative, while the European immigrants who came to settle in the Great West may well have topped the average of their people in these traits. Those who follow the lure of high wages in a foreign labor market will be *sub-representative* in ability. The educated, the propertied, the established, the well-connected, having fair prospects at home, are loth to expose themselves to the risks of a strange land. The heirs of success abide in their fatherland; only the children of the poor migrate, and such a stream will hardly be a good sample of the beauty, brains or initiative of the stock.

The first-comers probably have more initiative than those who come later, when the channels have been worn deep and straight and smooth. The poorest stuff migrates in response to a ticket-selling campaign by steamship agents who go about and excite the gullible with fairy-tales. Woe to the land which lets itself be the dumping ground for a commercialized emigration!

The foreign-born outbreeds his native competitor, whose standard of living reflects the better conditions in the newer country. The former will be ready to marry before the latter feels justified in doing so. The former will beget eight children while the latter does not see how he can "do right" by more than four.² The higher standards of cleanliness, decency and education cherished by the native element act on it like slow poison. William does not leave so many children as "Tonio because

¹ At the outbreak of the World War a third of the American people were of foreign parentage, while the foreign-born numbered between sixteen and seventeen millions—the largest body of strangers any people ever engulfed. Never before did the old-American element constitute so small a proportion of the whole.

² In 1900 in American cities a thousand foreign-born women could show 612 children under five years of age to 396 children shown by a thousand native women!

he will not huddle his family into one room, eat macaroni off a bare board, work his wife barefoot in the field, and keep his children weeding onions instead of at school. Down to 1830 the Americans were as fertile a race as ever lived and their decline in fertility coincides in time and locality with the arrival of the immigrant flood.³

(Statistics Based upon Twenty-two Genealogical Records of American Families)

<i>Marriage Periods</i>	<i>Number of Wives</i>	<i>Number of Children</i>	<i>Average Number of Children per Wife</i>
Previous to 1700	276	2,034	7.37
1700-1749	802	5,478	6.83
1750-1799	1,966	12,649	6.43
1800-1849	5,530	27,320	4.94
1850-1869	3,062	10,630	3.47
1870-1879	1,086	3,004	2.77
Totals	12,722	61,115	4.80

A democratic society, in which government, laws and moral standards are the outcome of common understanding, suffers damage as it becomes a hodge podge. The unworthy slip into power because groups of worthy citizens are pulling different ways. When a people is so in accord politically that fundamentals are taken for granted, it is ready to tackle new questions as they come up. But if it admits to citizenship myriads who insist on thrashing over old straw, the relation of church to state, or church to school, or state to parent, then the ripe sheaves ready to yield the wheat of wisdom under the flails of discussion lie untouched. Public hygiene, the conservation of natural resources, the control of monopoly, the protection of labor, "go to the foot of the docket"!

Marital condition. (Fig. 17.) The Americans are one of the most married peoples, in Europe only Slavs and Magyars surpass them. Their marriedness reflects rural life, ease of making a living, smallness of the servant class and a social position of woman which prompts her to scorn irregular sex relations. Moreover the fondness of Americans for wedlock is *growing*. From 1890, when first the needful data were gathered, to 1930, the percentage of the population over 15 years of age married rose from 55.3 to 59.9—a twelfth! And marriage is *earlier*; among those of age 15-19 years there were 15 more married out of every 1,000 in 1930 than in 1890 and of those of age 20-24 there were 73 more married out of every 1,000.

³ F. S. Crum in the *Bulletin of the American Statistical Association* for Sept., 1914, p. 216, offers the following significant table:

Owing to the migration of industries from household to factory, the wife is now far less able to contribute to the maintenance of the home than she was in olden times. More and more the home-staying wife is *supported* by her husband, *i.e.*, one who takes a wife shoulders a burden. If, nevertheless, more men marry and marry earlier, it shows that Cupid is still a real god!

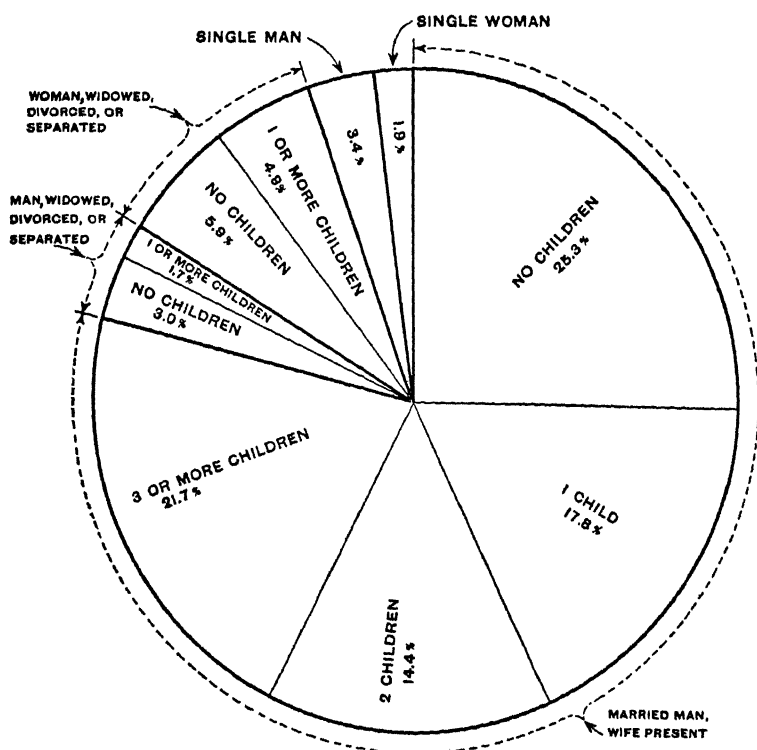


FIGURE 17

PRINCIPAL TYPES OF FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES: 1930

Normality. The degrees of ability within a population are of immense social importance. The *supernormal* provide society with leaders, misleaders, inspirers, pathfinders and directors. Under fair competition the "star" persons will be of this type. On the other hand, the *subnormal* largely contribute to crime, pauperism, vagrancy, and prostitution. Probably a *third* of the prostitutes in America, from a *quarter* to a *third*

of the paupers, and *half* of the chronic inebriates are victims of a bad heredity. The proportion of criminals who are mental defectives is doubtless many times larger than that of the general population.

Mental measurement is still in its infancy; its technique is, however, rapidly developing and ere long we may be able to gauge with fair accuracy the natural mental capacity of an individual. It should then be possible to rate races and hybrids in brain power, to discriminate at immigration stations between desirables and undesirables, to discover which youths are most worthy of being aided to a higher education, to find for each profession the grade of capacity requisite for success in it, and to sort out of a body of employees the ones fit for responsibility and direction. Society will be able to locate its stock of superior ability, discover whether much of it is running to waste, see whether it is reproducing itself, and trace the routes and causes of the migrations of the capable.

CHAPTER II

THE MOVEMENT OF POPULATION

Our species was outfitted with a fecundity which got it through its worst straits; otherwise *we* shouldn't be here! Thousands of times, no doubt, areas were depopulated owing to a piling up of calamities, but were repopled later from elsewhere. Man has been prolific enough to get past the cave bear, the Ice Age, the disease microbes; that his fecundity is excessive for subsequent easier times gives rise to the "population question," which, owing to our growing mastery of disease, is every decade more acute.

Origin of man's excess fecundity. In 1798 a young English clergyman, T. R. Malthus, showed that babies come so fast that a people "tends" to outgrow its food supply. Actually it cannot do so because certain "checks" generated or aggravated by overpopulation—undernourishment, famine, the deficiency diseases, and war—get so rife that deaths overtake births and growth is arrested.

Half a century later Darwin read Malthus at a time when he had been impressed with the huge proportion of spores, seeds, eggs and young which in a state of nature never mature and he perceived that not man alone but *every* species is fitted out with excess fecundity. "Every organic being," he concluded, "naturally increases at so high a rate that, if not destroyed, the earth would soon be covered by the progeny of a single pair." Hence, the "struggle for existence," which—*via* the "survival of the fittest"—leads up to the process of "natural selection" by which each form of life becomes better and better "adapted to its environment."

In Malthus's day everybody supposed that a benevolent God, some six thousand years ago, created man to be happy; so Malthus as an orthodox clergyman was "stumped" to account for our species being equipped with a sex appetite likely to produce from ten to twenty pregnancies per couple—which can but result in widespread misery!

In the light of what we now know as to man's past, such a fecundity does not appear excessive. Like every species man was provided with

a "margin of safety" to get him past crises, so that in ordinary times much of his fecundity is superfluous. Then with every advance in peace, hygiene, medicine and sanitation, he finds himself with a bit more excess fecundity on his hands; at present no advanced peoples dares use more than a third of its potency. Unless the problem is met by general resort to contraception, couples will be called upon some day for prodigies of self-restraint in sex-gratification!

Peak rates of human increase. In a healthy population of normal make-up, whose only check on fertility is monogamous marriage, births may range from 50 to 60 per thousand per annum. Thus we come upon rates of 49 in Russia, 1886-95, and in India at about the same time; and these figures need revising upwards! Nowhere do we find higher fertility than in the province of Quebec where the *habitants*—good Catholics—dare not practise birth control. Quite often a priest after returning for his parish a number of births which shows a rate of from 50 to 55 per thousand adds the caution, "Many births are not recorded."

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the natural increase of the American people was 31.5 per thousand a year; yet it must have been subject then to an annual death-rate of 20-22—twice that of to-day! With the aid of modern medical knowledge a people so prolific could bring its death-rate down to 16 or 17, thus achieving an annual growth of 3½ per cent. This would double it in about twenty years; at the end of a century it should be thirty-two times as numerous!

The muzzling of famine. Recurrent famine has been a great remover of excess population; yet among the advanced peoples the gaunt demon has been put out of business. In England real famine has been unknown for three centuries. It is safe to say that a third of mankind is no longer shadowed by famine. What saves them is:

1. *Improved means of transportation.* From how far can you draw supplies in case of dearth? When ten leagues is the limit, one season in twenty may be so bad that the local price of food will be doubled. When rails give you a radius of 500 miles, this may occur but once in a century. When it is possible to tap overseas sources, famine may *never* come.

2. *The perfecting of the art of food preservation.* Drying, canning, and chilling have been so perfected that there is now hardly a limit to the keeping, and therewith to the shipping, of food.

3. *Stabilization of agriculture by water control.* The leading of streams to parching fields is becoming general in lands of uncertain rainfall. Great engineering works which impound flood-waters in high

valleys to release them when distant river plains are athirst, insure crops against drouths.

4. *A high standard of living.* The average Indian agriculturist lays out on food 94 per cent of his total expenditure; the carpenter, 83.5 per cent; the blacksmith, 79 per cent. The American wage earner, on the other hand, lays out 38-45 per cent of his income on food. Hence, in a time of dearth Oriental wage earners may not be able to tolerate a rise in prices availing to draw in food from sources more than a hundred miles distant; whereas American wage earners might meet the cost of bringing food from the ends of the earth.

5. *The combatting of famine by improved social organization.* Even teeming British India now eludes the bony fingers of famine. In olden times every local crop failure meant starvation for some; but, in these days, local officials keep a watchful eye on the state of the crops, the course of food prices, the reports of deaths. Prepared programs of relief work are put into operation the moment the volume of distress reaches a certain point.

The conquest of diseases. Many of the diseases which used to keep down population have been put out of action. The presence of small-pox now makes any community hang its head; cholera and plague are unknown in the leading nations; typhoid fever has been vastly reduced; malaria and hookworm disease are rare; yellow fever has ceased to be a terror; typhus is practically unknown among the cleanly; diphtheria has been largely overcome; as for tuberculosis it seems to be "on its way out" like leprosy, fearfully common in the Middle Ages yet now "so rare as to amount to a medical curiosity"!

Results of life-saving. The expectation of life at birth has risen to 50-67 years among the most advanced peoples, while among the backward peoples it sticks in the twenties. A boy born in the United States in 1940 may look forward on the average to 61.5 years of life; a girl, to 65 years. New Zealand beats this by four or five years! Our grandparents, if city dwellers, lost one infant in four in its first year. So is it now in Southeastern Europe, while in the teeming Orient one-half perish. Yet there are fourteen peoples which are getting more than nine-tenths of their babies through the first year!

In all its eons, humanity never had such a "break"; in a life time it has found how to cut its mortality in two! Hence, much of our forefathers' doctrinal hardtack may be thrown away: that life is and ever must be "short and uncertain"; that sickness is a "visitation"; that an epidemic is God's chastisement; that the earth is still in need of "re-

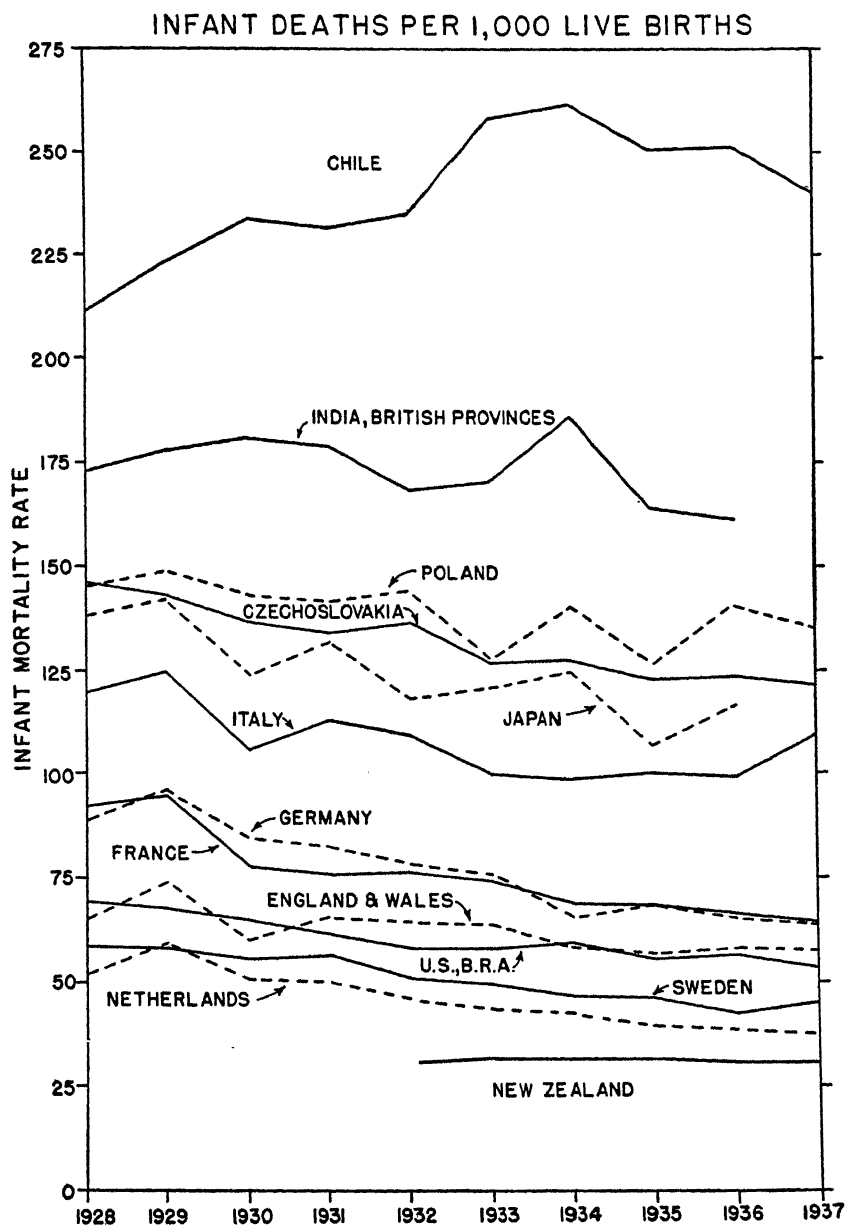


FIGURE 18

plenishing" as it was right after the Deluge; that the dull begetter of sixteen morons has earned "his country's gratitude"; that "God sends babies and He will take care of them"; that "when God sends mouths He sends meat"; that woman is here solely for maternity; that her fore-ordained lot is to bear a dozen, half of whom will die in the cradle; that for her to crave any other lot is impious and unwomanly; that mental defectives have a "natural right" to breed; that man has a "natural right" to migrate; that therefore every people is under obligation to leave its doors open to whatever population surplus develops anywhere on the globe!

The appalling growth of numbers. In 1696 an English pioneer in vital statistics calculated that the most people England can support is twenty-two millions, which figure should be reached about 3500 A.D. "in case the world should last so long." His figure was reached in 13¼ centuries instead of 18! Our Census experts calculate that the 4,400,000 whites in the United States in 1800 had 37,290,000 descendants living in 1900—an eightfold increase in a century. The English-speaking whites of the world have increased nearly eightfold since 1800 and form now a fourth of all European blood instead of an eighth.

Europe, supposed to have had 30 millions at the beginning of the Christian era, had 125-30 millions in 1750 on the eve of the Industrial Revolution. By 1800 it had 180 millions, now has 500 millions. No wonder they fight for "*Lebensraum*"! Between 1650 and 1929 those of European blood in the world expanded from 100 millions to 624 millions.

The natives in the tropical colonies and dependencies of the Great Powers added to themselves 1860-1920 *105 millions*, a twelfth of all mankind in 1860. In forty years of British occupation the population of the Nile Valley doubled, thereby neutralizing most of the benefits brought within reach by the reforms the British introduced! In half a century the natives of Algeria, Jamaica and Ceylon have doubled. In the quarter century of American occupation the Filipinos nearly doubled. The Javanese are nine times as numerous as they were in 1800. In forty years the people of India have increased their numbers by 50 millions, or 20 per cent. So it goes. Better life? Hardly! Just more people at the old wretched level!

The whites are serving as midwife to the blacks and the browns; for the white man sets coolies to clearing jungle for tea gardens, cocoa groves, coffee orchards, pineapple fields, cane plantations, and rubber groves. He has them build roads, dig for minerals, dam rivers, and cut irrigation ditches. He squelches intertribal wars, puts down "leopard" soci-

eties, bans witch "smellings," curbs epidemics. Result: a herring-like increase which threatens the world balance of races!

Mankind is reckoned at 450 millions in the days of Cromwell. For 1800 the estimate is 850 millions; the League of Nations computed it

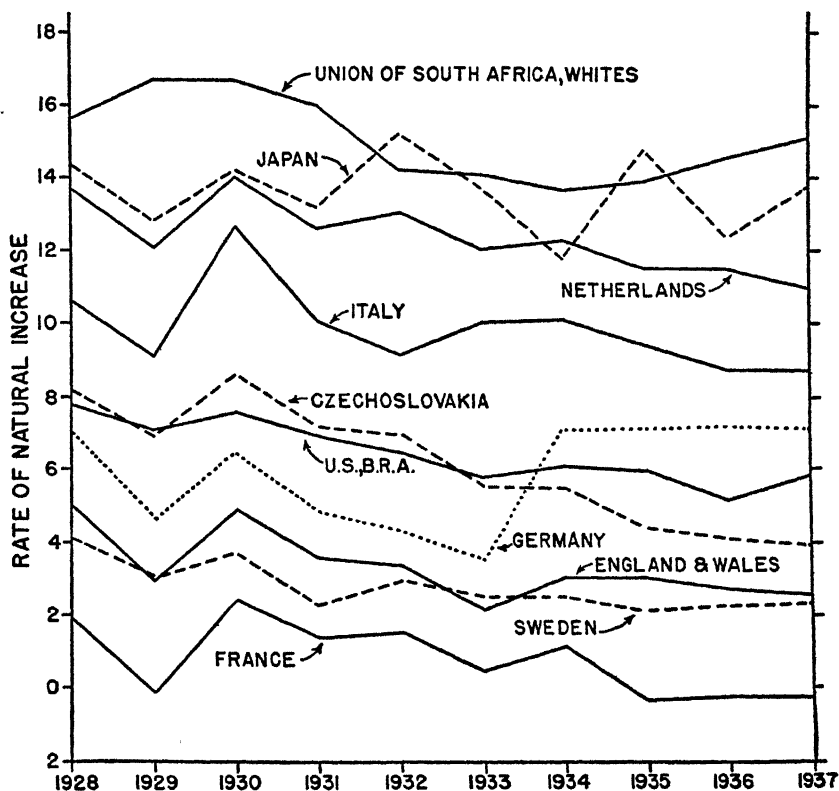


FIGURE 19

EXCESS OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS PER 1,000 POPULATION

at 2,116 millions in 1936. Had man increased all along as he was increasing just before the World War, then all the present inhabitants of the globe might be descended from a single couple set down on our uninhabited planet 483 B.C. Each sun sets on fifty thousand more humans. Yet some think this can go on forever!

Hence, the opinion that *Science* has not fulfilled the hopes she raised; that *Invention*, for all her enchanter's wand, has not made life much

easier for the masses. The simple truth is, perhaps four-fifths of the enormous gains from the subdual of new lands and the harnessing of the forces of Nature by labor-saving machinery *have gone not to help people live better but to sustain more lives.*

TABLE I

DAUGHTERS AND GRANDDAUGHTERS OF 100 NEWBORN GIRLS, IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES, ACCORDING TO MORTALITY AND FERTILITY AT SPECIFIED PERIODS

COUNTRY	PERIOD	AN ORIGINAL GROUP OF 100 NEWBORN GIRLS WILL HAVE		COUNTRY	PERIOD	AN ORIGINAL GROUP OF 100 NEWBORN GIRLS WILL HAVE	
		<i>The Following Number of Daughters *</i>	<i>The Following Number of Grand-daughters</i>			<i>The Following Number of Daughters *</i>	<i>The Following Number of Grand-daughters</i>
Australia	1932-34	96	92	New Zealand	1936	97	94
Canada	1930-32	130	168	Norway	1935	75	56
Denmark	1931-35	92	85	Poland	1934	111	123
England and Wales	1934-36	76	58	Portugal	1933	129	166
Finland	1933	90	81	Russia	1927	170	289
France	1935	87	76	Scotland	1934	91	83
Germany	1936	89	79	Sweden	1934	70	49
Italy	1933	118	139	Switzerland .	1932	85	72
Japan	1930	154	237	United States, (whites) .	1936	95	90
The Netherlands	1936	110	120				

* Net reproductivity, per cent.

The decline of fertility. Some vital statisticians see looming the specter of race extinction where others can see only an overcrowded planet. This is due to the rapid diffusion of the practice of birth control ("contraception"), resorted to now by perhaps 10-15 per cent of the world's women. In the United States the ratio of children under 5 to 1,000 women of child-bearing age is about three-eighths of what it was a century ago. In England the birth-rate has been cut in two in fifty years. In all of Europe west of a line drawn from Trieste to Danzig and north of Italy and Spain, and in the countries largely settled by immigrants from this area within the last three hundred years, the birth-rates are falling faster than the death-rates and the population will be stabilized within a decade or two. As for Italy, the Slavic peoples and Japan, their margin of growth is rising. Most of the rest of mankind exhibit an old-fashioned birth-rate and a frightful death-rate!

"More babies" policies. This matter now lies in sociology's "hurricane belt." You daren't halve deaths without halving births; you don't halve births by persuading the married to "live ascetic," but by acquainting them with contraception. But, once couples feel free to resort to it, you have no guarantee that it will be used just enough to keep population in due balance. If with it couples cut births from 50 per thou-

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF CHANGES IN BIRTH RATES FROM THE PERIOD 1928-1932* TO THE PERIOD 1933-1937

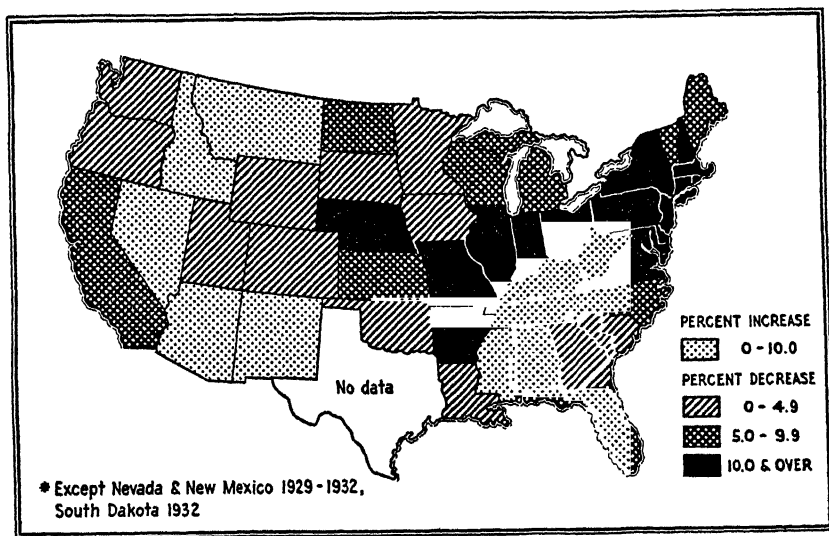


FIGURE 20

sand a year to 20, how do you know that they will not cut them to 15? to 10? Each couple aims to have only the children it wants, pays small heed to population statistics; yet, if many fertile couples stop at their first or second child, population will be heading for extinction.

Since the World War the "family allowance system," under which employees receive an addition to their salary or wage for each dependent child—or each child after the second or third—has been extensively applied in Central European countries and has become well rooted in France, Belgium, New Zealand and Australia.

Among the policies Sweden has adopted for encouraging births are:

1—Reform of the tax system so as to lighten the load of taxation upon large families.

2—Free pre-natal care accessible to all at public clinics.

3—Free obstetrical and medical care.

4—Of the mothers in Sweden, 92 per cent get a cash maternity bonus of

HIGH FERTILITY

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY AGE AND SEX: 1930 (BLACK RECTANGLES), AND SCRIPPS' "HIGH FERTILITY—MEDIUM MORTALITY" ESTIMATE FOR 1980 (IN OUTLINE).

TOTAL POPULATION: 1930, 123 MILLIONS; 1980, 169 MILLIONS.

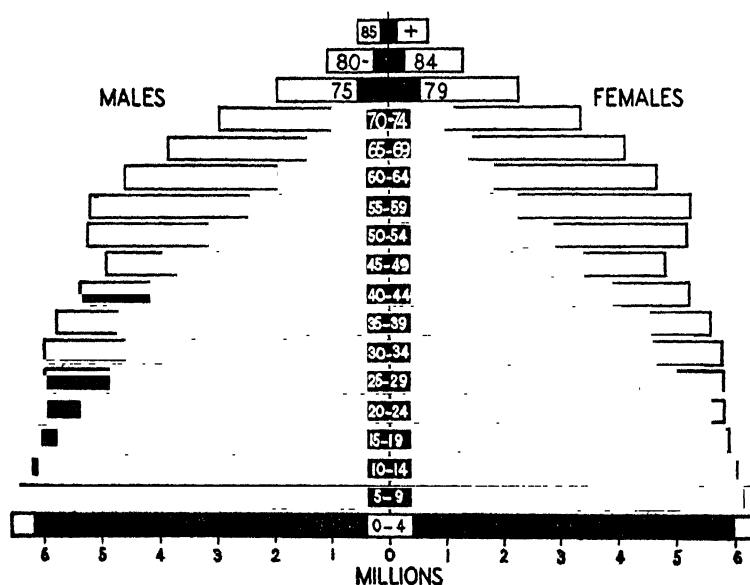


FIGURE 21

(From G. I. Burch.)

\$20. The poor can get much more, even up to \$100. No discrimination between the married mother and the unmarried mother.

5—Maintenance for the children up to age sixteen in case the father is dead or invalid.

6—Free dental service for each child for 50¢ a year.

7—Free health centers for babies and pre-school children.

8—About half the Swedish communities provide free medical attention for school children.

In 1933 there were less than half as many births in Germany as there had been thirty years earlier when the population was ten million fewer.

LOW FERTILITY

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY AGE AND SEX
1930 (BLACK RECTANGLES) AND SCRIPPS "LOW" FERTILITY
MEDIUM MORTALITY ESTIMATE FOR 1980 (IN OUTLINE).
TOTAL POPULATION: 1930, 123 MILLIONS; 1980, 134 MILLIONS

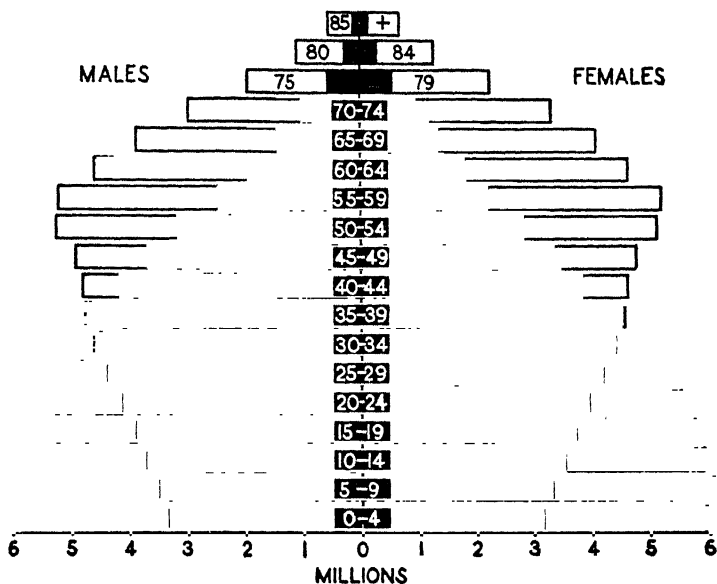


FIGURE 22

(From G. I. Burch.)

There were only 70 per cent as many children under six as there had been in 1910. The Nazis sought to reverse this trend with the marriage loan. The minimum loan is \$120, maximum \$400, and the loans bear no interest. They are to be repaid at the rate of one per cent a month and the birth of a child cancels $\frac{1}{4}$ of the loan; four births wipe the loan out. No loans to persons showing hereditary defect or to wives retaining jobs outside the home. Up to the end of 1936 about 700,000 marriage loans had been granted, averaging \$240. As result of these and

CHAPTER III

POPULATION PRESSURE AND ITS EFFECTS

There is population pressure ("overpopulation") *when in normal times the hardworking and frugal have difficulty in obtaining the necessities of life*. You do not exorcise this demon by showing that if food-growers were only more skilful there would be plenty. On this line we should *never* meet with true population pressure; for *no* people is farming so well that the yield of its soil could not be increased. So do not airily wave aside the ugly symptoms of population pressure by pointing to some ideal technique of food production!

Two great revolutionary economic ideas are at large: Henry George's contention that the poverty of the masses is due to the monopolization of land; Karl Marx's contention that it is due to private ownership of the means of production ("capitalism"). Single taxers and communists are one in denying that a people ever propagates itself into misery; they insist that chronic poverty among the hard-working is due *always* to some form of exploitation!

If you point to the dire straits of the Irish in 1845, when twice the present population were struggling to make a living on the Green Isle, they remind you that a fifth of their produce was being remitted abroad to absentee landlords. If you cite Java, where one-third of the area of California is made to feed *seven times* California's population, they remark that the Javanese yield a large revenue to the Dutch. So with other notorious hunger areas—China, Bengal, Korea, Porto Rico. They will not admit the existence of genuine population pressure *until you show its presence in a society in which labor gets the whole of its produce*. And, of course, there is no such society!

The fact is, *either exploitation or reckless multiplication can cause mass misery*. If a prudent people were freed of all dues to landowners and capitalists, it would devote most of this windfall to raising its standard of living rather than to rearing more children. On the other hand, if a blindly prolific people, stalled by a misery mortality, were suddenly relieved of all charges for the use of land or capital, its death-rate would

be brought down, population would start to grow, and soon life would be as hard as ever!

SOME CHARACTERISTIC SIGNS OF POPULATION PRESSURE

1. *Laborious earth sculpture in order to extend the food-growing area.* In the heart of the ancient Incan empire in Peru you find narrow terraces one above another for perhaps fifteen-hundred feet up the mountain slopes. These agricultural terraces are often supported by stone walls and I have seen a wall *ten feet high* built in order to gain a tillable strip *a yard wide*. In China human sweat has been poured out like water to carve the hills into level rice fields. On a single slope I have counted forty-seven such fields running up like a staircase for Titans. In Mexico I have seen men rejuvenating a field by turning it over to a depth of five feet by spading. In Japan the area of fields graded to a water level for rice culture amounts to 11,000 square miles.

2. *Completeness of land utilization.* There is no pasture or meadow in China, for land is too precious to be used for growing food for animals. Even on the boulder-strewn slopes there is grazing only for goats; for where a cow can crop herbage a man can grow a hill of corn. The cattle never taste grass save when they are taken out on a tether and allowed to browse by the ditches or along the banks of the rice fields.

3. *Extreme utilization and economy of materials.* In China no resource is too trifling to be turned to account by a teeming population. The sea is strained for edibles; seaweed and kelp have a place in the larder; great quantities of shellfish no bigger than one's finger-nail are opened and made to yield a food that finds its way far inland. The fungus that springs up in the grass after a rain is eaten. Fried sweet potato vines furnish the poor man's table. The roadside ditches are bailed out for the sake of fingerlings. No weed nor stalk escapes the bamboo rake of the autumnal fuel-gatherer. The sickle reaps the grain close to the ground, for straw and chaff are needed to burn under the rice kettle. Tree leaves are a crop carefully gathered. One never sees a rotting stump or a moldering log. Bundles of brush carried miles on a human back heat the brick kiln and the potter's furnace.

4. *Killing labor for a pittance.* Hunger-driven, the poor Chinese spend themselves recklessly for the sake of a wage. The lumber sawyers are exhausted early. The planers of boards, the marble polishers, the brass filers, the cotton fluffers, and the coolies who work the big rice-polishing treadles, are building their coffins. The term of a chair-bearer is eight

years, of a rickshaw runner, four years; for the rest of his life he is an invalid.

5. *Low standard of living.* In India about one-third of the people "are living at a rate of about two cents per day or less, are permanently underfed and ill-nourished, are so short of food that they do not get proper growth, and are generally too weak to do a fair day's work."

Apropos of an official estimate of 20,000 homeless children on the island of Porto Rico, we are informed:

The "family" and the "home" do not exist among the poorer classes of Porto Ricans in the sense in which these terms are used ordinarily. The degree of poverty which prevents a family from having more than one small room, and that virtually without furniture—with perhaps a hammock or a poor bed for the man, no chairs and no other conveniences—makes the "home" only a room where the family sleeps in a mass on the floor at night. Privacy does not exist. Life is lived on the street, and only a people of unusual kindness and clean instincts could make of the situation one in which sordidness was not the rule.

PROVOCATIVES OF POPULATION PRESSURE

1. *The early marriage of females.* For two-thirds of mankind the typical girl is a wife at puberty or two or three years thereafter. In West-European society, however, the age of brides at first marriage ranges from twenty-two to twenty-eight years. This means that nearly a third—and that third the most fertile—of the female's reproductive period has passed unutilized. Moreover, maids that put off marriage until twenty or after are likely to have ideas of their own as to how many children they should rear!

2. *Female subjection.* The sacrifices which unlimited child-bearing imposes on the mother so far exceed the burden a large family imposes on the father that family limitation is chiefly the concern of mothers. When their minds are enslaved this natural brake fails to work. It is slavery of the female sex to the male, which has brought upon Asia a crowding ever more stifling, distressing and intolerable since the curtailment of the folk customs of infanticide and abortion and the curbing of the great epidemic diseases.

3. *Ancestor worship.* In China to die without leaving a son to perpetuate the worship of the family's ancestors is deemed a calamity. Every man marries; if his wife reaches her fortieth year without bringing him a son, it is his religious duty to take a concubine.

4. *Reliance upon children as an old-age insurance.* The Chinese rely

upon the earnings of their sons to keep them in their old age. A man looks upon his sons as his old age pension. A girl baby may be drowned or sold, a boy never. The parents of one son are pitied while the parents of many sons are congratulated.

5. *The joint family.* The director of education of an Indian native state tells me of the family communism he lives in.

I live in a household of five brother families—thirty persons in all. We dwell in one house, eat at one table and are looked after by one staff of servants. Every month I give my salary to my father and all my brothers do likewise. Thus all the incomes form a single fund. All are for each and each is for all. The family is a mutual insurance association, a buffer between the individual and misfortune. If one of us is sick or out of work, he and his will not come to want. If one couple has six children and another but two, the children will be equally well-fed, clothed and educated.

Hence, couples feel no concern as the size of their family grows.

6. *Want of prospect of rising in the social scale.* On the very eve of her Revolution, Arthur Young, the famous English traveler, declared that France was decidedly over-peopled. It was not until the Revolution had swept away the old exactions and abuses and ordinary peasants saw a chance to gain comfort or property, that the French became notorious for small families.

7. *The saving of life by measures from without.* The public health commissioner of British India says in his 1925 report:

Much of the economic loss and human suffering going on in India today is avoidable. . . . The campaign so assiduously waged against ignorance of malaria in the Malay States during the last 25 years . . . has now borne fruit. . . . Java has found it a paying proposition to banish cholera largely by inoculation and to control plague by seriously tackling the housing question . . . ; the provision of abundant and pure water has made the control of cholera, dysentery and enteric, even in the Tropics, a comparatively simple matter.

Hong Kong has become a comparatively healthy sea-port; Colombo is a modern city with up-to-date sewage and water-works; Palestine since the war has been hygienically revolutionized. West Africa, East Africa, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika and the Soudan have presented opportunities for the control of yellow fever, malaria, syphilis and tsetse fly disease.

These peoples have children about three times as fast as Western peoples. Their European administrators can do nothing to check births but can work wonders in curbing certain diseases. Their extensive life-saving, while popular, upsets the man-land balance and intensifies pres-

sure until in the end more of the people succumb to misery and hunger. So, the social benefits from introducing public health measures into the Orient are largely a pleasing illusion which nobody is interested in exposing! There can be no lasting lightening of the folk misery of the Orient until their popular culture and education have been greatly transformed.

CONDITIONS AFFECTING THE DEGREE OF POPULATION PRESSURE

In general, the self-regulative power of a population is likely to be low when:

1. The masses are inert and new wants are slow to sprout.
2. The lowly never presume to ape the style of life of their social superiors.
3. The social economy is so changeless that everybody sees there is great difficulty in escaping the lot one was born to.
4. Caste barriers shut people up in the occupational and social cell of their parents.
5. No education for the children of the toiling masses.
6. The bulk of the people are ignorant and superstitious.
7. Abortion, infanticide, and contraception lie under the ban of religion.
8. A sacerdotal value attaches to male posterity.
9. The government is unconcerned as to the lot of the masses.
10. The female sex is regarded as inferior to the male sex.
11. The schooling of daughters is deemed to be needless, even dangerous.
12. The mating of young people is in the hands of their parents.
13. The girl is married at puberty or shortly after and is years younger than her husband.
14. Clan or large-family communism weakens a man's sense of responsibility for maintaining his offspring.

On the other hand, these influences which beget in people *foresight* and a *feeling of responsibility* serve as brakes:

1. The ready downward percolation of new wants inspired by the example of the social superiors.
2. Wide diffusion of literacy and instruction, revealing purple horizons.
3. Many doors stand open to poor youths desiring to gain an education and enter the higher walks.

4. Enhancement of the self-respect of the masses by their being admitted to share in political power.
5. A democratic type of social organization which encourages the capable lowly to aspire to any station or distinction.
6. Abundance of opportunity for the empty-handed but industrious and frugal to accumulate property.
7. Security, especially of the petty property-holders, in the enjoyment and transmission of their property.
8. General acceptance of a high standard of what parents ought to do to further the success of their children.
9. A low economic value of children to their parents.
10. Deferment of marriage till daughters reach womanhood.
11. The daughter is entitled to as good an education as the son.
12. The romantic conception of love between the sexes.
13. Freedom of matrimonial choice on the part of young people.
14. Equality of the sexes, particularly of wives with husbands.
15. Religion offering *personal*, rather than *family*, salvation.

Population pressure and war. In the hunting stage men dare not resort to "close" hunting, for, if too much game be taken in one season, there will be scarcity in the seasons to come. So, when a tribe has too many mouths for its take of game, it poaches on the hunting grounds of a neighboring tribe. But the latter well knows what will happen to it if such encroachment goes scatheless; hence, there is bloody warfare until numbers are so reduced that there is game for all. Then there may be a spell of peace.

Nothing can be done by pastoralists to add to their grass crop, so, if their expanding herds cannot find food at home, they have no recourse but to drive them upon the preserves of others—which brings on a fight!

In the agricultural stage man *produces* his food rather than *gathers* it. When hunger nears, the remedy that suggests itself is to bring more land under the plow or to cultivate more closely. More food may always be had, albeit at the price of severer toil. Because they are pressed against an elastic spring rather than a stone wall, growth of numbers rarely prompts an agricultural people to attack a neighbor. This is why the congested peoples of the East have generally contrived to dwell in peace with one another.

The type situation which invites aggression has been a prospering agricultural people living within easy striking distance of hardbitten hunters or pastoral nomads whose land hunger obliges them to take

desperate chances. What is more natural than for them to fling themselves upon the agriculturists in the hope of conquering them and becoming lords of the land? The settled peoples of Egypt, Babylonia, Syria, China, Palestine, Persia, India, Italy, and Mexico have had to meet thousands of such onslaughts.

In the modern industrial stage there comes a time when the home market cannot absorb all the output of the mills nor home development fructify all the capital seeking investment. Then capitalists, reaching out for new foreign markets, fresh sources of raw materials, and virgin fields for the profitable investment of surplus capital, involve their governments in imperialistic rivalry. The struggle for concessions, tropical dependencies, strategic points and secure sea routes is very likely to bring on war. Although those who secretly egg on their government to pursue risky foreign policies are not themselves in distress, population pressure is a gilt-edged asset in winning the masses to imperialism and militarism.

Population pressure and economic progress. No doubt population pressure pushed early man on from stage to stage of economic life. Pastoralists love their ease and nothing but hunger makes them resort to back-breaking cultivation of the soil. Thus we read: "Necessity has forced Rajputs and others to take to agriculture." "Only the poorest Kirghises, driven by want, engage in tillage." Perhaps population pressure has been the gadfly driving our ancestors from reliance on Nature's offerings to the regular production of food, forcing adoption of more painstaking methods of agriculture and exacting an intenser utilization of natural resources. Had men known how to limit the size of their families in those far days, what would have pushed them from hunting into herding, from herding into farming?

However, another goad has been "want pressure," *i.e., demands for things other than the necessities of life*. Generally, to be sure, want pressure has not been urgent enough to prompt herdsmen to settle and dig their living out of the soil. Even now in many regions the standard of living is so inelastic that, if wages be doubled abruptly, laborers will work only half as many days! So is it with the *peons* of Latin America and the toiling masses of the Orient. But in enlightened societies hunger is no longer needed to save a people from lying becalmed in the doldrums, for never were wants so whipped up as to-day. Consider: spread of ability to read; immense development of advertising; ambition to live better than one's parents did; the caprices of fashion; aping the style of the well-to-do; ambition to rise in the social scale.

Man seems no longer to need population pressure as a whip to lash

him into making use of Nature's resources. Instead of being prodded into activity by hunger as an animal is, he is quitting the bed of sloth roused by cravings which have their seat in his memory and imagination.

Population pressure and political democracy. Where population pressure is intense the costly things which elevate human life above a bare scramble to keep body and soul together—such as a noble temple or church, a beautiful public building, a university, public baths, a public park, a state forest, a botanic garden or an art collection—will never be created so long as the toiling, tight-fisted millions have the say. The urgent needs of their families claim all they can earn and not one stiver will they forego in order that an enduring source of enjoyment or inspiration be opened. Never will they furnish the means of rearing a noble palace of justice or creating a college of science unless they are *made* to do so by those in power; which means that a government really controlled by the people will not be allowed to get very far!

Furthermore, when the food struggle is sharp the people will resort to practices which wreck their economic future. For the sake of a few extra mouthfuls they kill every bird in sight, with the result that insect pests multiply and devour their crops. They take fish so greedily that their fisheries disappear. They so lay waste the native forests, that their grandchildren will not know whither to turn for wood and fuel. They cultivate the steep slopes until these slopes are stripped of soil, while the rivers below, choked with silt, are no longer navigable. Only government can curb these suicidal practices, but no government will be allowed to do so if it is really under the control of the hard-pressed millions whom it ought to restrain. Would a popular government have brought one-fifth of the area of British India under the Forest Department? So universal suffrage is no blessing in an over-peopled land!

CHAPTER IV

FOLK SCULPTURE

Species quality changes if regularly certain types multiply faster than others. Hence in the last fifty years there has been much scrutinizing of birth and death differentials among human types to discover in what directions our race is being modified. Recognition that these differentials hold out the possibility of better breeds evolving fills dreamers with hopes for a glorious social future based upon a purged and select humanity.

SELECTION IN GENERAL

Pearson has shown that in England, Denmark and New South Wales the 25 per cent of families with the greatest fertility have one-half of all the children; this one-half produces 78 per cent of the following generation; this 78 per cent in turn produces 98 per cent of the third generation. If this formula holds for us as well, a quarter of our couples will be the forebears of nearly the whole American people of a century hence! Now, which contribute more freely to this Abrahamic one-fourth—farms or cities? alleys or avenues? hovels or mansions? How does the genius figure in it? the weakling? the moron? the malefactor? In this super-fertile fourth what place have the pioneering? the cautious? the devout? the routine-loving? the enterprising?

Every generation is sifted. There is the *lethal* sieve. Among the advanced peoples a fifth perish before they are old enough to marry; in the Orient a half are cut off untimely. There is the *mating* sieve. In India all marry save deformed persons, saints and prostitutes; among ourselves more than a tenth pass mateless through their reproductive period. There is the *self-perpetuation sieve*. An eighth of our couples produce no children while a large proportion of the rest produce too few to replace themselves.

LETHAL SELECTION

Of old untimely death was looked upon as a mark of God's displeasure or "a mysterious dispensation of Providence." The newer view,

that death like any other natural event *has a cause*, gave opening at first to an over-emphasis on the *selectivity* of untimely death. Death was figured as an archer launching his arrows at the weaker. We now know that Death shoots many of his arrows at random. Pearson found that only three-fifths of the deaths in a large group of English Quaker families were selective, while Ploetz discovered that two-fifths of the deaths among the royal and noble families of Europe had nothing to do with defects in their natural inheritance.

Immunity to disease. That malaria is two hundred times as destructive among whites in Sierra Leone as among natives indicates that from exposure through countless generations the Negroes have acquired a certain immunity to it. In the Terai, a wet forested belt along the southern foot of the Himalayas, the Indian settlers brought in lose all their children, but still the forest folk survive! The Chinese appear to be peculiarly resistant to typhoid; the Jews, to tuberculosis. To most simple children of nature, however, we whites, long churned together and exposed to other peoples' diseases, are the "tough guys." We have a resistance to pneumonia unknown among the Eskimos; measles, a jest among us, has depopulated islands in the South Seas!

Medical advance and the unfit. Is medical advance "putting natural selection out of business"? So far the spectacular gains have been made against the *least selective* maladies, *viz.*, the contagious and epidemic diseases; for immunity to these is little correlated with general constitutional vigor. There are, to be sure, killers related to inheritance: haemophilia, pernicious anaemia, Huntington's chorea, epilepsy and many forms of insanity, diabetes, Bright's disease and arterio-sclerosis; but these are just the ones we cannot handle by means of serums, vaccinations and disinfectants. So, however brilliant our victories over the swordmen of Azrael, "there will remain many causes of death, highly selective in their effect, which will always be working to keep our native vitality up to the standard." For example, our humane care of mental defectives by no means exempts them from natural selection. A study of four thousand feeble-minded and idiots shows the mortality of the feeble-minded to be *double*, that of the idiots to be *eight times*, that of the normal. As for plain fools, their stocks are eliminated by poor care of their children; for doctors agree that nothing saves babies like "the intelligent character of the mother."

Formerly infant mortality ran from a fifth to three-fifths; now a people which does not get nine-tenths of its babies through their first year blushes. But is it not blocking natural selection to save three-

fourths of the infants that would have died? Not altogether; the high death-rate of the *first month* of life has not been lowered and most of these deaths betoken *something wrong with the infant's constitution*. It is the deaths of infants *over one month old* that have been reduced and these reflect *something wrong with the outside*—poor milk, improper feeding, bad surroundings—which might kill any baby.

Nevertheless, next to the weak who will die anyway lies a belt of delicate youngsters who perish if conditions are "not just right." Among the infants saved many are of this type and their lack of constitutional stamina will raise their death-rate later on. Some think our wonderful saving of infants explains why the life term of our middle-aged is but little longer. Better protection is about offset by the presence in their ranks of many who formerly would not have got past the perils of infancy.

Our growing dependence on aids. More and more we are coming on to an artificial basis. The greater the proportion of parents whose lives were preserved by appendectomy, the greater the number in generations to come that will need this operation. Children that come into the world *via* the Caesarian operation will have more female descendants that cannot bring forth their infants naturally than other people do. The greater the success of the medical profession in finding digestives and laxatives to correct the shortcomings of one's digestive tract, the larger eventually will be the contingent in the population who inherit an alimentary system rather below par. The like is true of the contingent that withstand infectious disease only with the aid of inoculation.

So the stock of inherited resistances and immunities built ages ago into our hard-bitten ancestors is being dissipated; in a couple of centuries little of it will be left. Fewer of us can survive certain shocks without prompt medical attention. Fewer women can bring their child into the world as the red woman does, without obstetrical aid. The mothers who can suckle their infant are ever rarer. Unless something is done to give those of strong and resistant constitution some substantial advantage over the delicate in leaving progeny, the proportion of the hardy will become less in every generation.

Do not call this "degeneration"; for those who at some time in their lives needed aid in order to survive may be just as worthy, efficient and attractive members of society as those able to dispense with such aid. Style "degenerate" only those so deficient in endowment that they can-

not “make good” in their society and time. The latter are but a handful compared with the contingent that have to lean at times on modern medicine, and surgery.

Slowing down of elimination. Our time witnesses the spreading of the blessings of medical and surgical advance by public and philanthropic agencies, *i.e.*, public health departments, clinics, health centers, infant welfare stations, visiting nurses and health propaganda. No doubt this has brightened the survival prospects of the stupid and the careless

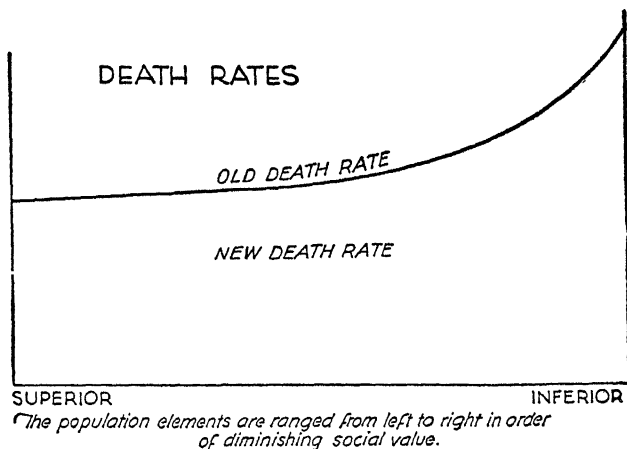


FIGURE 23

PROBABLE DECLINE OF THE MORTALITY DIFFERENTIAL IN PAST FIFTY YEARS

more than those of the bright and the responsible. *All elements have benefited but the socially less valuable elements have benefited most.* Seventy years ago the difference in prospect of growing up between the children of the wise and those of the foolish, the offspring of the able and those of the incompetent, the progeny of the successful and those of casuals, must have been much greater than it is to-day.

So death is not combing out the less fit as searchingly as it did before we set out to "socialize health." Sifting has been "damped down"; gone is most of the differential mortality that once kept us "up to the mark." Hosts are now growing up and breeding their kind who would have failed to get by the sterner tests of two generations ago—persons of poor constitution, of feeble vitality, of low natural resistance to disease, inheritors of sense defects or mental defects or weakness of character. Not

that we should deplore this; by all means let us bring the blessings of medical science to everybody's doorstep.

But certainly other means of selection should be substituted!

REPRODUCTIVE SELECTION

Until means of regulating family size had been discovered, the wife of the professional man or captain of industry was likely to bear about as many babies as the wife of the shoveler or mill-hand. One notes no tendency on the part of the rich or college-bred Chinese to have fewer children than the unlettered peasants in the rural villages. Probably this is the case over the world to-day save in Western and Northern Europe, the United States and the British Dominions.

Low fertility invades first the higher social levels. Here, however, the picture is altogether different. What happened in England was set forth twenty years ago by Dean Inge:

Until the decline began, large families were the rule in all classes. . . . Since 1877 large families have become increasingly rare in the upper and middle classes, and among the skilled artisans. They are frequent in the thriftless ranks of unskilled labor, and in one section of well paid workmen—the miners. The highest death rates at present are in the mining districts and in the slums. The lowest are in some of the learned professions.¹

About 1910 a survey of England north of the Humber showed that "it is the less healthy parents, the men and women with the worse habits, and the fathers with the lowest wages who have the largest families." Nor is this differential overcome by a selective death-rate. The large industrial center Bradford furnishes data which show that "at all ages the parents with bad habits have more children alive than the parents with good habits." "Well-ventilated and clean homes have fewer children in them." The report sees the prolific unfit as a "swamp which is threatening to rise and engulf the nation."

In England and Wales in 1911 there were 119 births per thousand married males under fifty-five years in the upper and middle class, 153 among skilled workmen, and 213 among unskilled workmen. The babies surviving the first year in the three classes would be 110, 136, 181. It is interesting to observe that while solicitors, physicians, and Church of England clergymen had about 100 births a year, costers and hawkers had 175, earthenware workers 181, and dock laborers 231.

The more capable leave fewer children. From the 1923 Federal

¹ W. R. Inge, *Outspoken Essays*, 1919, p. 70.

report on *Births, Stillbirths, and Infant Mortality Statistics* it appears that in families in which the birth of a child was registered in 1923 the number of living children averaged 5.45 for fathers fifty to fifty-four years of age who were bootblacks, boiler-washers, engine hostlers, long-shoremen, stevedores, draymen, teamsters, coal-mine operatives, and common laborers. But the number of living children averaged only 3.54 for fathers of the same age group who were engineers, teachers, physicians, lawyers, judges, inventors, dentists, clergymen, chemists, authors,

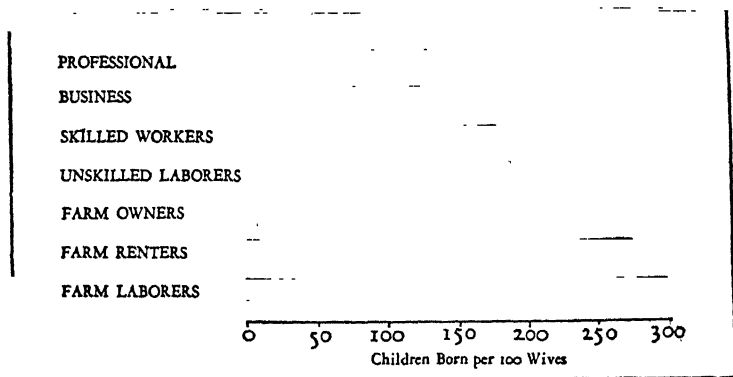


FIGURE 24

STANDARDIZED CUMULATIVE BIRTH RATES FOR EACH URBAN
AND RURAL CLASS

(From Milbank Memorial Fund.)

newspaper men, architects, bankers, and railway officials. This means about two more children left by handworkers than by brainworkers, by unskilled laborers than by men of the learned professions, by the privates in the industrial organization than by the officers (Fig. 24).²

A study of the fertility of about forty thousand native white married women in 33 Northern cities and of about thirty thousand native white married women in the rural parts of 74 neighboring counties, as disclosed in data collected for the Census of 1910, showed that "the rural population represented by this sample is definitely more fertile than the

² My researches with Professor Baber (1921-23) upon the completed families of living couples show that in the Middle West a hundred dependent couples of native stock, taken at random, had had 649 children, while 2,500 couples of native stock having a son, daughter, nephew or niece in college, averaged 280 children to 100 couples. Of the families of 10,455 retarded children in the public schools of Massachusetts those whose retarded children were dullards had had an average of 6.24 children.

urban population" and "in both the urban and rural populations studied, there is a definite inverse relation between fertility and the customary ranking of the broad social classes."

Low fertility becoming general. However, there are signs that this fertility contrast between classes is vanishing. In France for some time there has been no great difference in family size between handworkers and *bourgeoisie*. Since the World War in places the European masses have sharply cut their fertility. In pre-war years the birth-rate of Wedding, the great working class quarter of Berlin, was twice that of the Thiergarten, the rich residential district; now they are the same. In Zurich, in eighteen years, the birth-rate among the rich has fallen a quarter, but that of the poorer has fallen a half. In Basel, the fall was from 17 to 11.5 for the rich and from 26.5 to 12 for the poorer. In Stockholm the fertility of the wealthiest class is 45 per cent above that of the industrial workers and that of the well-to-do is 17 per cent above. It is said that in German cities the number of children increases consistently as you go from the lower-income groups to the higher-income groups.

Hence no snapshot of grade fertilities while the practice of birth control is in course of spreading down through society signifies much. In two decades the whole picture may have greatly changed. Parenthood control is a new thing in human experience and no one can foretell what the fertility of different character and intelligence grades will be when they have all become self-conscious and knowing in the matter of family.

SOCIETAL SELECTION

Social movements, customs, institutions, policies and practices decidedly affect the make-up of future generations.

War. Hand-to-hand fighting favored the survival of the stronger, quicker, more adroit. Modern war, however, calls out the pick of the young men, leaving the culls to stay at home and beget. Then, thanks to lethal machinery, battle no longer spares heroes as it did in the days of personal combat, but mows men "wholesale." No doubt the World War caused a vaster destruction of the sound than any other event in the life of our species.

The doctrine that warfare is a precious test of fitness to survive is a Mumbo-Jumbo superstition. *Of course* folk quality is *one* factor in winning a war. But in view of the *other* factors—comparative size of the fighting peoples, their natural defenses, their access to the highways of commerce, their mineral resources, their stage of industrial development,

their attention to military matters, above all their *alliances*—the assumption that the victors in warfare are “superior,” whereas the vanquished are “inferior,” is absurd.

The cityward flow. As a rule the bright boy who quits the farm to become banker, railroad official, or professional man, leaves fewer children than his duller brother at the plowtail. The farm family whose members push on to college and rise into the higher callings does not multiply like the commonplace family that sticks to the soil. The reason why you meet oftener with gifted individuals in the Russian rural village than in the English countryside is that the latter *has been about fished out*.

Occupational celibacy. A priesthood is much better endowed than the general population from which it is recruited; its celibacy therefore causes a superior current of heredity to be lost to the race. How serious this loss is may be gauged by noting what science and letters would have missed had the Protestant churches followed the Catholic Church in requiring sacerdotal celibacy. Agassiz, Berzelius, Encke, Euler, Jenner, Linnaeus, Emerson, Hallam, Hobbes, Addison, Ben Jonson, Lessing, Richter, Swift, Thomson, Wieland, and Wren, as well as a host of lesser stars, were sons of Protestant clergymen!

Among us education is served by more than half a million women school teachers most of whom in point of natural endowment belong in the superior fourth of us. The school board policy of employing only unmarried women and of “firing” them if they marry, makes for a celibacy which cannot be good for the race. The courts should uphold the woman teacher’s right to marry, to take leave of absence and bear children, without loss of job. Preference should be given to married rather than to single teachers, there should be many half-time positions enabling a teacher to be at the same time wife and mother, and there should be no talk of “a moral obligation” of women normal school graduates to teach when they prefer to marry!

Social work. Misery, disease and vice, attack sub-normals with peculiar virulence. This will not deter the wise from doing their best to rid society of these cankers, for “gangrene is not the best caustic.” But if they banish alcoholism, kill the infections spread by sex promiscuity and raze the slums and “dumps” which the sub-normals haunt, they have removed certain natural filters from the human current. Unless other filters are substituted the not-much-good will live longer and raise more children—which spells race deterioration! Among such filters are: the custodial care or sterilization of the feeble-minded; relief of the chronic-pauper type on terms which exclude their further increase; in-

struction and social pressure to deter from propagation persons with transmissible bodily defect; and the forcing of minimal standards of cleanliness, decency, child care and schooling upon those congenital incompetents just above the line of self-support.

Capitalistic individualism. Nowhere is there less practical sympathy with the struggles of intelligent couples to rear families of fine children than in the United States. Under the general property tax the home is taxed to the quick because our business class have resisted the income tax.³ For the water, gas or electricity it uses the home pays about twice the rate paid by a profit-seeking enterprise. Charges for the medical, surgical, dental and ocular services children require are a terror to parents of modest income, because the professions are organized while the parents are not. In some countries wise enough to value and protect the family the best professional services are available to families for a mere fraction of what American parents have to pay, because experts are retained on salary to render indispensable services to specified groups. Millions of employees both public and private are paid a salary or wage which rises with the number of dependent children.

For a hundred years our lawmakers have been willing to do almost anything for those "on the make" (business men), but nothing for those out to rear superior children!

The emancipation of women. Maternity plays havoc with a career. The woman who bears five children spaced about $2\frac{1}{2}$ years apart and stays at home until the youngest enters school has invested sixteen years of her life in her family. What of her professional advancement? Realizing this clash between motherhood and "achievement," the *gifted* young women dedicate themselves to a career while the others marry. The "pass" woman is much more likely to marry within four years after graduation than the "honors" woman. Of girls who try for a teacher's certificate those who fail will probably marry sooner than those who succeed! If the emancipation of women results in the talented turning away from motherhood, talent will become scarcer in every generation!

The eugenicist would have the first-rate women marry their kind and bear gifted children, leaving the second-raters to become teachers, social workers, physicians and newspaper writers. The right way to cope with the infecundity of the superior women is not to bar them from any walks now open to them but to *shift the social emphasis*. Brilliant girls covet careers because the career is honored. Many of them would be

³ A pro-family policy would be to exempt from taxation (say) \$2,000 of the value of every home.

content as mothers if motherhood were equally honored. But this is impossible until *superior* motherhood is differentiated from *commonplace* motherhood, which in turn depends on discriminating *superior* children from *commonplace* children.

SOME PRACTICAL EUGENIC MEASURES

The sterilization of mental defectives. Twenty-nine American states have provided for sterilizing (*not* asexualizing) those with grave congenital mental defects. Thirty thousand such sterilizations have been performed, most of them in the last decade and two-fifths of them in California.⁴ In most cases the operation is willingly submitted to. In 1934 Germany adopted this policy and within two years sterilized 70,000 defectives.

We should not expect quick results from this measure. Those with defective genes in their germ plasm are supposed to outnumber many times the sub-normals. So feeble-minded will continue to be born—in tapering numbers, to be sure—for many generations after this type has been stopped from breeding. Eugenists think in terms of millennia!

Making birth control information generally available. The brighter wives learn about birth control technique and apply it (sometimes frivolously, to be sure); the less alert fail to learn of it even when they have the best of reasons for desiring to use it. Hence, many eugenists advocate the multiplication of free clinics where any married woman who has good grounds for it may be instructed in birth control technique. Some 500 such clinics are now maintained out of private resources in the United States.

What happens when death control is introduced without birth control is illustrated in Porto Rico. Jungle sex habits had been required to maintain a population under River Congo conditions and they persisted among the Negro slaves transported to Porto Rico. Then with the American occupation forty years ago came America's white-uniformed army surgeons. Smallpox was downed. Mosquito control ended yellow fever. Chlorination of drinking water cut typhoid rates. Nature's equilibrium was upset, population doubled and now with 470 inhabitants to

⁴ In 1935 a committee appointed by the American Neurological Association to investigate eugenical sterilization recommended that compulsory sterilization should apply only to selected cases of (1) Huntington's chorea, hereditary optic atrophy, family cases of Friedrich's ataxia and other disabling degenerative diseases recognized to be hereditary; (2) feeble-mindedness of the familial type; (3) dementia praecox (schizophrenia); (4) manic depressive psychosis; and (5) epilepsy.

the square mile the island is one of the worst large poverty areas in the world. No wonder its Governor is the first official in history to recommend openly birth control!

Propagation of sounder ideas of marriage. Among the "Ten Commandments for the choice of a spouse" issued by the highest health authorities of Germany and the racial-population department of the National-Socialist ("Nazi") Party are such maxims as:

Thou shalt not remain single if thou art by inheritance healthy.

In thy choice of a spouse ask about his or her ancestors.

Health is the condition for external beauty.

Marry only for love.

Seek no playmate, but a companion for marriage.

The meaning of marriage lies in a healthy posterity.

These excellent maxims ought to be diffused among young people everywhere. In the nobler the eugenic ideal kindles that enthusiasm and readiness to dedicate one's self which in the past has been inspired only by religion.

Direct encouragement of births among the superior. In Germany, municipalities have become "sponsors" of the third and fourth children in the more competent families. This means that the city pays to the parents a monthly allowance of Rm.30 for the first year and Rm.20 for the following thirteen years.

Among ourselves have been suggested: free maternity costs in public hospitals for mothers who hold for themselves and their husbands state-medical certificates of freedom from serious transmissible physical or mental defect; the encouragement of marriage and parentage in the (economic) middle class by the dowry system; automatic increase of pay for regular salaried employees with marriage and with each additional child; marrying fellowships, encouraging the type of young scholars now awarded fellowships to marry and have children before permanent appointment.

However, sound eugenic proposals meet such ravings of ignorance, prejudice and bigotry that we should not look for them to be put into effect anywhere much before the last third of our century.

CHAPTER V

CITY AND COUNTRY

The cityward movement is well-nigh world-wide. New York has increased tenfold since 1850, but London, Paris, Leningrad, and Bombay multiplied their population by five in the course of the nineteenth century. "At the beginning of the twentieth century about ninety-seven million people lived in two hundred and fifty great cities, *i.e.*, approximately six and one-half per cent of the total population of the world were in places numbering over one hundred thousand inhabitants."¹ The strongest urban growth is not to be found in the most crowded lands. Only 16.7 per cent of the people of Japan, 2.6 per cent of that of India, and 2.1 per cent of the Javanese live in cities of over 100,000 inhabitants; on the other hand, a fifth of the Canadians, a quarter of the Germans and the Americans and more than two-fifths of the Britons live in such cities. Only a country like Australia, where the climate is stimulating, good soil is plentiful, and farmers are intelligent and progressive, can produce enough food to permit 42.3 per cent of its population to live in cities.

Although the philosophers steadily "run down" the city while the poets are always idealizing the country, the flow to the cities continues because its causes are deep-seated.

CAUSES OF URBAN GROWTH

1. The power age has so cheapened carriage that the interchanges of goods between areas, regions and countries have waxed like Jonah's gourd. Ever greater is the share of our consumables brought to us from beyond the hundred-mile zone, from beyond the thousand-mile zone, from overseas, from the ends of the earth. Gulf Streams of traffic pour between zones and continents. These swelling tides of trade permit an ever-larger proportion of us to make a living from handling, storing, exchanging and forwarding a volume of goods which grows faster than

¹ Howard Woolston, *The Metropolis*, 1938, p. 54.

the population, faster even than total production, and makes an ever-longer journey to reach its consumers.

2. A century and a half ago our typical farm family produced a large

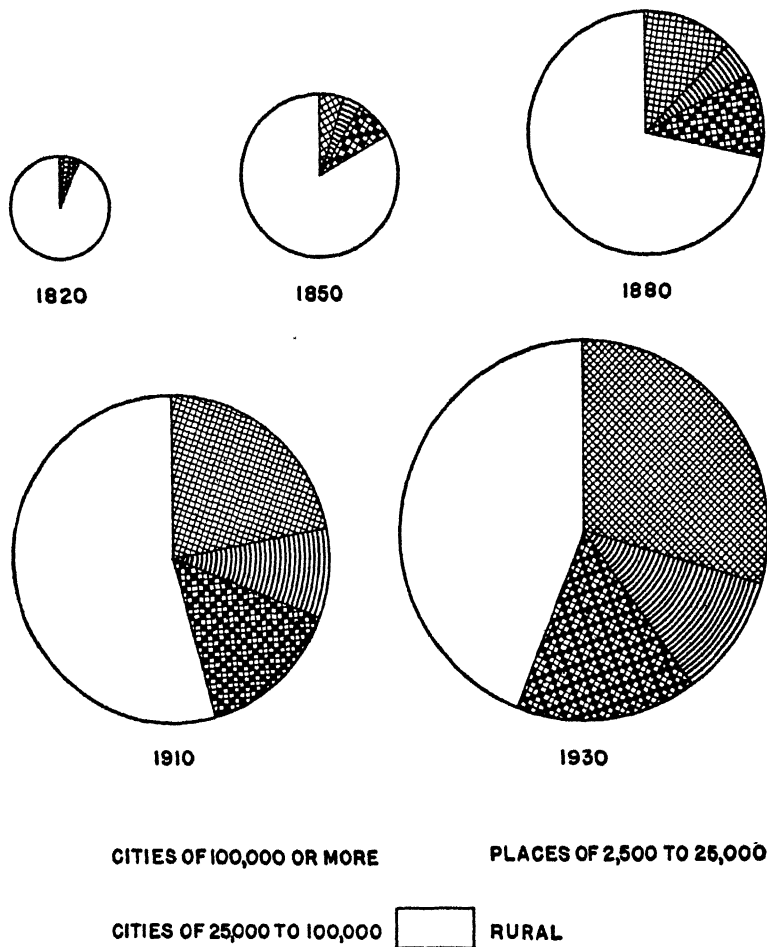


FIGURE 25

RURAL-URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

part of what it consumed. The women, busy with hand card, spinning wheel and loom, worked up into clothing the fleeces of the farm flock. "Rag" carpets covered the floor, home-made quilts and comforters the beds. The hide of the beef killed for family consumption as well as those

of a calf or two were taken to the tannery and after six months brought home and worked up into foot gear, sometimes by the men of the family but more often by a traveling shoemaker. In the smoke house were curing hams and bacon, while from the ashes in the leach was drained the lye which, boiled with refuse fat, furnished "soft soap" for the family. Candles were molded from the tallow of the slaughtered beef. The orchard supplied fruit, cider and vinegar. "Sweetening" came from

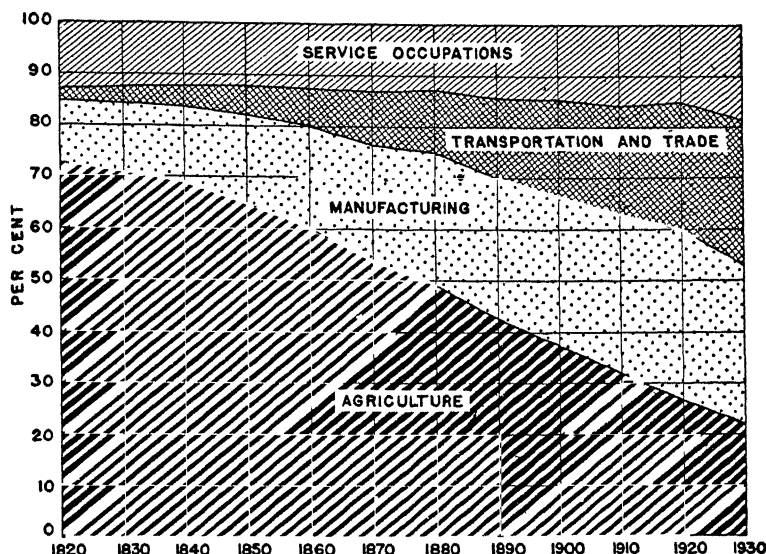


FIGURE 26

GAINFUL WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES IN FOUR MAIN OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES—AGRICULTURAL AND NON-AGRICULTURAL: 1820 TO 1930

the "sugar bush" or the patch of sorghum cane. Farm machinery did not exist; the wooden parts of the farm implements were made on the place, the iron parts being furnished by a cross-roads blacksmith.

Then came a development of machine production which has drawn to factories in the towns at least seven-eighths of the household industries which formerly ministered to the wants of the farm family. Nor can we foresee that any rural working up of raw materials except food for the family table will escape the clutch of the power-driven machine. Few will remain in the open country who do not give their entire attention to some purely extractive industry like agriculture, fruit growing, dairying, stock raising, mining, quarrying, or lumbering.

3. Power-driven implements lessen the call for "hands" on the farm and release a part of the rural population to seek employment elsewhere.

4. Oil wells and refineries are taking the place of the pastures, meadows, and feed crops which formerly generated the power embodied in the draft animals bred and raised by farmers.

5. The poor buy mostly farm products; but, as they prosper, their gain in purchasing power goes more and more to support town industry rather than rural industry. This is because, the better the ware, the more of its value lies in workmanship, the less in material. Compare pastry with bread, the business suit with blue jeans, fine shoes with brogans, porcelain with crockery! The coarser goods embody *extraction*; the finer goods, *elaboration*. Hence, as people live better, they call for things more elaborated, *i.e.*, for city labor rather than for country labor.

6. Thanks to the host of new duties laid upon government, public employment grows rapidly, and the proceeds of taxation go chiefly to maintain city dwellers; for few public servants live in the open country.

7. In our time the city has gained electric street railways, electric lights, asphalt pavements, rubber tires, pure water, parks, playgrounds, public baths, social centers, housing regulation, palatial free high schools and municipal universities. The open country has gained better roads, the oiled highway, the automobile, the autobus, rural mail delivery, the telephone, the radio, the electric current, and in a few places the township school and the community house. On the whole, the town's lead in attractiveness constantly broadens.

Age make-up. It is as *producer* rather than as *consumer* that one betters himself by removing to the city. The city attracts from the farms young, unencumbered adults who leave behind them an excess of children and aged. This is why, age-grouped, urban population has the figure of a top; rural population, that of a spindle. No wonder the growing city hums with energy and glows with hope, while the countryside is slow-pulsed, deliberate and conservative!

Marriedness. Since farmers must live near their stock and growing crops, farming *bids* people marry. "The city," Ogburn tells us, "discourages marriage about ten per cent." Perhaps we should put it, "The country encourages marriage about eleven per cent." In the country as a rule people marry younger, stick together longer and, in case the union is broken by death or divorce, are more likely to remarry. On the farm the family is the natural unit for life and work.

In view of such thwartings of the mating instinct in cities, no wonder a U. S. Census expert comments thus on the data for 1900:

The foregoing figures showing the much smaller proportion of married persons in large cities, especially in the earlier years of adult life, would support the belief that where married life is so much less prevalent, the unlawful indulgence of sexual desires is probably more prevalent.

Size of family. Of old the city showed fewer children because in walled congested towns infant-and-child mortality was frightful. Now the city family which practises birth control has fewer children than the farm family because children are more of a burden to it and less of an asset. In our South the size of the town family (white) is about half that of the farm family. In our North it is nearly four-fifths as large, for many of the foreign-born in the cities retain their peasant attitude toward wife and family.

IS THE CITYWARD DRIFT IMPOVERISHING THE FARM FOLK?

Is it *milk* or *cream* that the city draws from the open-country population? Obviously, not *all* cream! The physical weaklings, the crippled or handicapped, seek the city in order to find something they can do. The restless and vagabond quit the farm rather than the steady-going. Young people from poor families make for the city rather than those from well-to-do families. The "well-fixed" farmer who can outfit each of his sons and sons-in-law with a farm holds them better than the small farmer whose sons would have to start on the first rung of "the agricultural ladder," *i.e.*, as "hired hands." But study of a sample of Albemarle County, Virginia, representing three social classes—upper, middle and lower—shows that the upper group sustained decidedly the largest proportion lost to the cities, the middle group the next heaviest and the lower group the least.² Gee and Corson, from examining the rural population elsewhere in Virginia, conclude: "The results indicate a selective migration distinctly in favor of the cities."³

² Wilson Gee and Dewees Runk, "Qualitative Selection and Migration," *American Journal of Sociology*, Sept., 1931.

³ Wilson Gee and J. J. Corson, *Rural Depopulation in Certain Tidewater and Piedmont Areas of Virginia* ("Monographs of University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences," No. 3), 1929, p. 102.

Looking into the shifting of rural people in New York State, Young finds: "Seventy-seven per cent of the men who had attended college, 35% of the men who had attended high-school, and 27% of the men who had attended elementary school (only) had gone into occupations other than farming." ⁴ The Fifth Report of the Eugenics Survey of Vermont observes: "The emigration movement is also selective in drawing away people of more than average education and vocation training. More emigrants than either residents or immigrants have received education above that provided in the elementary school and more have received vocational training in addition to their schooling." As to Ohio, Lively and Beck discover, "A half more of those children who had started for themselves with a year or more of high-school training than those with no high-school training left the farm for other occupations." ⁵

In 1911 on the basis of a fortnight's walking trip through parts of New England which had been losing population for generations, during which I talked with everybody whose opinion might have weight, I arrived at the conclusion: "The root of the trouble is not *rural degeneration* (the phrase of the day) but *folk depletion*. The continual departure of young people who might in time have become leaders results eventually in a visible moral decline of the community. . . . The knots of gaping tobacco-chewing loafers that haunt the station platform in some parts of the Middle West prove that the natural pacemakers of that locality have gone to create prosperity elsewhere."

Later I came to suspect that this skimming of the rural folk has been going on since cities began. Traveling in China, the moment our caravan entered the gate of a walled prefectural town I began to come upon refined intellectual faces such as I had not once seen in days of travel through the open country. Perhaps this pattern of cityward migration was that of Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, Hellas, the Dark Ages! If so, what a dissipation of the original eugenic capital of our race the flow to the cities must have caused!

The hemorrhage of leader material. The distinguishing trait of those who thrill most to the call of the distant city is the *spirit of initiative*. Had they never left home, they might have been among the first in the country-side to better their way of farming, test a new crop, start a

⁴ E. C. Young, "The Movement of Farm Population," *Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin*, No. 426.

⁵ C. E. Lively and P. G. Beck, "Movement of Open Country Population in Ohio" (Progress Report, *Ohio State University, Rural Sociology Mimeographs*, No. 3, January, 1928), pp. 35-36.

new industry, or push some community enterprise; so their going leaves their neighborhood poorer in natural leaders.

But *natural leaders are key persons*. Not only is it they who start good things, but they keep up to the mark the various agencies which minister to the higher life of the country community, such as the church, the school, the debating society, the grange, the rural club. Often one notes a sad slump in the religious, social, and recreative life of the neighborhood after a few families of unusual initiative have moved away. The loss of even its best tenth may cut down by one-half the support the community gives to higher interests.

Decadence of the country-side. The draining away of young people who would have become leaders results at last in a visible decline. The local roads are neglected, which means less resort to school and church and town. The school is allowed to run down, for the cruder sort have the notion that it always pays to hire the cheaper teacher! The church gets into a rut and fails to start up the organizations and activities which bind young people to it; presently it ceases to be a force, or even dies. In such backward localities, the young people give themselves up to drinking, dancing and sex because no one takes the lead in initiating athletic meets, singing schools, glee clubs, literary societies or debating clubs. If the drain continues a generation grows up that has missed the uplifting and refining influence of school and church; they are *yokels*, coarse in their tastes and careless of the higher things.

So the double pull, of city and of frontier, propagated by schools and newspapers has acted on the rural population in the older parts of the country like a cream separator. One comes upon communities which remind one of fished-out ponds populated chiefly by bullheads and suckers.

Remedies. Loss of natural leaders, then, is the root of that "problem of the country" which has been so much mooted among us since President Theodore Roosevelt called attention to it in 1904. There is no single effective remedy. All that can be done is to give the young people on the farms more social and recreative opportunities; tie up the rural school with the life on the farm; stir the rural church to get a new vision of her task; dispel the false glamor in which the distant city is seen; and show the bright country youth the best ways of gearing his superior brains and knowledge to farming.

CITY SOUL AND RURAL SOUL

Handicaps of the city-bred. Far fewer city-bred than country-bred grow up under conditions favorable to the development of a sound *psyche*. The Hiram House study of the sleep of 1,535 Cleveland children reveals that up to 11 years the children miss from one to eight hours of their normal sleep. Those of two or three years are sleeping 11 hours, whereas 16 hours is desirable. The young children have taken on the sleep habits of their elders! Diets showed that 45% have no milk, 73% no eggs, 71% no butter, and 54% no green vegetable. Not poverty altogether, but parental ignorance! Such deficiencies may have a startling aftermath. Insufficient manganese in the diet of a pregnant woman may show up in her lack of mother love. "The calcium intake," declares a psychologist, "affects the divorce rate."

Quick tempo of the city. Human nature develops according to its surroundings; and the biggest contrast in surroundings is that between open country and city. The pace of the city mind is quicker; it skates on surfaces, life being so full of impressions that there is little time for reflection. Compare the multitude of sights and sounds which hail one in the city street with the thin file met in the country lane! Compare the big headlines, color, dramatic posters, and winking lights which have to be used in order to capture attention in the city with the modest sale notice posted at the crossroads!

Urbanites relatively mercurial. City rush gives mental alertness and a quick "come-back"; also snapshot judgments and shallow thinking. You may long ply country folk with facts and ideas without evoking a response; but the impressions accumulate and after a while a fixed purpose has been built up. Once you have brought them to distrust liquor, the party machine, the demagogue, *they retain that distrust*. City dwellers, on the other hand, are sooner hot and sooner cool.

However, much of this immemorial difference between city mind and country mind is being wiped out. Telephone, hard roads, automobile and radio are linking the farmer closely with other farmers and with the city. But even if isolate psychology ceases to characterize the open country, it will remain the home of the rural mind, marked by love of the open, intimacy with Nature, sympathy with growth processes, self-directed labor, and skill in dealing with *things* rather than in dealing with *people*.

City suggests "spend." The city does not favor foresight and frugality. Among country folk one is rated according to his tokens of *pro-*

duction: his big barns, tight fences, weedless fields, and fat stock. In the city one is rated according to his tokens of *consumption*: clothes, residence, furnishings, and style of entertaining. So country life suggests "Save!" City life suggests "Spend!"

Again, one is most stimulated to thrift when one's present savings will lighten future labor. The farmer pinches now so that next year a windmill may relieve his aching arms, or the horse-fork take the strain off his shoulders. Besides, his saving is invested under his eyes and earns him much more than a paltry 6 per cent per annum. The tiles he lays through his slough may pay for themselves in three years; likewise, the new barn, the improved dairy herd, the "combine." But the typical city dweller has to rent his savings to some one else and is rewarded not in a vivid personal experience, but in an annual 5 or 6 per cent from some remote company whose directors he does not know and whose business he has never seen and would not understand!

City runs to extreme types. The rural neighborhood holds up its backward and wobbly members better than the city. It has one standard for all; come up to it or be an outcast! So each tries to behave as his neighbors expect him to behave. In the city, however, there is not one community but hundreds. If you want to scatter money, you get "in" with spendthrifts; if you want to gamble, you go with the "sports"; if you would live by crime, there is the "underworld." If, on the other hand, you have a bent for study or saintliness or poetry, you find an encouragement you would never get in the ordinary country community. In the city, then, each is more stimulated to go to the limit of the demands of his own nature.

The city tends to be cosmopolitan, whereas the country is nationalistic and patriotic. As a rule city folk do not take their cue from their ancestors, they are always glad to hear of some new thing. Peasants or farmers, however, hand down what their forebears said and did and accept them as guides. More than city denizens they identify themselves with a particular farmstead or roof-tree. Perhaps this is why the citations for bravery made in the American army in the World War seem to show "that the rural private is somewhat braver than his urban brother."⁶ As we get wiser do we not esteem more highly the rural soul? I suspect that many city-bred thinkers who at thirty rate city soul above country soul will reverse themselves before they are sixty; but I have never found minds moving in the contrary direction!

⁶ Wilson Gee, "Rural-Urban Heroism in Military Action," *Social Forces*, October, 1931.

PART II
FUNDAMENTAL PROCESSES

CHAPTER

- VI. ASSOCIATION
- VII. COMMUNICATION
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CHAPTER VI

ASSOCIATION

Human nature in isolation. Trying to imagine what one would be like who had grown up without human companionship the old romancers always portrayed a being with our faculties and reactions, though quite without culture. But a child with only animals for nurses and playmates *would not develop the distinctively human traits at all*. Observations upon humans of "wild" upbringing show them to be characterized by a vegetative type of existence, automatic reactions, unconsciousness of self, inability to learn the use of language, absence of social emotions, and indifference to human companionship. Self-consciousness, personality, and the ordinary capacity for thought and emotion develop only through association with human kind.

Early in the last century, from observing the mutual contamination of prison inmates some came to advocate solitary confinement. But how little they understood human nature! In 1821, by act of the legislature of New York, eighty convicts in the Auburn prison were put into solitary cells without labor. At the end of a year five were dead, one had killed himself, another was mad, and the rest were melancholy. In 1842, in England, Pentonville prison began to confine the prisoner in solitude for the first eighteen months of his sentence. For the next eight years the insanity rate among Pentonville prisoners was ten times as high as in other English prisons!

Victims of prolonged solitude generally become the prey of melancholia, delusions, and hallucinations. They cease to have emotions, shrink from the sight of others, perhaps return willingly to their cell as to a grateful shelter. Hermits exhibit various forms of mental disintegration. Biographies of the anchorite saints record strange noises and mysterious voices, which their times deemed supernatural but which were really sense-hallucinations in no wise different from those which visit to-day the isolated lighthouse keeper, or the lonely shepherd.

In their mad thirst for companionship the immured make pets of mice, rats, and birds, even spiders, ants, and flies. In lieu of anything better, a flower or a struggling plant may furnish support to the starv-

ing social self. Incorrigible prisoners have been softened and transformed by having small animals to pet or even a flower box to tend.

Phantasy made to compensate for lack of companionship. Not a few children have imaginary companions with names and clearly marked traits, with whom they talk, play, quarrel, and make up. Sometimes the lone child projects several imaginary playmates with distinct personalities, who have varied experiences, develop life histories, and live on with their creator into adult life. One investigator brought to light *fifty cases* of children with such companions. Akin to this is the practice of "talking to one's self" which grows up in hermits, trappers, prospectors, and other solitaires. The lonely soul finds a faint companionship in the sound of the voice just as the timid boy is heartened by hearing his own whistling!

The prisoner finds relief from his loneliness by tearing pictures out of books and newspapers and fastening them on his walls. If he has a latent artistic talent he lines his cell with drawings which almost always represent human heads or figures. If he writes he is likely to produce autobiography, the most intimate of literary forms. "Every trifle wrought in confinement, every color stain upon prison walls; every nonsense couplet; and every attempt at biography or philosophy, represents an effort of loneliness to people the waste of hours to which the physical presence of others is denied. It is an effort to multiply the spirits of one's own personality when all other avenues of intercourse are closed."

Society and solitude. The *sociable man* joins any crowd he happens upon, is glad to be one of a great congregation, a procession, a regiment, enjoys moving in step or cheering in concert with a thousand others. If he possesses a weighty secret, he is impelled to communicate it and if he curbs the impulse he falls mentally ill. What is it the sociable man craves? The mere sight of others? No, "a crowd is not company." Not the presence of others but *response* relieves the ache in the breast. That one is dear who seems to care about us. An extreme form of college hazing is the "silent treatment," feigning that the obnoxious messmate does not exist. To the friendless newcomer the great city is hardly less lonely than the far hill farm. Hosts of underlings or admirers cannot still the longing of the heart like *one* friend! The high-placed executive or commandant may live as lonely as a castaway on a coral reef.

But this craving for society, like our craving for salt, is soon cloyed; few get more satisfaction out of a hundred friends than out of a dozen. The value of companionship, like that of other necessities of life, falls rapidly as the supply increases. Denizens of the backwoods or the desert

are hospitable chiefly because there the wayfarer has a scarcity value. In the wilderness the lone prospector's delight in coming upon another human being is, one might almost say, as the square of the number of days since he saw a human countenance!

The stimulus from association. One laughs more frequently and heartily in a large group than in a small group. Children never get so "wild" as when playing with others. Experiment confirms Emerson's saying: "Concert fires people to a certain fury of performance they can rarely reach alone." Mayer measured the difference between the mental work of pupils in a group and the isolated pupil. In general, they did better *in groups*, the superiority showing itself not only in decrease of time but also in improvement of the work. Schmidt, testing children in their home work as compared with their school work, found that for most kinds of work the product in the classroom was superior. Allport found that over two-thirds of his adult subjects did more mental work co-working than alone. Sen Gupta and Sinha, taking subjects at a level of practised efficiency, found that when grouped they showed an increase in output of from 14 to 23 per cent above their performance when working apart.

Triplett tested the influence of the presence of a co-worker on a simple physical act, the turning of a reel as fast as possible. The pupil always turned faster when in company with another child! Neumann's experiments corroborated. Seven pupils of the ages of thirteen and fourteen were tested repeatedly with the dynamometer and the ergograph. In the case of the test of the pupils separately, with no one else in the room, the amount of work done was always less than when others were present.

Solidarity and suicide. Being knit to others *saves*. The suicide rate of bachelors is *half as great again* as that of married men of the same average age *without* children and three times that of married men *with* children. The rate for widowers *without* children is a third greater than for widowers *with* children. Family life thus protects because it shifts attention from one's own fate to that of one's family. A man's attitude toward his life is determined less by its worth to him than by its worth to his children.

In Switzerland the suicides in the Protestant, mixed, and Catholic cantons are respectively 326, 212 and 86 per 100,000 persons. The Jews show an even lower rate than the Catholics. Not difference in teaching as to the sinfulness of suicide explains the divergence, but the fact that the Catholics are more firmly knit into a religious community than the

Protestants, while the Jews are still more solidary. Wars and revolutions, by vivifying the sentiment of national or class solidarity, lower the suicide rate. Whatever arouses group, party, or patriotic feeling dims private troubles. Hence Durkheims's law, *Suicide varies inversely with the degree of integration of the social groups to which the individual belongs.*

Sympathy works like magic. After the San Francisco fire families who had lost all and were camping in the parks were by no means downhearted; the universal sympathy and helpfulness were meat and drink to the half-starved social self. The sudden fellowship that springs up in disaster—like the sinking of the *Titanic*—is found so sweet that the survivors form an association and meet annually in order to revive it! Just as the loveliest flowers grow nearest the toe of the glacier, so the sweetest intimacies spring up among those sharing the most terrible experiences. In war "comrade" becomes a sacred word, and the bonds uniting trenchmates and messmates often last through life. So comforting is this perfect fellowship that soldiers will joke and whistle amid horrors that would drive a solitary out of his wits.

What calls forth the *we*-feeling? *Crisis* breaches conventional barriers and gives free play to the social demands of deeply moved persons. There is *harmony of interests*. In the trenches, the exploring party, the sit-down strike, the strikers' colony, one loses that habit of eyeing the fellowman as an actual or potential competitor which grows up in a society like ours pervaded by pecuniary emulation. *Conversation* discloses differences as well as resemblances, but, on the whole, gives birth to more sympathies than antipathies. *Joint pleasures*—eating, drinking, acting, playing together, the enjoying in common of music, drama, or spectacles—are time-honored means of fostering good fellowship. Owing to its loosing of inhibitions *drinking together* has been greatly relied on for thawing egos. *Concerted rhythmic response* begets social sympathy. Cheering, singing, and stamping together are used to evoke "college spirit" and the choral singing of patriotic hymns is encouraged among soldiers to fan their *esprit de corps*. From early tribal days the dance has been used to release social emotion, and in attempting to generate a community spirit in our polyglot American cities we get people to sing in immense choruses and take part in great public dances in the streets and parks.

How the sense of inferiority conditions us. See what social status means to us! An early sense of inferiority to others may make us flee to a world of phantasy; or it may stir us to "compensate" by overcom-

ing defects or by scoring so high elsewhere that our defects are overlooked. The man who talks in a loud voice, brags and shows off may be seeking escape from a tormenting sense of inferiority. The individual most cocksure and aggressive may be "compensating" for a secret doubt of his own worth. Dignity = "something you stand on when you are short!"

One hag-ridden by the "inferiority complex" is heavy-handed in home, school, shop, or barrack room. The self-doubter constantly gets into hot water. He is quick to take offense, imagine a slight, resent criticism, grab credit he is not entitled to, or concoct plausible "alibis." On the other hand, the immense drive of Theodore Roosevelt to score high in many fields of endeavor was really over-compensation for a boyhood sense of inferiority due to bad eyes!

The tardy recognition of our sociable nature. Most of us marvel that anyone should go mad in solitude, or kill himself starved for sympathy, or that a girl should smother her infant rather than face shame. Romancers have made much of such things but the reigning theory of human nature has been too narrow to take them in. So prison reformers fancied that solitary confinement regenerates. The benevolent tolerated the almshouse with its separation of aged couples and its walling off paupers from the common life. The discovery that what the poor most need is "not alms but a friend" gave half a century ago the shock of an entirely new idea. Later came the scientific study of boys, resulting in the discovery of the "gang" and the "boys' club" as moulders of character.

Still common is the idea that religion is something altogether between man and his Maker and does not relate man to man. "Scientific management sharks" see the workman as a mere implement; devotees of "efficiency" drop every human relation and reject every claim that does not contribute to "success." There is rife, too, a grotesque caricature of Darwinism, invented to justify the ruthless practices of business, which insists that "struggle is the law of life" and you have no choice but to devour the fellowman or be eaten by him!

The struggle of personalities in association. There is a veiled struggle to expand at others' expense. One ego *eats* another. Children, whose motives lie near the surface, plainly strive to use their play-fellows for intensifying their feeling of self. Boys swagger about, talk in unnatural tones, "play big," and "show off." They do "stunts" eagerly shouting "Looky" as they stand on their heads or hang by their toes. They thrill with superiority as they stalk about on stilts or on tin cans

tied to their feet. They vie in boasting, "daring," playing the "smart Aleck," and making up tall stories of their wonderful feats or hairbreadth escapes. The bragging lies of boys usually relate to what they can do, while girls are more apt to lie about their possessions.

Young people invent "dog-Latin" and other lingo less as a vehicle for secrets than as a means of triumphing over the puzzled listener. Games of children, such as "needle's eye," "drop the handkerchief" and "Virginia reel," owe their charm to their giving each in turn an opportunity to be the chief actor. In the flushed cheeks and glowing eyes of the child that for the moment holds the center of the stage one marks the intoxication that flows from feeling the "I" glorified. The rest find their compensation in the pleasure of marching, dancing, or singing in concert.

To *shrink* or *put down* the selves of others gives much the same satisfaction as to exalt one's own self. In the teasing, badgering, and hectoring of small children, red-haired girls, cross-eyed or hare-lipped boys, peddlers, outlanders, and Chinamen, the object is not always the infliction of pain; it may be the exalting of one's self-importance by mortifying and depreciating another. The delight of "taking down" one who is throwing us into the shade is very evident. Schoolboys on the playground "take it out" on "teacher's pet," bespatter the best-dressed child, and pursue the prize pupil, chanting some incantation rhyme built about his name. Girls try to "take down" the girl all the boys are fond of and the uncouth lads join to humiliate the boy that the girls favor. Boon companions are on the watch to "get something" on one of their number. Playing tricks and "practical" jokes is a favorite means of "getting the laugh on" another, *i.e.*, shrinking him. Hazing and fagging pleasantly enliven the self-feeling of older schoolboys. The ordeals of initiation imposed by some fraternal orders give the lodge members the pleasure of making a worthy fellow-citizen a laughingstock, while the victim later salves his wounded pride in watching other initiates "ride the goat." Games like "prisoners' base," "blindman's buff," "I spy," are built on the plan of shrinking the players one at a time. The child who is "it" wins back his self-respect only by catching another, who in turn becomes "it."

Manners. Good manners refine the struggle among the "I's." The well-bred refrain from such irritants as conspicuousness in dress, loudness of speech, boasting, self-display, monopoly of the conversation, controversy, rudeness, and humiliating others. The best-mannered con-

stantly subordinate the claims of one's self to the claims of the selves of others. When all in a circle act up to this standard, association becomes delightful provided that real congeniality exists. In the best circles of our South harmonization of the demands of different egos has become a fine art. The way in which a well-bred Southerner will let the conversation take any direction you seem to wish, always playing up to your lead and suppressing his own preference, explains the "charm" of Southern society. In eighteenth-century France the higher social class developed manners of a suavity before unknown and the spread of these over the world has put many peoples in debt to the French.

The down percolation of the gracious manners wrought out in a *noblesse* is a great step in socialization. Politeness is, to be sure, a poor substitute for good will and respect for the rights of others, yet it is most valuable. Its office is not to sweeten the relation of kinsfolk, friends, or lodge brothers but to lessen the chafing among strangers, colleagues, or rivals. Wherever, as in South America, good manners have become the heritage of all, even *peons*, muleteers and deckhands, the contacts of men give rise to few quarrels and brawls. Good manners cannot, of course, prevent such hostility as arises from actual conflicts of interest. But they go far to avert tensions which have their origin in the naive assertion of the "I" in human intercourse.

Handling persons. Questing in outlandish parts for social information, the writer has arrived at the following first-interview technique for winning the good will of a Japanese official, a Chinese mandarin, a Dutch Resident in Java, a Brahmin leader, or a British Administrator in Palestine.

a. Open by alluding to some acquaintance, experience, or interest you and he have in common.

b. Let fall a remark which will apprise him that you have noted or heard of some proficiency, exploit or achievement of his in which he takes pride.

c. "Tell one" on yourself, *i.e.*, refer with chuckles to some minor blunder or *bêtise* which has recently caused you embarrassment. By thus giving him for the moment an agreeable feeling of superiority to you, you strike a spark of good will toward yourself.

d. Request of him some small favor which will cost him little trouble. Every favor he bestows emphasizes your dependence on him and deepens his interest in what you are doing.

e. Allude gratefully to the aid you have had from individuals of rank

equal or superior to him in countries you have already visited. This will make him reluctant to be outdone in helpfulness and convince him that you appreciate what one does for you.

f. Seek his elucidation of local problems already clear to you or ask his advice even as to the matters on which you have already made up your mind.

g. Never let on you doubt what he is telling you. If you let him think he has hoodwinked you in matters he doesn't wish you to see into, he will the more willingly put himself out for you in other matters.

h. Avoid showing yourself knowing and sharp; you will get more aid from him by seeming a bit naïve and trusting.

The mirrored self. The first experiences of figuring in the minds of another may be extremely upsetting. Under the stranger's gaze the bashful child blushes, makes random movements, twists his body, pulls at his clothing, puts his finger in his mouth, or bites his nails. Muscular co-ordination goes by the board, so that he drops or spills things, stumbles over trifling objects, and finds his hands and feet become alien. He may giggle, laugh nervously, stammer, or even lose voice and word memory. However, if closer acquaintance reveals a kindly attitude in others, children cease to shrink from their attention and even begin to court it.

The human looking-glass in which the infant sees its little "I" reflected furnishes it a powerful stimulus to do things. Children brought up in foundling asylums, where they receive good physical care but little loving personal attention, learn to walk and to speak much later than those whose baby efforts call forth the encouraging "ohs" and "ahs" of an admiring family. Observes Cooley: ¹

In the case of M., I noticed as early as the fourth month a "hurt" way of crying which seemed to indicate a sense of personal slight. . . . The slightest tone of reproof would produce it. On the other hand, if people took notice and laughed and encouraged, she was hilarious. At about fifteen months old, she had become "a perfect little actress," seeming to live largely in imaginations of her effect upon other people. She constantly and obviously laid traps for attention and looked abashed or wept at any signs of disapproval or indifference. . . . If she hit upon any little trick that made people laugh, she would be sure to repeat it. . . . She had quite a repertory of these small performances, which she would display to a sympathetic audience or even try upon strangers.

Adults differ greatly in sensitiveness to the mirrored self. The wise man contents himself with the approval of the discerning. The strong

¹ C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, 1902, pp. 166-67.

man covets only the handclap of his peers and will not be looking every minute to make sure that his social image has not deteriorated. Those born in the purple care little what the commonalty think of them. We perceive Haman was an upstart when we read: "But when Haman saw Mordecai in the King's gate, that he stood not up nor moved for him, he was full of indignation against Mordecai." After telling over his honors he adds: "Yet all this availeth nothing so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the King's gate."²

The "self-sufficient" is not asocial. He may be a massive deep-draft character that from past approval has gained enough momentum to go on through the slack-waters of indifference and the headwinds of blame. He may be serene when all men revile him because in his imagination he sees himself vindicated before some high tribunal of the worthies of the past or the *élite* of the future. As Ibsen put it, "The strongest man in the world is he who stands most above," *i.e.*, for corroboration he relies least on numbers or contemporaries. This is why faith in God is so bracing to the champion of an unpopular cause; imagined Divine approval enables him to hold his course even amid general execration.

In the shallow mind concern with one's reflected self shows as *vanity*. The vain man, unlike the stable sort, cannot hold steadily to a conviction of his worth, cannot fix past social approval as a durable part of his thought of himself, so his self-feeling is subject to great ups and downs. Admire him and he treads on air; but in a trice some slight or rebuff has cast him into the depths. He cannot keep up his self-confidence with the huzzas of last year or even last month; he needs his praise fresh. Hence, one who skilfully feeds the vain man his needed ration of "taffy" makes himself indispensable.

To pant for recognition is the essence of *ambition*. The ambitious youth thinks he thirsts to "do something" or to "be somebody," but his thirst would not be slaked by a success nobody noticed or acknowledged. Really what he craves is to figure potently in the minds of others. Less dependent is the *power-seeker* who slakes his thirst for self-effectuation by moulding the destinies of others. He finds his pleasure in seeing the puppets obey his will. Beyond him is the *achiever*, careless whether the public he benefits ever learns of his existence; but even *he* needs an inner circle who appreciate his achievement.

Uncurbed, the passion to fix and greatness one's social image leads to pomp, ostentation, fashion, heart burning, jealousy and fawning. The scheming social climber sacrificing old friends and risking countless

² *Book of Esther*, V: 9, 13.

snubs in the hope of ultimate recognition by people of high position is about as social as a lizard; others interest her only as looking-glasses to reflect a pleasing image of herself. In the evil trinity religion bids us renounce, "the world, the flesh, and the devil," the "world" stands for the faults that spring from undue solicitude for one's social image, *i.e.*, worldly ambition, affectation, vanity, vainglory, boastfulness, and arrogance.

Hence, "withdrawal from the world" has always found favor among some choice spirits. The woods, the sea, or the cell afford asylum from the sharp suggestions that prick the flanks of ambition. A finer remedy is to quit the game without withdrawing from that common life which is, after all, the place for most of the work that is to better the world. Exhorts Thomas à Kempis:

Son, now I will teach thee the way of peace and of true liberty. . . . Study to do another's will rather than thine own. Choose ever to have less rather than more. Seek ever the lower place and be subject to all; ever wish and pray that the will of God may be perfectly done in thee and in all. Behold such a man enters the bounds of peace and calm.

How our society gives recognition to the mirrored self. Society formally recognizes the value of one's mirrored self. Damages for libel allow for the "mental anguish" of being brought into public contempt; for breach of promise to marry take into account the mortification of the jilted. Insult not only goes a long way toward excusing violence but more and more it affords a ground of legal action. The designating of workmen by numbers instead of their names is held to be intolerable. Many old punishments—such as stocks, pillory, ducking-stool, scarlet letter—assumed social sensitiveness in the culprit. Like tar-and-feathers, whipping at the cart's tail hurt spirit more than body, and ears were cropped not so much to pain the offender as to make him a butt. Malicious prison keepers "break" the more sensitive prisoners with indignities rather than hardships, while shrewd wardens offer the removal of stripes and numbers as an inducement to good conduct.

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNICATION

Communication embraces all symbols of experience together with the means by which they are swung to others across gulfs of space or time. It takes in facial expression, attitudes and gestures, tones of the voice, speech, writing, printing, the newspaper, telegraphs, telephones, radios, railways, automobiles, airplanes, and whatever else facilitates mental contacts.

The improvements in means of communication occurring in our time constitute the greatest progress man has ever made in eliminating distance as a barrier to the meeting of minds. In a few years, perhaps, one will be able to call up on "long distance" almost anyone on the globe—John Smith of Nairobi or Knut Hansen of Reykjavik—and *see him while talking with him*.

We are the beneficiaries of two series of facilitations of human intercourse, *i.e.*, improvements in *transportation* and improvements in *communication*. The former is exemplified in the trolley, the automobile, the airplane; the latter in newspaper, telephone, motion film, and radio. The automobile carries the people to the concert; the radio carries the concert to the people.

When communication is poor. The mental insulation of islanders, bush-dwellers, jungle tribes, desert clans, hinterlanders, and backwoods-men results in dependence for companionship upon one's family or kin, suspicion of and hostility towards strangers, want of interest in distant happenings, dread of the unfamiliar, fear of change, and intolerance of difference. Like a stream at the bottom of a canyon the emotional life of this type runs narrow but deep. Into those of such a background it is well nigh impossible to build a wider civic or national consciousness unless they are "caught young." In the Middle Ages there was so little sense of nationhood that troops would sometimes fall to looting their fellow countrymen as soon as they passed beyond the borders of their own province!

Improved communication and enlargement of social consciousness. When China was first at war with Japan, the bulk of the popula-

tion of inner China did not know that a war was going on. When our Federal Government was framed no one foresaw that remote citizens might learn of occurrences at the seat of government almost as soon as they happen and arrive at opinions thereon which they promptly communicate to their representative. They imagined the debates in Congress going on far above the heads of the distant constituents, who would have but the faintest idea "of what it was all about." Political philosophers insisted that only small states could be free, for only they could dispense with a dynasty or a governing class. Now, however, "the new communication has spread like morning light over the world, awakening, enlightening, enlarging, and filling with expectation."¹

I have tarried in far-away shut-in valleys in which the principal topics of talk during the long Sunday visits of relatives are: who has become engaged, how the cattle are doing, and how the servants are behaving. For thousands of years personal and neighborhood affairs have been the staple of conversation. Choked with this weed of gossip, the channels of intercourse carried little of value from mind to mind. The secret of the seemingly unlimited elasticity of public attention, which enables it continually to note and react to a larger number of remote happenings, is its withdrawal from the horde of petty, private matters that formerly engrossed it.

A century ago, with reference to matters of deep public import the people were like a jury with one or two members paying attention, the rest asleep, musing, or gossiping. Now they are like a jury with half the members following the proceedings. As more and more this jury sits up and takes notice, it becomes a better tribunal to appeal to. Even the friends of victims of injustice as remote as the terrorized rubber gatherers of the Congo or the Putumayo deem it worth while to reach and inform the American public.

To-day the public pays heed to outcries that formerly fell on deaf ears. Thrusting aside much gossip and trashy fiction, it has made room in its mind for the dramas of social life. So many readers have found truth more enthralling than the yarns spun by story-tellers, that the newspaper, magazine, or book which readably recounts a true tale of contemporary oppression, and uncovers some sepulcher of corruption whited by pious legal phrases or sanctimonious pretext, is likely to gain both glory and pelf.

Improved communication and congenial association. When communication is difficult and slow, you accept as intimates your blood kins-

¹ C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, 1912, p. 88.

men and neighbors, because you see them often, you know them best, and they are right at hand in case you need them. Even if their ways and ideas grate upon you, you fraternize with them for there is no one else to consort with, you adapt yourself to them from dread of becoming a social outcast. But, thanks to modern communication, you may make contact with distant choice spirits who are more congenial and stimulating to you than your near relatives or next-door neighbors. So you ignore Cousin Ben or the neighbor on the Ridge in order to find your real social existence with persons with whom you communicate by letter, or telephone, or visit.

Improved communication and individuality.² Two theories compete. One is that the freer you are to go where you will, hobnob with whom you like, foregather with kindred spirits, and lay hold on such knowledge and stimuli as appeal to you, the more your native bents will work themselves out. Thus it is that children born on adjoining farms arrive finally at the most diverse social positions and become so specialized that when they meet in later life they find they have nothing to say to one another. The gifted youth, who in *Sleepy Hollow* or on Deer Creek met with no encouragement, is rapt when, on first visiting college or city, he learns there exist persons and influences that can help him develop into the kind of person he was born to be.

The other theory is that the removal of obstacles to communication sweeps away coverts of individuality, just as a prairie fire sweeps away the cover of the ground-nesting birds. Therefore most of us vibrate in one of the planes laid through society—crowd behavior, conventionality, fad, fashion and craze. In the words of John Burroughs, "Constant intercommunication, the friction of travel, of streets, of books, of newspapers, makes us all alike; we are, as it were, all pebbles upon the same shore washed by the same waves."

The singularities protected by insulation are indeed vanishing. Schools, intercourse and travel snuff out local dialects. Local peculiarities of dress, speech or culture—such as in the Middle Ages might spring up in any barony—do not spring up to-day. Shut-in communities bearing the stamp of the sixteenth century, or even the thirteenth, are no longer to be found in the Alps, the Apennines or the Pyrenees; for them you must ransack the Caucasus, the Himalayas, the Andes! Conditions are averse now to the kind of accented local individualities that grew up in the old Greek city states, in the Italian hill towns, in the commercial republics of medieval Italy, or in the trading towns of North Germany.

² See C. H. Cooley, *op. cit.*, Ch. IX.

But if one has a special taste, affinity or gift, one's prospects of nourishing it, indulging it, bringing it to the bearing point, are far brighter to-day than they were when most men led their lives within the parish in which they were born. As for the utterly commonplace, they will never in any case arrive at a true individuality. In olden times they followed the culture patterns current in their parish; now they take on the hue of their newspaper, what they see on the screen, what they hear in the tavern, at the bridge table or in the luncheon club. Theirs it is always to drift like chaff in the breeze; creating the breeze is not for them!

Decay of neighborhood in the country. The American pioneer settlement was a mutual-aid community where exchange of work, barn raisings, husking bees and neighborly nursing prevailed. Large families stowed in a four-seated farm wagon would make visits of several days with kinfolk. With the arrival of the automobile visiting covers a wider area, but the stays are shorter. Telephone, automobile and hard roads lessen intimacy among rural neighbors; who cares for propinquity when the farm family can board their car and within twenty minutes be on the doorstep of friends ten miles away? With every extension of smooth highways rural neighborhoods disintegrate, the more alert and restless members finding satisfying acquaintances in other neighborhoods and in town. If neighborhood consciousness survives it is due to centering "round a school, a church, a Grange, a neighborhood business as a cheese factory or a creamery, or to likeness of nationality, or to kinship, or to the fact that houses are clustered in a hamlet and the families know each other as do the families on a village street."³ Hence the slow growth of many small communities. During 1900-1920 about two out of five villages had little or no increase in population and many, especially those badly located, actually lost ground.

For American farmers a new social pattern is developing. Professor J. H. Kolb⁴ finds that:

Rural groups are more largely conditioned by interests, deliberate intent, skillful promotion, or purposeful action of people. Locality groups have lateral or geographic dimensions. Interest groups have perpendicular or psychocultural dimensions. Locality groups depend upon "common" life, proximity, identification with a recognized physical area. Interest groups depend upon polarity, promotion, "special" concerns, leadership, determined effort. Polarity implies fields of magnetic influence.

³ J. M. Williams, *The Expansion of Rural Life*, 1926, p. 154.

⁴ "Family Life and Rural Organization," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXIII, p. 148.

When released from locality restrictions and from patriarchal forms of family government, certain people are attracted to certain of these poles of interest.

Interest groups are taking such forms as farmers' clubs, parent-teacher associations, boys' and girls' clubs, poultry associations, home-makers' clubs, shipping associations, coöperative creameries, dramatic societies and glee clubs.

Decay of neighborhood in the city. Study⁵ made of a "traditional, middle class, residential district" of Los Angeles shows persistence of old-fashioned "neighboring," that is, calling on neighbors, kindnesses in times of distress, care of children, lending and borrowing, visits, talks, greetings, etc. Nevertheless:

Identity of interests and a concern for the conditions of the neighborhood, except as they clearly affect personal, economic and social affairs, tends to disappear. Modern methods of communication and transportation make possible a wide psycho-social and territorial range. The person's activities are not necessarily located in his home community nor are the participants in these activities, his neighbors. Locus becomes significant as a place of retirement from the varied stimuli of social activity, and neighboring tends to be redefined, as unwarranted intrusion.

The *neighborhood* has pretty well disappeared; in its place are a variety of single-interest groupings which have little or no connection with the local area. It is no longer necessary to live close to those with whom, having common interests, you share or wish to share common activities. Supplementary to the neighborhood or community is being developed a type of association which may be called the "communality," the membership of which is not confined to any local area. The Los Angeles study:

consistently points to the decreasing significance of the local area as a base for personal associations and the substitution of that of specialized interests. Individualization of activity and partial forms of association supplement and tend to replace the earlier common shared social experiences in which the whole of the personality was involved. In measure, the person is no longer subject to the control and supervision of the local community and may disregard the opinions of his neighbors because he finds the standards and approval of his behavior in different groups unrelated to the place of residence. The greater the number of associations and communalities to which the person belongs, the less chance there exists for many shared experiences by the residents of the neighborhood or community.

⁵ Bessie A. McClenahan, "The Changing Urban Neighborhood," 1930, *University of Southern California Studies*, No. 1.

CHAPTER VIII

DOMINATION

In the life of societies no feature is more sensational and persistent than *domination*. As a rule each social group brings under adjacent social groups when it dares, each element within the group rides other elements so far as it believes that it can.

TYPES OF DOMINATION

Parents over offspring. By means of positive institutions or authoritative ideas parents keep their grown children subject to their will. The *pastoral life* props patriarchal authority because (1) in quest of fresh pasture the family with its herds wanders away from fellow tribesmen, hence for safety's sake must become a compact unit under one man; (2) labor is saved by guarding and caring for the live stock of grown sons in a single herd. *Agriculture* admits parent domination. By exalting filial piety Chinese parents as a rule enjoy more authority and consideration than do parents in the West. Marriage, of course, incorporates their daughters into other families, but they look upon their sons as their old age pension. I found a Foochow teacher forty years of age, with a family, turning over his monthly salary check to his father! Hence, in China the parents of many sons are envied, while a boy baby is never drowned or sold as a girl may be.

Old over young. Among many primitive peoples the elder males maintain secret societies to which the young are admitted by stages marked by awe-inspiring ceremonies. These afford leverage for imposing numerous food taboos in the interest of the old men. In one tribe boys will be told that if they eat of forbidden food they will be struck by lightning. In another young men believe that sores will appear all over the body of him who eats the flesh of the emu. Elsewhere youths are assured that if, prior to initiation, they eat wild turkey, swans, geese, or black duck, or their eggs, their limbs will shrivel up! It is common to subject the young to a novitiate during which they turn over to the old the choicest kinds of food they find. Furthermore, the

old men monopolize the pretty girls while the only sex partner a young man can find is an old widow or a cast-off hag.

Husband over wife. Under the early maternal system of reckoning kinship the wife remained among her kinsfolk so that her offspring should belong to her clan. The husband, being an outsider, was in a weak position; unless he "made good" as provider of game for his wife's family, he might be kicked out. Wifely domination, however, has been but a rare and passing phenomenon. Wife purchase and wife capture, as well as enforced separation of the family from the wife's clan, gave the husband the upper hand, which he has kept. Generally law and custom have merged the wife's property with his, given him control of her earnings, her occupation, and her place of residence, denied her freedom of contract, made him responsible for, and therefore master of, her conduct, allowed him more sex liberty than she might claim, and given him control over the children.

Men over women. In Old Japan the woman's lot was summed up in the "three obediences," *viz.*, unmarried, to her father; married, to her husband; widowed, to her son. In China woman's lot has been shaped by male preferences without the least regard to what the women themselves think about it. The ancient sages—all men—moulded the institutions which bear on woman and it is male comment, not real public opinion, that enforces the conventionalities which crush her. By wit, will, or worth, the individual woman may slip from under the thumb of the individual man, but never is the sex free from the collective domination of the male sex. Perfectly certain of their own superiority in wisdom and virtue, men have settled what is fit and proper not only for themselves, but also for woman.

In ancient India girls chose their husbands. To-day, however, not only are girls disposed of by their parents, but they are married so young that in British India alone there are nine million wives under fifteen years, of whom a third of a million are widows! The prohibition of re-marriage, which bears with senseless cruelty upon myriads of child widows who had not even entered on sex life, reflects male egoism, which cannot endure that the female who has lost her mate should form another union. The custom, which obtained in India and China until suppressed by law, that the widow should let herself be burnt on the funeral pyre of her dead husband, sprang from the same source; likewise the seclusion of women, which prevailed through the Moselm world.

In Mexico male ascendancy shows in the custodial care of daughters; in the half-Oriental seclusion of wives; in the exaltation of the wifely

virtues of patience, self-effacement, and constancy; in the widespread custom of keeping mistresses; in the spouse's adultery giving the wronged wife no such claim to divorce as it does the wronged husband; in the exclusion of women from the professions, but not from the toilsome and ill-paid forms of labor; in the social ostracism of the self-supporting woman; and in the neglect of parents to educate their daughter as they educate their son.

Fighters over workers. In the agricultural stage a tribe tells off its best men to train themselves in arms, while the women and the weaker males provide for them. But due balance between the fighting class and the industrial class cannot be preserved, for the warriors are able to turn against the cultivators their weapons and skill. Hence, the warriors make themselves masters of society. In Old Japan the military class—nobles and *samurai*—comprising 4 or 5 per cent of the people, absolutely dominated the rest. They went always armed and the slightest offense by one of the swordless was paid for with a stroke. The peasant might even be cut down by a passing swordsman for no other purpose than to test the edge of a new blade! The elaborate politeness we observe among the Japanese descends from the not-distant time when an obsequious manner was a matter of life or death. Wherever the higher nobility traveled the common people were expected to fall upon their faces in obeisance; otherwise instant death at the hands of their retainers!

The strongest among allies over the rest. While the Greeks were resisting the Persians Athens became the head of a maritime confederation of city states. Owing to the great lead of Athens in shipbuilding and seafaring, the Athenians gradually came to provide and man the common fleet. Athens began then to dictate the money contribution of each of the allies and presently the confederation became an Athenian military empire in which the former allies became subjects, then victims of exploitation, and finally revolters. In like manner the numerous peoples with which the Romans in their expansion made alliance passed gradually into the position, first of dependents, and then of subjects. The history of the relations between Great Britain and the native states of India illustrates afresh how alliance between unequals passes almost insensibly into domination.

Conquerors over conquered. In the smiling parts of the earth wave upon wave of wild spearmen has rolled over the settled peoples—in Mesopotamia, Babylonians, Amorites, Assyrians, Arabs, Medes, Persians, Macedonians, Parthians, Mongols, Seljuks, Tartars, Turks; on the Nile, Hyksos, Nubians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Turks;

in Italy, Romans, Ostrogoths, Lombards, Franks, Germans. The great cities of the ancient world were not, like ours, marts or hives of industry, but were *the fortified seats of tribute takers*, fortresses holding in awe a subjected tribute-paying agricultural population.

The earlier empires took tribute and troops from their subjects. No ancient monarch, except, perhaps, some of the Ptolemies, aimed to benefit his subjects generally. Found, however, to "peter out" soon, rapacious domination is abandoned for a policy which heartens the subjugated by leaving them some freedom and hope. Rome had large views. She felt bound to give the conquered good administration; even under the Republic attempts were made to check abuses by provincial governors like Verres. With the setting up of the Empire administration greatly improved, the Emperor felt more responsibility for the welfare of the provinces than the sordid Senate had ever felt.

A like development occurred in the domination of the British over India. The memorable trial of Warren Hastings so fixed the attention of the intelligent British upon the administering of India as to secure for wholesome principles of rule a recognition never after forgotten. Since India came under the crown in 1858 the British *raj* has generally taken into account the *welfare*, although not until lately the *will*, of the subjects.

The masters of the state over the subjects of the state. Only in certain American commonwealths, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand and Canada is government really an instrument for promoting the general welfare. Elsewhere usually it is a means of domination either by the actual holders of office, such as rulers or bureaucracy, or by a class in the background whose creatures and servants they are. For example, although the governments of South America are republican, rarely do the needs of the common people weigh with them. The handworkers can easily be fooled as to their true interests, are not, therefore, politically important. The large proprietors use their control of government to draw to themselves the lion's share of the advantages from the social union. In tropical South America the conversion of political power to personal advantage is the shortest road to fortune. Like gold mining or rubber gathering with enslaved forest Indians, the capture of the proceeds of taxation is a splendid get-rich-quick enterprise which stirs the *conquistador* imagination.

TRENDS OF DOMINATION

The dominating element imposes its special psychology and outlook on life. Hence, whole epochs bear the stamp of the ascendancy of this, that, or the other element in society.

Masculinism. The too-easily-aroused fighting impulses of the male sex unfit it to take sole charge of society. If the policies of states obeyed the wills of *men and women* rather than of *men* only, the world would enjoy more peace. Male pugnacity views government as mere "keeper of the lists" rather than as machinery for serving certain common needs. Soldier and policeman are looked on as fittest embodiments of the state, whereas teacher, factory inspector, health officer, rural organizer, and agricultural adviser are but bastard representatives of the state's purposes!

"Business" is simply the social system of making goods and getting them to consumers; that its claims should take precedence over life and limb, over health and family, is monstrous. Yet the fighting impulse prompts men generally to look upon business as an arena in which, of course, somebody is bound to get hurt. They feel that blocking the sale of diseased meat or "doctored" canned goods is *unfair*, like depriving prize fighters of their best blows and tricks. Women, on the contrary, insist—poor fantastic creatures!—that the palming off of putridity and poison, under the guise of food, upon mothers buying nourishment for the children they have risked their lives to bring into the world is not *business* at all, but sheer *villainy*!

Male-sex bias comes out again in the *needless taking of chances*. Human reason wars continually on hazard, and all insurance rests on the rational desire to substitute certainty for risk. Yet men who have sweat for their money will gamble away their week's wage in an evening! No one, however, ever sees working women regularly risk their wages on the turn of a card. Loving security women strive to lessen risk, while men fatuously create it. Men nearly monopolize the consumption of liquor and narcotics even when well aware of the risk; women, having more self-control, shrink from self-poisoning. In the slums heavy drinking among women is a sure sign of demoralization born of despair. In old China women never took to opium smoking until conditions had become hopeless.

Clericalism. The undue ascendancy of the religious profession is "clericalism." A well-recruited clergy, keyed up by high moral and intellectual standards, renders valuable services if it so commands public

confidence as to exercise a qualified leadership in matters of faith and conduct. Always, however, the clergy should be counter-balanced by other intellectual groups lest they torment the people with those futile austerities which regularly develop in an unchecked clerical order. In seventeenth-century Spain, Scotland, and Massachusetts, in the Mexico, Peru, and Colombia of two generations ago, in the Russia of yesterday and in the Ireland and Quebec of to-day may be read the unwholesome tendencies that lurk in clerical control.

In case religion encourages self-dedication, clerical influence causes a larger number to turn away from natural "worldly" aims and give themselves to the religious life. Coupled with the growth of endowments for religious purposes, this results in cramping the economic development of the people. Three centuries ago in Spain there existed upward of nine thousand monasteries, besides nunneries!

Growth in the number and richness of sanctuaries is a sure sign of the dominance of the clerical view that such sacrifices are God-pleasing. There is also a tendency to "enrich" the religious services and to multiply sacraments, thereby exalting the importance of the priest. When, as in seventeenth-century Scotland, worship is not free to develop toward sacerdotalism, sermons become so long and so frequent as to absorb all leisure. At that time ministers would relieve one another in the pulpit, the congregation would remain sometimes for ten hours together, and in a single Edinburgh church thirty sermons were delivered every week!

Where the clergy dominate religion lays a heavy tax on time. In Mexico until recently there were, counting Sundays, one hundred and thirty-one religious holidays in the year—and more than half the people observed them all! In Greece holy days eat up nearly a third of the year, and in Tsarist Russia not over two hundred and fifty days in the year were left for work. In Abyssinia religion once claimed about half the time.

An ascendant clergy invariably presents conduct in a false perspective. The *social* virtues—sobriety, truthfulness, fair dealing, helpfulness—are thrown into the shade by the *religious* merits of devoutness, strict observance, church attendance and support. The offenses which shock theologians, such as heresy, blasphemy and scoffing, are painted so black that lying, dishonesty, and injustice look but gray. In the end you get a people austere and devout, but not truthful, loyal, and kindly.¹

¹ "It would be a great gain to this country," wrote the saintly Keble a century ago,

If they have a free hand clergymen always impose the ascetic yoke, which appeals strongly to those who have outgrown the burnt-offering stage of religion. Asia and medieval Europe bear the palm for self-inflicted bodily suffering to please God, but the ascetic poison took little hold of their laity. For an instance of a whole people blighted by mis-conceived religion one must look to the Scotch of the seventeenth century.

Every profession strives to exalt itself. In the absence of lawyers, scholars, and other educated groups to puncture their overweening pretensions, ministers will insist that they are ambassadors of God, that their commands from the pulpit are binding, that sudden mysterious calamities will fall upon scoffers, that Providence continually sets aside the laws of Nature on their behalf, that prodigies and portents attend the death of the man of God. They teach that it is dangerous to speak disrespectfully of a clergyman, to fail to salute him in passing, to cross him, or to sue him at law. The lives of eminent preachers written by their professional brethren abound in edifying stories designed to cause clergymen to be regarded with fear and awe.

Since the sacerdotal order rules by ideas, they try to control the whole intellectual life of society in order to uphold their influence. In order that the people's religion might remain "pure," the Spanish clergy brought about the crushing of the Protestants and the expulsion of the Moors, while the Massachusetts theocracy persecuted Antinomians, Baptists, and Quakers. If they dare go so far, the clergy censor the reading of their flock, curb the press, bar out "disturbing" foreign books, and maintain a regular "index" of condemned writings. Moreover, they are jealous of any education not under their own control. Intent on keeping their people subject to themselves, they never push popular education and put every obstacle in the way of its being provided by the state. When they create schools of their own to compete with the public schools, the religious part of the curriculum quite overshadows the secular. While friendly to that higher learning which they can control and use, their suspicious fear of the increase of natural knowledge prompts them to strangle free inquiry and the liberty of teaching.

In short, of all despotisms that of the priest is the least ruthless but the most hopeless. No one can withstand what he sees fit to proclaim as God's will. Out of their mundane experience or common sense his flock can draw nothing to oppose to his obscurantism or fanaticism.

Militarism. The ascendancy of the military profession over society

"were it vastly more superstitious, more bigoted, more gloomy, more fierce in its religion, than at present it shows itself to be." What a goal!

gives rise to *militarism*. Such ascendancy is likely to occur when army and navy officers are drawn chiefly from a hereditary upper order, so that their *professional* prestige is reinforced by *class* prestige. This affinity between the nobility and the army may be an inheritance from feudalism, or it may be the result of deliberately pampering and privileging the officer caste in order to draw into it those able to contribute most to its spirit and prestige.

When the fighting caste gives the key, the pursuits of the soldiers are esteemed nobler than those of the civilian. He is regarded, not as a killer, but as a hero ready to shed his blood for king and country. Proficiency in war is deemed the be-all and end-all of national organization and effort. All sound men are looked upon as potential soldiers; all sound women, as potential mothers of soldiers; national resources and productive power, as possible sinews of war. The health of the masses is conserved solely in order to preserve their military fitness. The idea rules that the people exist, not to live their lives but to win wars. A little folk with no such cheering hope is despised. Army and fleet are not watchdogs to protect the people in their peaceful pursuits, but the means of imposing the national will on lower races, of "organizing" backward peoples, or of fulfilling "cultural missions" to unwilling neighbors.

War is deemed, not a horror, but "a biological necessity." Peace *within* the nation is priceless, but *between* nations it is, in von Moltke's view, "a dream and not even a beautiful dream." International violence is identified with the evolutionary "struggle for existence," and the losers of a war are branded as "the unfit." During peace militarists demand ever heavier armament and longer training, heedless of the fact that other militarists will persuade *their* peoples to do the same, so that the relative position of the rivals remains unchanged. Each casts more of its treasure upon the altar of the War god, yet is no whit safer!

In militarist philosophy the state is not for individuals, but individuals are for the state. The aims of the state are not the happiness of its citizens nor the advancement of mankind, but mystic goals, vaguely related to civilization, the super-race, destiny, or God. National self-conceit is sedulously fostered by a pseudo-ethnology, a falsified history, and a systematic blackening of the character of rival peoples.

Militarism strangles liberalism and feeds imperialism. It loves dynasties and scorns democracy. The military chafe under civil authority, while they sneer at parliamentary debate as "mere talk." Militarism calls for war-time censorship of newspapers, suppression of public meetings, control of university professors and religious teachers, and the

suppression of writers and speakers who criticize the war policy or take "the enemy point of view."

Commercialism. When traders, industrialists, capitalists, and bankers wield the baton, *commercialism* reigns. The extraordinary infatuation of Americans with business men is chiefly due to incessant newspaper laudation and glorification of this element, which places most of the advertising. Furthermore, among us the commercial spirit is held in check neither by aristocratic traditions, nor by strongly organized liberal professions. Since the small business men take their cue from the great merchants, financiers, and heads of big enterprises, in an era of commercialism these, their spokesmen, become the file-leaders, tone-givers and pace-setters of society.

The tone they give reflects, of course, their characteristic habits of thought so far as these have not been qualified by non-business influences. One who is a business man and nothing else slips easily into the fallacy of ignoring non-economic goods and of rating well-being by dollar income. What he desiderates is *prosperity* rather than *welfare*. The only wealth that is real to him is bankable wealth. Values that are not pecuniary, such as *public health, race vigor, natural beauty, scientific progress, moral tone, and ideals of life*, he will sacrifice when they interfere with national or personal gain. His ideal is steady wages, big salaries, and fat dividends; whatever stands in the way of maximizing these "hurts business" and is anathema. He cannot see that there are business profits which cost some of us ten times their worth in salubrity, or quiet, or peace of mind. Such a man is tolerant of poisonous smelter fumes, factory smoke, grade crossings and noisy advertising, because he can realize the profits they symbolize, but not the harm which they do.

So long as this type bewitches the public, "success" means "business success"—that is, making money. A candidate's trump card is the promise of a "business" administration. The highest compliment for a philanthropic, religious, or educational scheme is to pronounce it "business-like"; whereas a man is insulted if you call his business "philanthropic," or "religious," or "educational"! A school board must be a "business" board, scholars should be picked and officered by a business man as university president, and the ultimate control of churches, colleges, and charities is left to the "solid men of business" whose money makes these possible.

A business man's success in his undertakings may be roughly gauged by the money he has been able to make under the accepted codes, but the success of the divine, jurist, officer, statesman, scholar, thinker, artist,

or poet is not properly measured by his gains. Nevertheless, under commercialism the money yardstick will be naïvely applied to each and every kind of achievement, with the result that alongside successful business men the head men in every line of intellectual or idealistic endeavor will look like dwarfs. As the public comes to feel this, cupidity will be sharpened and corruption will invade every type of structure in society.

The idea that you should not disturb persons making money, as you would not disturb a laying hen on her nest, causes the public good to be sacrificed out of a superstitious reverence for business. Nature's stores of wealth are not conserved for posterity, lest opportunities for immediate profit be curtailed. The nation allows itself to become in spots "a polyglot boarding house," because mill-owners, mine operators, contractors, and railroad companies insist on an unlimited flow of cheap alien labor. Property is put above human life, for lawmakers stay their hand when business men predict ruin if they are required to make their work places safe and sanitary!

Government is looked upon, not as guardian of every great public interest, but as bulwark of property rights and maintainer of conditions favorable to making money. Its master-aim is business prosperity, on the theory "Make employers content and they will make the people content." Such government services as public health, conservation, education, recreation, and relief are starved in order to keep taxes low or to subsidize private enterprises for profit; or else the prisons are run to make money for prison contractors, the parks, to enrich transport companies, the schools, to provide employers with cheap youth skilled at the public expense, the public-utilities commission, to make a market for issues of corporate securities.

Things plainly anti-social, such as the liquor traffic, race-track gambling, and commercialized prostitution, are spared on the ground that they are "businesses." Then, too, the open vice shop "brings people to town." A movement to clean up a rotten city government is deprecated as "hurting business." Chicane is all right if it is merely "the tricks of the trade." A crime committed without malice and merely "in the way of business" is condoned. The people are taught that speculation is not gambling, that tax dodging is not larceny, that railroad rebating is not treachery, that free transportation passes are not bribery, that deleterious adulteration is not murder. The large-scale malefactor of high finance goes unpunished because he is a "Napoleon," a "superman," "asserting the higher law which great enterprises have the right to command."

Since no people that is intelligent and free can long endure the un-

qualified ascendancy of business men, their influence needs to be balanced by that of other groups—educators, social workers, economists, geologists, physicians, etc. Furthermore, in some parts of the world—Scandinavia, *e.g.*, the spokesmen for business are not the cock-sure, arrogant, browbeating type the American public has been putting up with, but a type chastened, reasonable, and tolerant.

Leisure class ascendancy. As corrective of unwholesome social tendencies the influence of those who do not have to work for a living may be most salutary. They may temper male ascendancy by diffusing that idealization of woman which grew up with medieval chivalry and gave birth to “lady” worship. Their love of pleasure may counteract the morbid asceticism and “other-worldliness” which sometimes radiates from the clergy. Taking the enjoyer’s point of view rather than the trader’s, this class may check commercialism by insisting on valuing a thing or an activity by what it can add to life and not *by what it will fetch*.

But the leisure class should not have the last word on *anything*. Exempt from labor, it meets all who would enter its charmed circle with the challenge, *Do you work for a living?* Out among the plain people, who, like Atlas, support the world on their shoulders, runs like devil grass the fantastic idea that work is disgraceful, until millions who have nothing to look forward to but the common lot are set at odds with their bread and butter! Not only do aspiring workers come to hate their work, but, to avoid it, the shrewd crowd into shady occupations and invent numberless ways of “living by one’s wits.” At the threshold of the leisure class forms a corrupt half-world of procurers, onhangers, gamblers, touts, charlatans, swindlers, bravos, “gentlemen of fortune,” and other higher parasites, which, like an abscess, continually pours out moral infection. This is the chief cause of the moral rottenness which always characterizes the later stages of an aristocratic society.

The leisured keep numerous servants, ostensibly to render their masters personal service but really to “perform vicarious leisure.” So there grows up among them a sense of the shameful of waiting on yourself, which spreads and prompts people who can ill afford it to pay some menial to do for them things they could easily do for themselves. It is felt demeaning to clean your clothes, black your boots, carry your luggage, roll your baby carriage, answer your doorbell, wait on your table, or wash your car. In order to hire these things done for them the middle class scrim on necessities and have few children, while living is made dearer for all because too many workers quit production to render these superfluous services.

The prestige of this class rests on *conspicuous consumption* as well as on *conspicuous leisure*. At the social summit, to be sure, are some so sure of their place that they are free to lead a "simple" life, but in general the leisured develop a prodigal manner of life, which most of the useful people accept as the *only* proper way of living. They feel that nothing adorns like precious stones; nothing is beautiful unless of costly materials; no raiment is fine but silk and broadcloth. There is nothing for furniture like rosewood and mahogany; for the palate, like champagne and truffles; for pleasure, like a theater party or a meet with the hounds. There is no society but the joint enjoyment of the expensive, no marriage save a church wedding, no rest save at a watering-place hotel. Thus foppish standards, begotten of spenders' rivalry, spread through society and corrupt homebred notions of what is fit or worth while. People come to scorn the joys at their elbow and pine for luxuries out of their reach. Ungratified worldliness gnaws at the heart of multitudes, while greed is whetted till even decent persons are impelled to resort to monopoly, extortion, chicane, and acquisitive crime.

When the new-rich force their way into high society with a torrent of expenditure no social barriers can withstand, the effect on public morals is yet more disastrous. The spectacle of their baronial estates, princely houses, liveried lackeys, and Sybaritic luxury contaminates even hard-headed persons with wealth worship. People fall apart into as many exclusive social groups as there are styles of living and forget how to meet the fellowman on the level. You are snob to those below and toady to those above you, so that the higher are cankered with pride, the lower with envy. If the workers accept these false values they cease to respect themselves and will in the end let themselves be governed by the wealthy.

MEANS OF DOMINATION

The means of maintaining ascendancy range from sheer coercion to something like partnership.

Physical force. Assyrians, Huns, Goths, Tartars, Mongols, Moguls, Manchus, Mahdists, and Turks have ruled by the naked sword. Even now in certain states of tropical America government is propped by guns.

Political inequalities originating in the exercise of force. Under the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns the cards were skilfully stacked against the dominated peoples and classes. By property qualifications for the suffrage, by unequal representation of tax-paying classes, by political privileges accorded to dominant races or nationalities and prop-

ertied classes, by political discrimination against subject races, nationalities or toilers, governments were constituted which would respond to the will of dominant elements rather than to that of the majority.

Corruption. For cash or other immediate benefit ignorant voters will often turn over their votes to the political agents of the very elements which oppress and exploit them. At times in some of our commonwealths a party representing only selfish interests has been able to keep itself in power by the aid of votes purchased with money or favors. The naturalized foreign-born have been very susceptible to timely attentions and kindnesses shown them during their early difficult years in this country; hence, social work on a large scale originated in New York with Tammany Hall and kindred political organizations.

Towards the close of the last century there grew up in several American commonwealths state party bosses who secured large contributions to party funds from big businesses on the secret understanding that such contributors should enjoy special consideration when the party was in power. No one was nominated for office, or in any case aided with money in his campaign, who spurned the "advice" of the party boss in such matters. By "direct" nomination of party candidates, by legal limitation of campaign expenditures, and by enforced publicity of party receipts and outlay, the system of "invisible government" was much shattered 1910-14.

In Great Britain the king has always been "the fount of honor" and nowadays the titles and honors bestowed in the King's name and on the King's birthday are determined by the Government. At times the granting of titles to commonplace industrial or financial magnates who have made heavy contributions to the funds of the party in power is tantamount to outright purchase of the means of political domination.

Patronage. The Dutch in the East Indies dominate the natives partly by recognizing and patronizing the native sultan. Thus the Sultan of Djoka in Java retains his trappings and pomp while the Dutch collect the taxes in his name and he appoints the natives they want to do his justice. The Dutch enjoy a free hand while his people enjoy the illusion of being governed by their own Sultan. You see many autograph letters and presents the Sultan has received from Queen Wilhelmina of Holland with whom he corresponds as an equal. For such attentions he sells out his people to the foreigners, and becomes a puppet of the European resident adviser.

The political use of spiritual power. Under the old regime in Russia, the Tsar through the *Oberprocuror* of the Holy Synod held the

Church captive and by means of twenty thousand village priests was able to disseminate among his credulous subjects any lie which suited his purpose as, *e.g.*, that the massacre of 1,500 on "Red Sunday" in 1905 was caused by English and Japanese spies who incited the Petrograd workmen to march upon the palace simply in order to have them killed.

It is scarcely necessary to recall how characteristic has been alliance between throne and altar during the struggle of the European peoples again absolutism. Centralized churches have preached the Divine Right of kings, urged unquestioning obedience to constituted authorities as God's will, and opened their bosoms to the greatest dynastic tyrants and mass murderers while hurling their heaviest thunders upon those heroic self-sacrificing lovers of their fellowmen who contributed most to bring in the new day.

Cherished ignorance. The spread of secular knowledge unsettles dominion in so far as it rests on ideas. The Romanoffs looked upon the brutish ignorance of their subjects as the brightest jewel of their crown. They made difficulties for the local councils (*zemstvos*) in planting schools among the common people, no new school could be opened without express authorization. High school and university were subject to high-handed interferences in order that their product might be uniformly "reliable."

In Java the Dutch gladly provide higher schools for training bright native lads to serve them in administering the country, but give very little encouragement to popular education. The government provides no elementary schools for the natives, so that tuition costs \$25-\$30 a year per pupil, in high schools \$75-\$125. Small wonder that less than a tenth of the children learn even to read. Three thousand Javanese of high school education or above, a third of all educated Javanese, were deported without trial 1926-28 and dumped down in the New Guinea jungle solely because they agitated for more educational and civil opportunities for their people. The Dutch assured me that they were Communists in the pay of Moscow!

In South America the ruling proprietary class wishes darkness to reign in the minds of the toiling masses. The *hacendados* fear lest schooling make the son of the agricultural laborer, the *peon* or *inquilino*, grow up demanding, or restless and migrant. They would have him stay on in his father's mud hut, content with the old hard life and deaf to the call of opportunity elsewhere. As one put it to me: "We don't want the children of our *inquilinos* disturbed in their minds."

RESISTANCE TO DOMINATION

Often the chief prop of domination is the belief of the dominated in the legitimacy of the existing relations. These relations, bedded in custom and gilded with master prestige, can best be challenged by *outsiders*, especially individuals from the dominating element, since their judgment in such a matter has weight. Hence, the leadership of the intellectuals in all successful proletarian movements, the rôle of "renegades" from the nobility in spreading socialistic agitation among Russia's peasants and workers. Of course, the material conditions must be ripe and belief in the legitimacy of domination must already have lost some of its magical binding power. But generally it is radical members of the class in the saddle who first spread doubt as to the propriety and necessity of being ridden.

Among the dominated the first to respond to subversive ideas are by no means those who have the most to complain of. The front fighters for the emancipation of women did not come out of the kitchen but out of the study or the drawing room. The first stirrings of the European labor movement occurred not where the masses were under the severest pressure, but where liberal ideas were ripe; for "it is not poverty which makes the poor man into a proletarian but *his philosophizing about it.*" The first battalions of workers to go into action against capitalist domination were not from the least-paid and worst-treated sections of the wage-earning class. In 1848 the French economist Blanqui traveling through the French centers of industry on Government commission was struck by the fact that always the most turbulent of the workers were the better paid ones. The earliest modern labor movement in England, that of the Chartists, came from the brightest and best paid stratum of labor.

To develop its utmost fighting power the dominated element must be unified and inspired and for this there is nothing better than the belief that its glorious destiny is to throw open the gates to an entirely new world, to conquer for all a juster, and happier future. Such a Messianic vision gave *élan* to the socialist movement which hoped to break in pieces the old social order to build on the ruins a new one "without boundaries of nationalities, classes or sex." It kindled ardor in the movement for the emancipation of women, which dreamed that sex equality alone would end the injustice, brutality, war and oppression of our man-made world. It lent wings to the Youth Movement which aspired to re-

place the rotten régime of the graybeards with something honest, simple and true.

THE OUTLOOK FOR DOMINATION

There are thousands of American communities in which, under the prompting of Big Business, the commercial element has climbed into the saddle. In "Middletown," that industrial Mid-West city of 40-50,000, studied in 1925 and again in 1935:

Tolerance in religious matters has increased markedly in recent decades.

Economic tolerance—*e.g.*, toward deviant economic theories, labor organizations, and so on—has diminished.

The press has assumed an outwardly more urbane and tolerant air at the same time that the sources of news and the editing of the news have come more markedly under the influence of the single, peremptory point of view represented by its business world.

Educational tolerance . . . is increasingly likely to be curtailed by the growing awareness by the city leaders that they must control the things taught to the young.

. . . tolerance has apparently decreased in regard to national politics. Here again appears the enhanced recognition of the stake of business in national politics.²

. . . the old active tolerance bred of mutual respect and zest for adventure in a brave new world yet to conquer has given way to a defensive tolerance which allows dissent only where it must or where the thing tolerated is of no consequence.³

Forums of free discussion like the Ethical Society of the 1890's, where men freely debated such topics as atheism, find no place in respectable business circles today.

Some of Middletown's most ruggedly independent thinkers in 1890 were the local doctors, judges, and lawyers. These men less often speak their minds; they have become to a greater extent intellectually colorless, and are sticking to their last making money.⁴

. . . Middletown seems recently to have been building its fences higher. The city is more antagonistic to outside groups; individuals in the city are more wary of each other.

New industries come to Middletown for the big profits to be made out of the low wages, long hours, and extraordinary submissiveness of local labor. Very skilfully the workers are kept thinking that the bless-

² *Middletown in Transition*, by Robert S. Lynd, and Helen M. Lynd, 1937, p. 426.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 427, footnote.

ings of life flow from the men of wealth and the employers. In the "open shop" they believe as devoutly as the Chamber of Commerce itself. This state of mind is a "gold mine" to the local business men and they will go any length to prevent its being disturbed by either residents or "outside agitators."⁵

Nevertheless, domination *within* society is likely to wane. On comparing our time with the early eighteenth century, it is evident that a host of arbitrary discriminations—racial, religious, occupational, and class—have been wiped out. Dominations that proudly flaunted themselves are gone, or else survive only under cover. In place of the arrogant ruling classes are knots of sly wire-pullers! The chief yoke-breaker seems to have been *publicity*—not so much because it inflames the oppressed to revolt as because *it stirs neutral bystanders to interfere*. When the odious side of a domination is exposed multitudes of outsiders are disgusted and look eagerly for an opening to "sock" it. Just as the normal jury delights in giving the proven wife-beater "the limit," the public enjoys unhorsing those shown to be riding their fellowmen.

In short, publicity does in society what sunshine does in the physical world—it sanitates!

Nothing, it seems, can hinder our world from coming to be a vast auditorium. What the big gyved newspapers hold back the little "irresponsible" newspapers will let out. What the newspapers conspire to smother the broadcasters will "spill." What both newspapers and radio blanket the platform speakers and authors will divulge. As public high schools and universities multiply, more citizens will have had their youthful eyes opened by virile instruction in anthropology, history, government, economics, and sociology. Then, as the working week shrinks, myriads get their first look at what is going on "back of the scenery." Even if but a tithe of the new leisure is used for self-improvement, there will be millions of fresh recruits to the multitude of outraged bystanders eager to smite some noisome domination.

⁵ Observes H. D. Lasswell in *Politics*, 1937, p. 37:

The bias against government is strikingly indicated by the absence of a cartoon stereotype for the public as a recipient of benefits from public expenditures. The emphasis is all on the "Taxpayer." Often arrayed in a dark suit with a white collar, four-in-hand tie, sometimes with a white vest, often with light trousers, the taxpayer is one of those pathetic souls who always get it in the neck.

The frail little fellow has thinning hair, a long nose, a slight mustache, and glasses.

The "Taxpayer," unlike the "Public," is always being acted upon.

CHAPTER IX

EXPLOITATION

All about us we see one making use of another, the wife becoming a barren parasite, the husband loafing on his wife's earnings, the grown son hanging around home, one brother or sister "working" the others, friend exploiting friend, and so on. The thing is common and its key is simple. *In any sentimental relation the one who cares less can exploit the one who cares more.*

Institutionalized exploitation. Whenever the law observes a fine chance to exploit, it tries to provide safeguards. It scrutinizes suspiciously gifts from ward to guardian, looks into the circumstances surrounding the willing of property to those about the death bed, limits freedom of contract so that infatuates may not mortgage their entire future for another. Still, for all its good will, the law cannot prevent many exploitations arising between individuals from differences in the strength of their situation, their character, or their mutual love. However, the exploitation most in need of attention is not that which contravenes the law but that which, from being established in law or by the state, has become an *institution*. It may be defined as *any regular profiting of one element in society at the expense of other elements which would be abolished if the elements came to be equal in power*. Here is the key to the stubborn craving to dominate. For one dominates in order *to use others as means to one's own ends*; hence, power-holders resist all efforts to throw off their yoke lest the exploitation made possible by it come to an end.

Kinds of exploitation. There is *sex* exploitation. For ages "booty and beauty" have been the spurs pricking the young bucks of the tribe to foray. There is *egotic* exploitation. The Roman master exacted of his hangers-on (*clientes*) that they should attend him when he showed himself in public and thereby exalt his dignity. The feudal monarch exacted *homage* of his fief-holders. Louis XIV of France, the "Sun King," expected his loyal courtiers to gather at the Ox-Eye window of his palace to observe his going to bed and his getting up!

However, the one overshadowing species is *economic*, i.e., *making others work for you or taking for your use the fruits of their unrequited*

toil. Before the advent of mechanical power, if a man could not make others grind, tote and dig for him, he had to put his own back into it. The modern sentiment against forced labor owes much to our success in making the forces of Nature serve us.

WHO EXPLOITS WHOM?

Women by men. In most primitive societies all the work devolves upon the women. It is they who dress the skins, pitch the tent, make the garments, prepare the food, fabricate pottery, baskets, and mats. The Indian never touches the game he has brought in after he has dropped it at the tent door. The Eskimo man will not even draw the seal from the water after he has speared it. *Exploit* goes to man, mere *drudgery* goes to woman. As game becomes scarcer and, more and more, the food comes from the patches of corn or yams or manioc cultivated by the women, the men become parasites upon their wives.

Among the Hakkas of southern China as among the Dyaks of Borneo the idleness of the men arises from the power of tradition over the division of labor between the sexes. Formerly the men hunted and fought, but now that hunting and fighting are gone inherited ideas as to what is "woman's work" keep the men from "buckling to."

Among our Appalachian mountaineers, as a relic from pioneer days when the men were abroad hunting much of the time, the woman carries the water from the spring, chops the wood, milks the cows and tends garden. Although the game failed long ago, the men will not turn hand to such things; they are "women's work."

The exploitation of women *by their own men folk* is dying rapidly owing to spread of the romantic-love pattern, rise of the plane of popular intelligence, equal schooling of boys and girls, powerful watchful women's organizations, enfranchisement of women, *mores* and laws more friendly to females, and resort to birth control.

Poor by rich. Wealth may be the means of establishing an exploitative control over other men. Wealth, *i.e.*, *economic power*, may be converted into other kinds of power, political, legal, social, ecclesiastical, religious, etc.; but these in turn can be converted into wealth. Rich men may use their money to get into politics but, once there, they may use their political power to gain more money. They may use their money to acquire for themselves more legal rights and then use their legal rights to gain more money. They may use their money to win a control over

needy men and use this control to gain more money. Thus the formula for the exploitative utilization of riches is Wealth—Power—More Wealth.

By bribery the wealthy shift the main burden of taxation upon those too poor to bribe. Some years ago American multimillionaires residing in New York City were paying taxes on from a twentieth up to a tenth of what their fortunes proved to be when probated. The attorney most conspicuous in the formation of "trusts" in industry admitted that by means of a present he induced the assessment official to let him write in the figures on which the numerous combinations he represented paid taxes!

The numerous owners of anthracite coal lands in eastern Pennsylvania were forced to sell to the big coal companies because the latter by controlling the coal-carrying railroads were able to levy upon their competitors exorbitant charges for carriage. In the end the little holders had to let their coal lands go for a pitiful price. A like control over the carriers enabled the dominant petroleum concern to acquire our Eastern oil lands at a fraction of their value. Often in the American West the big rancher used his numerous armed cowboys to ruin the "homesteader" and chase away the small cattleman in order that he might himself grow rich on grazing stolen from the public lands.

Debt slavery permits the rich to take advantage of the distress of the poor by loan contracts which sink the borrower and his descendants into perpetual bondage in case the loan is not repaid at the appointed time. In tropical America the institution of *peonage* enables the planter to bind the agricultural laborer to his *hacienda* by means of a small advance of cash or goods.

Some years ago investigation by the United States Immigration Commission disclosed the fact that immigrant peonage existed in every state in the Union save Oklahoma and Connecticut. Although in the South and West many aliens were being held to labor against their will under intolerable conditions, it was in the lumber camps of Maine that the commission found "the most complete system of peonage in the country."

To suppose with the anarchists that the *State* is the one great engine of exploitation is nonsense. Often government is the sole check upon the power of the rich to hire bravos to work their will upon small neighboring proprietors whose lands they covet. When public authority abdicates, the poor or friendless man has to submit himself to him who has armed kinsmen or retainers at his beck. The Senate Committee on Civil

Liberties' investigation of 1937 disclosed an astounding number of spies and bullies (strike-breakers) retained by industrialists to intimidate their labor.

How government may affect the use of capital to exploit others is illustrated in the policy of the Soviet Government respecting the farm tractors, combines, etc., it was turning out. Had it sold or leased them to the better-off peasants (*kulaks*), the middle and poorer peasants would have had to pay an exorbitant price to get their land tilled. Instead the Government set up 3,000 tractor stations over agricultural Russia and all peasants have the use of them on the same terms.

The ignorant by the intelligent. Relations freely entered into between two intelligent persons will presumably benefit both; but if one is ignorant the same relation may lead to his exploitation by the other. The European trader goes to the uncivilized native of the tropics and induces him to part with everything he has for spirits or opium, or tempts him with goods on credit. The trader offers gay cloth, knives, gongs, guns and gunpowder to be paid for by some natural product of the jungle or some crop not yet planted. The native has not sufficient forethought to take only goods he can pay for and not enough energy to work early and late to get out of debt; he sinks deeper and deeper into the morass and remains for years or for life a debtor.

The mining companies in Peru recruit most of their underground labor through agents who go about and "hook" the guileless native. The "hooker" turns up in a village some weeks before the annual *fiesta* in honor of its patron saint. On such an occasion the Indian is wont to "blow" himself because his entire emotional, recreative, and social life centers about this *fiesta*. What with presents of vestments or jewels to the effigy of the saint, fees to the priest for masses, and a feast for his numerous relatives and friends, he is in a mood to embark on reckless spending. Comes now the wheedling "hooker" and offers him from \$30 to \$50 cash, provided only the Indian will sign a bond to repay the debt by labor. Often the Indian signs the contract when drunk and usually he fails to realize where he is to work and how. He thinks he is to work for the "hooker," whereas he may be sent a hundred miles away to toil in a freezing mine gallery or a hot cane field. Buried far from home in a coastal sugar *hacienda* or a *montaña* coffee estate, the poor fellow finds himself a slave without a shred of legal protection and quite at the mercy of his employer.¹

¹ E. A. Ross, *South of Panama*, 1915, p. 153.

Or consider the rural laborers:

These non-contracted *yanacônes*, in return for a small patch for hut and garden, usually the rockiest soil, must tend the herds and cultivate the hacienda fields at least three days a week without remuneration. The *yanacôn*, the peon, as in Díaz' day in Mexico, is held by father-to-son debt; he cannot leave. The customary phrase of these serfs is, "I belong to So-and-So."²

Anyone disposed to pooh-pooh exploitation should consider this case:

In hot Catacaos, inland from Piura, the Indians, who do not derive enough food for survival from their sun-up sun-down labor on the plantations, are obliged to weave Panama hats—the finest, most flexible grade made—at night in their huts by feeble candlelight. As a result of this painstaking eye-straining work under unfavorable conditions, an excessively large proportion of the population is blind. They receive only two soles—about fifty cents—for a dozen hats, costing weeks of labor, and which are resold at from five to ten dollars and up.³

The persecution of the Jews in Tsarist Russia was prompted far less by religious bigotry than by peasant resentment of their exploitation by Jewish shopkeepers, money-lenders, grain buyers and liquor sellers. In the same way the Turkish peasants learned to hate their Armenian and Greek neighbors by experience of their inability to hold their own in dealings with these wily elements.

The unorganized by the organized. The unparalleled looting of many large American cities in the years before the great civic awakening which began about 1905, exemplifies the leverage afforded by organization. The "grafters" were not numerous but they paid no attention to party lines or to the line between public business and private business. With the saloon keepers, gamblers, and keepers of houses of prostitution, the gas, electric lighting, water, tramway, and railway companies, together with certain favored contractors, bankers, and business men, the politicians formed a "ring" buttressed by the votes of blind partisans, selfish job holders, naïve naturalized immigrants, and venal "floaters," reinforced by electoral frauds. The robbed taxpayers were far more numerous, but they were for the most part unaware of how they were exploited, or else divided on lines of party, nationality, occupation, or social class. Years of exposure and agitation were necessary to arouse the citizens to the point of banding together against the *plunderbund*;

² Carleton Beals, *America South*, 1938, p. 253.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

but once they rose the ringsters were swept away like chaff before a gale.

The laity by the priests. Among the rural people of India there is no domestic incident which does not entail its tax of offerings or food for the Brahman. Nothing happens without the Brahman being "feed and fed." To sustain the spiritual life of the people is not their concern. As Brahmans, their business is to eat, not to teach.

In Roumania the superstitious peasants believe that if a man dies without a lighted candle in his hand he will not reach Heaven. But since many persons *do* die without the lighted candle in hand, the country priest charges the dead man's family eighty francs to get him into Heaven and a certain annual sum to keep him there.

In South America⁴ the Indians of the Sierra are still exploited by their *curas* by means of practices which the church outlawed as long ago as the Council of Trent (1563). They collect their baptismal, marriage, and burial fees *in advance* and these fees are not fixed but are assessed according to the means of the family. Thus they contrive to absorb the entire surplus of the natives, so that a grossly ignorant half-breed *cura* may extract from the poor herdmen of the Bolivian highlands an income which would do credit to one of our metropolitan pulpits!

For heartless exploitation of the weak the conduct of the *conquistadores* toward the natives of Spanish America remains unmatched. For two centuries probably no Spaniard came nearer to manual labor than superintending from his saddle the movements of native workmen. Some thousands of Indians would be granted to a Spaniard on the theory that he was to provide them instruction in the "things of our holy Catholic faith." As a just recompense to him for thus saving their souls, they were to serve him with their bodies.⁵ Under this pious cloak the invaders seated themselves firmly on the backs of the natives, and remained there while their serfs washed gold for them or tended herds or grew food. Besides sending great quantities of produce to their masters who lived in the cities the villagers had to send one-seventh of their number to serve the masters directly, while the state took another quota to work in the silver mines. In the latter case the loss of life among those sud-

⁴ E. A. Ross, *South of Panama*, 1915, pp. 321, 322.

⁵ Wrote Pizarro, Peru's conqueror, to a boyhood friend in Spain:

The two pigs, the burro shared the one room in which lived you, your parents, your eleven brothers and sisters the last time I visited you. The cock crowed from the footboard of your parents' bed. Come to Peru. I will make you Lord of a palace of a hundred rooms. Five hundred slaves will be yours, an estate of ten thousand acres. Would you believe it, nearby is a spring that runs, not water, but wine? When we shoot the wild duck, it drops already stuffed, roasted hot, ready for hungry stomachs. . . .

denly translated from the valleys or lowlands to pits and galleries at an altitude of 15,000 feet was frightful. In the neighborhood of Potosí the Indian population fell within a hundred years to a tenth of its original number!

Open wholesale exploitation of this sort is now on the wane not so much because our enterprising element has a heart as because all the peoples watch each other and the whole world may ring with the atrocities committed for the sake of rubber on the hapless natives along the Congo or the Putumayo. Then, too, machinery, steam and motor lessen the demand for forced human labor, so that it is chiefly in the extraction of the natural wealth of the tropics that the old brutal exploitation survives.

In the Malay States before the advent of the British Resident one found:

A system of taxation under which every necessary as well as every luxury of life was heavily taxed; law courts in which the procedure was the merest mockery of justice, the decisions depending solely on the relative wealth or influence of the litigants; . . . a system of debt-slavery under which not only the debtor but his wife and their remotest descendants were condemned to hopeless bondage; an unlimited *corvée* or forced labor for indefinite periods and entirely without remuneration; and the right of the raja to compel all female children to pass through his harem.

State exploitation is waning because it "kills the goose that lays the golden eggs." Modern government therefore does not exploit directly but enforces the property and contract rights by means of which the dominant class (or classes) exploits others. It stands back of the legal rights of the landlords, the *amos*, the *hacendados*, the *pomieshtchiks*, the wool kings, the cattle kings, the mine operators, the usurers, the monopolists, the big industrialists and other groups which enjoy exploitative advantage.

A class which aims to control government in order to legitimate and safeguard its privileges and property claims, is not "keen" about having the salaries of offices or the spending of taxes. The government which meets its requirements may be quite honest, economical and efficient. What is known as "good government" in American cities often means nothing more than the clearing out of useless placemen, along with the elimination of "graft" from public works and the purchase of public supplies. It may signify simply that a roused business or propertied class has wrested control from the shady politicians and crooked business

men, in order to restore government to the functions they are interested in.

GENERAL TRUTHS ABOUT EXPLOITATION

1. *The social elements differ in original disposition to exploit.* Hand-workers are less eager to live off others than those in pecuniary employment, such as traders, manufacturers, and bankers. None so madly exploit as those bred to leisure, for they claim a God-given right to live delicately at the expense of others. "Neverworks" are in sooth the most dangerous element in society, for in order to be supported they are willing to sacrifice morals, religion, popular liberty, and national independence. No political movement is so bloody, sordid and unpatriotic as a White Terror.

2. *Exploitation is more open, ruthless and stubborn between the unlike than between the like.* Family feeling, "the call of blood," damps the impulse to exploit. One part of a kin group does not prey upon another part. Strong tribal, national, or denominational consciousness checks exploitation within the tribe, the nation, or the religious body. Exploitation is worst just after a conquest, every step in the assimilation of conquerors and conquered brings a let-up. People quite without predatory traditions (South African Boers) will enslave aborigines very unlike themselves. African slavery was tolerated by European opinion long after it had outlawed white slavery.

So exploiters *invent unlikeness* in order to justify themselves. The Southern master insisted that the Negro "has no soul," or saw his bondage as God's punishment laid upon the descendants of Ham, who failed to show respect to Father Noah! The religious orders in the Philippines excused their neglect to teach the people by calling the natives "monkeys." For centuries the English insisted that the Irish were a turbulent race incapable of governing themselves! Islam prohibited enslaving "the faithful" but sanctioned enslaving "infidels." Difference has, indeed, such validating power that the very degradation exploitation eventually begets will be offered to justify its continuance!

3. *An element is ready and whole-hearted in exploitation in the degree that it constitutes a self-conscious group.* Islam knit together the Asiatic invaders of southeastern Europe in collective exploitation of their Christian subjects. In the Middle Ages Christianity gave the population the solidarity it needed for systematically exploiting the Jews. On the march to Peking in 1900, race consciousness gave the allied armies warrant for common maltreatment of the peaceful Chinese along their route.

4. *Exploiters never voluntarily relinquish exploitation.* A kept class does not tire of living on the fruits of other men's toil, never renounces exploiting from "a conviction of sin." Its outlook reflects its parasitism, so it develops moral distinctions and theories which justify its economic base. Individual members may come to feel doubts but their class ejects them, dresses its ranks and moves on!

Nevertheless, the spirit of the age reverberates even in the members of an exploiting class, and in some cases they have been brought to feel compunction respecting their relation to those who support them. This feeling expresses itself *not in a movement utterly to give up parasitism*, but in insistence on greater humanity toward the exploited or in the recognition of "duties" and "responsibilities" toward them. Toward the end of feudalism there was a movement among the lords to better the lot of the serfs. Southern slaveholders developed higher standards of humanity in the treatment of their slaves and punished atrocities by the more ferocious masters. Employers adopt "welfare" work and "safety first" for their employees, while capitalists urge the "Golden Rule" in business and espouse such doctrines as the "stewardship of wealth" and "the Christianization of capital." Imperial countries admit their obligation to spend a part of the revenue extracted from a tropical colony in improving the colony, while kings by Divine Right acknowledge their duty to promote the welfare of their subjects. But *never* do the exploiters of *their own motion* abolish serfdom, or slavery, or absolutism, or turn loose the dependency, or socialize the great estates, or adopt progressive taxation, or extend public ownership. Slavery, serfdom, peonage, landlordism, industrial feudalism, absolutism, or monopoly *never end by consent*, only by coercion.

5. *Foreign domination is likely to suppress domestic exploitations.* If the foreign masters exploit the dependency they will be *jealous* of the native exploiting groups, if they do not they will be *disgusted* by them. In India the British curbed the rapacity of the insatiable native princes. The Americans on taking over the Philippines found the brazen parasitism of the friars, who owned one-fifteenth of the cultivated land, so odious that soon they packed them off.

6. *Outside control menaces the maintenance of an exploitation.* In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Negro slavery was more inhumane in the self-governing colonies of the English West Indies than in the Spanish and French West Indies, which were governed from Europe. Lay churches, like the Protestant denominations, were more complaisant about slavery than the Roman Catholic Church. In Vir-

ginia, Jamaica and Barbados, where the masters controlled both state and church, the slaves had the fewest rights. Eastern opinion, working through the Federal Government, has checked the frontiersman's grabbing of the land of the Indian, and the trader's robbery of him by selling him whiskey. Aroused British opinion put an end in 1833 to slavery in the English colonies, while Northern hostility, aroused chiefly from 1835 on, was the cause of the downfall of slavery in the southern United States. The coming of Hawaii under American law in 1898 automatically terminated the system of indentured labor which the planter class had established on the sugar plantations. If there are still five or six million slaves in the world, despite seven or eight million emancipated in the last hundred years, it is because they are in remote regions like the Sudan, Sierra Leone, Arabia and Nepal.

This is why sociologists are slow to join in a cry for "home rule," supposed to be the last word in political wisdom; they want to know who will benefit from "home rule"!

7. *Masked exploitation outlasts open exploitation.* In an enlightened democratic society the only big exploitations that can survive *are clandestine*. Jobbery in municipal contracts is secret. The "white slave" traffic is furtive. A race-track gambling scheme wears the guise of an encouragement of horse breeding. Monopoly endures not in virtue of royal grant or favoring law, as in olden time, but by reason of hidden rebates from carriers or secret understandings among commercial rivals. The periodical shearing of "lambs" in the stock market is tolerated only because the process is not understood by the public.

Hence, what latter-day exploitation most dreads is *being unmasked*. Desperately it fights investigation or exposure. It centers its pressure on newspaper men, newspapers, magazines, prosecuting attorneys, legislative committees, professors of the social sciences, clergymen, agitators—in a word on those who may show it up or bring it into the limelight. *Alarmed resistance to publicity on the part of a business organization affords just grounds for suspicion.*

8. The favorite mask of an exploitation is a *non-equivalent counter service or return*. The virtual slavery of the indebted peon is camouflaged by crediting him with wages for his labor, then charging him "five prices" for the paltry supplies he obtains from the planter's store. His laboring like a slave for mere food and clothes appears as a double transaction of purchase and sale. The ghastly servitude of the Indians on the Putumayo in eastern Peru hid itself in the books of the British company as the exchange of raw rubber at an incredibly low price for

food and clothes at a price five or ten times their real worth. Under the system maintained formerly by the Dutch government in Java each native was obliged to keep six hundred coffee trees in bearing and deliver the crop cleaned and sorted at the government warehouse at a fixed price—nine and twelve florins the *picul* previous to 1874, although forty and forty-five florins were paid in the open market of the ports!

Forced labor being unknown to American law the operators of Southern lumber or turpentine camps provided themselves with Negro labor by having able-bodied Negroes arrested on some flimsy or trumped-up charge. By paying their fines when they were sentenced to the chain-gang to work out these fines the operators obtained the Negroes' labor power at a trifling expense.

9. *Opportunities for masked exploitation multiply as social relations become involved and social interdependence more extended.* Letting the priest offer your sacrifice for you opens a door to extortion. The custom of appearing in court only "by attorney" delivers the litigant to the legal profession. Reliance upon bought food gives the adulterator his chance. A too-commercial farming has often enslaved the cultivator to the storekeeper with his mortgage and crop liens. Producing for the market instead of for home consumption exposes the farmer to the exactions of elevator men, grain buyers and common carriers. The investment of capital gives an advanced people a means of exploiting a backward people quite as productive as the brutal extraction of tribute. The spread of the opium evil among the Chinese under the stimulation of British traders (who even forced two wars rather than be interfered with!) illustrates the perils which lurk in trade.

10. *Whatever lessens inequalities among social elements in respect to intelligence, courage, organization, discipline or situation narrows the power of one to exploit another.* Gunpowder leveled up townsmen with barons and knights. Intelligence and capacity exhibited by the French commoners before the Revolution made absurd the ancient privileges of nobles and clergy. Organization among farmers humbled the "Granger" railroads. In many countries rural coöperatives have freed farmers from gougings by middlemen. Credit coöperatives trim the claws of the local money lender. From Ireland to Argentina organization among rural tenants has quickly broken landlord oppression. The Japanese Tenants' Union cut by two-fifths the share of the crops taken by one landlord. Labor organization is anathema to employers for it wipes out much of their economic advantage. The forming of a union among actors or newspaper writers or kitchenmaids or longshoremen with resulting pub-

licity has a magic effect in ending the worst abuses they suffer. Modern economic analysis deflates the kept classes by tracing their high social position to *privilege* rather than to *intrinsic superiority*. The doctrine that all are equally sons of God explodes the seventeenth-century axiom, "God will think twice before he damns a person of quality."

THE OUTLOOK FOR EXPLOITATION

1. By prolonged isolation and selection noble breeds of horses and dogs have been built up. Were the laws of breeding applied consistently to human beings for several millennia there might be developed an all-noble people; until then no good chance to exploit others will be neglected for long.

2. The encroachments of production-for-sale on production-for-use continually open doors to cunning exploiters. At present consumers have little protection against skulduggery.

3. The few restraints of a simple pioneer society will not suffice for a complex modern society. Gyves upon would-be exploiters will have to become many, various, definite and strong if justice is to prevail.

4. Never was abhorrence of exploitation so general; all we have to do is to block new and subtler forms of exploitation as effectively as man-stealing, shanghaiing, kidnapping, slaveholding and piracy were blocked.

5. The greedy and cunning are so artful in devising means of "getting the better" of the simple and trustful that the wiping out of every form of grievous exploitation can be achieved only under the leadership of the intellectual and moral *élite*.

6. In a normal people "Am I my brother's keeper?" is generally answered in the affirmative. Altruistic persons with leisure become indignant and band together in order to foil exploiters of the weak or confiding.

7. As a rule the ignorant are easier to exploit than the intelligent, the illiterate than the literate, the unschooled than the schooled. Better education for all is therefore an anti-exploitation policy, although one should not expect too much from it.

8. There is no lack of competent persons to administer the laws thwarting specific forms of exploitation. That many boards created for such a purpose have disappointed high hopes is chiefly because exploiters privily arranged that these should be manned with persons who had no wish to make them succeed!

9. There is much humor and ready laughter among Americans largely because they have been freed from so many of the old exploitations and fears of exploitation. Nothing makes sour and dour like the sense of being helpless under the flaying knife.

10. People with ample reason to feel confidence in the good will of their government towards them will never lend themselves to a movement to overthrow it. The government instant to shield all elements of its people against every form of exploitation need have no dread of a revolutionary uprising.

11. The claim that the employer-employee relation of necessity opens the door to exploitation cannot be conceded. That in myriads of cases it has done just that does not prove that exploitation of the worker lies in the very nature of private employment. Labor may be exchanged for money on equitable terms provided that the two parties are not too unequal in bargaining power. You hear of "wage slaves" but never of "salary slaves"; yet normally the employer makes a profit out of both! The latter, however, are in a stronger position for bargaining.

12. If the foes of exploitation aim to wipe out all inequalities of pay between workers of very unequal value to the enterprise, any régime they set up will quickly crash. Equalization of pay is an altogether different thing from equalization of opportunity.⁶ Let the more competent feel that the superiority of their services commands no recognition in the pay schedule and they will eventually find means of fashioning a social order more to their liking.

⁶ Not intended to justify forty American corporations paying 75 of their executives in 1936 salaries larger than that received by the President of the United States! How salaries are boosted to such figures is well understood.

PART III
CONFLICT AND ADAPTATION

CHAPTER

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CHAPTER X

OPPOSITION

There is a "contráry" type, *e.g.*, that Scotch worthy of whom Macaulay wrote, "His hostility was not to popery or to Protestantism, to monarchical government or to republican government, to the house of Stuart or to the house of Nassau, but to whatever was, at the time, established." Such "born kickers" pose as champions of the Right, although what animates them is the *spirit of contradiction*. Group oppositions, however, have a less temperamental origin!

Interference of interests as a cause of opposition. Clash of interests begets opposition in case either party sees an advantage in it. So long as one believes that by expending X it can force the opponent to cede X +, there will be strife unless the other party yields. In case both see that an advantage of X can be extorted only by an expenditure of X +, there should be an adjustment.

Whether conflict will end in adjustment or will continue until one or the other combatant is disposed of, *depends on the nature of the arena*. If the struggle takes place, as it were, in a *bowl*, then the farther the stronger pushes the weaker, the harder it is to make him yield still more ground. This is illustrated by two well-matched states when, after an initial advantage, A invades B. As a rule, the farther the invading army penetrates, the longer the line of communications to be protected and the greater the resistance offered by the local population.

If, conversely, the arena is, as it were, an *inverted bowl*, the situation does not stabilize itself. The farther the stronger pushes the weaker the easier it is to make him yield still more ground. Such a case results in the complete triumph of the one and elimination of the other. This is exemplified by maritime rivals, Rome and Carthage, Genoa and Pisa, Venice and Genoa, which fight until one or the other is overcome. For sea powers there can be no "stabilizing frontier"; wherever the sea flows the hostile ships may sail and meet and fight.

Hatred may make conflict chronic. We hate those who come often between us and our goal. Statesmen, politicians, and business men may be good enough sportsmen to harbor no ill will toward those who keep

getting in their way, but not the masses. The animosity of the white workers of California toward the immigrant Mexicans, of the English-speaking coal miners of Pennsylvania toward the Slavs who displaced them, of Northern wage earners on strike toward the Negro strike-breakers imported from the South, illustrates the natural hatred of supplanters. So conflict is not prompted solely by clash of interests.

Other causes. Opposition may spring from that *imaginative hostility* which arises in us when we suspect that an idea inimical to us is in another's mind. Against this feeling closer association and fuller knowledge of one another offer no security. "Whether intimacy will improve our sentiment toward another man or not depends upon the true relation of his way of feeling and thinking to ours." No doubt we should hate rivals and foes less if, hobnobbing with them, we found them to be like ourselves; but it is not so with the antipathy which roots in difference. Some individuals do not "improve on acquaintance." As Mark Twain drawled, "The more I think of him, the less I think of him!"

Resentment is a species of hostility springing from menace to the mirrored self. "It rests," says Cooley, "upon a feeling that the other person harbors ideas injurious to us; so that the thought of him is an attack upon ourself." *Indignation* is a higher sort of imaginative hostility "directed toward some attack upon a standard of right and not merely an impulse like pique or jealousy." It claims a social foundation and is always ready to justify itself in open court.

Social conditioning of oppositions. When life is thin or bare, grudges are cherished and handed down as precious heirlooms. Feuds between clans in Sicily or in our Southern mountains, between slum gangs, between villages in China and in the Caucasus, between tribes in Arabia, furnish pungent seasoning to a humdrum existence; but when life is full they are avoided as bootless. Again, *hatreds die as society becomes fluid*. The worst foes sometimes are bickering farmers whose fields join, who therefore cannot get apart. In the city ties are more easily shifted, with the result that city denizens are more often indifferent to one another than country dwellers, but less often hostile. Starting up in a rural neighborhood a village improvement society, a club, a grange, or a social center, by giving people something else to think about ~~than~~ others' faults and irritating ways, sweetens the entire community.

Disturbance in the relations among the elements in society unsettles old ~~conflict~~ adjustments and looses new clashes. Compromises knit by bygone ~~peace~~ makers have been unravelled out and there seems to be

nothing to do but to block your opponent from having his way at your expense. Well does Lasswell say: ¹

Something of the primitive immediacy of the feud appears also in the relations between races and nationalities whose relative status is undergoing rapid change. If the former slave challenges the economic position of the master, if the foreign wage earner applies for a job, if the foreign cultivator possessing a low standard of life bids for a farm, if the foreign manager operates a plantation and disregards local law and custom, if, in short, any sudden upset occurs in the existing pattern of claims for freedom of movement, for income or for deference, there arise the probability of violence and the growth of malignant hostility between the opposing groups.

Wholesome opposition. In a way, *open opposition preserves society*. Without the right to oppose what we consider tyranny, obstinacy, caprice, or stupidity, we would secede. Free remonstrance is a safety valve, letting off steam which, if confined, might burst the boiler! In any voluntary association the "corking up" by the dominant element of the dissatisfaction of the rest is likely to lead to the splitting of the group. Wise statesmen realize that it is well to tolerate criticism of government in parliament and in the press as a vaccine against revolt.

The fighting group. Opposition toughens groups that can stand the strain. Warfare has been the great state maker. The Eskimos, so pacific that one avenges himself on his enemy by singing satirical verses about him, are quite state-less. The first power to be passed up to a newly formed political union is *the war power*. A foreign war will either *make* or *break* a state distracted by factions and internal dissensions. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 unified Japan but shattered Russia. Likewise a hard-fought strike strengthens a labor union if it survives; in a fight, it becomes an easy matter to collect dues and special assessments. Opposition brings out the latent fighting qualities in a union as in an individual and dispels the lassitude which may appear after a long spell of peace.

Every fighting group craves to suck all will out of its members. The State calls it "wrong" for the citizen to put *any* duty above his duty to *it*. The Church demands a like unqualified obedience. In politics bitter feeling develops against those whose behavior threatens to "split the party." The industrial struggle draws sharp lines. Testifies an expert: "I have seen a man wholly unruffled under such words as 'liar,' 'coward' and

¹ See *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 6, "Feuds."

'thief,' but the monosyllable 'scab' had an instantaneous effect like a dash of vitriol in the face." Fighting groups like the Molly Maguires, the Camorra, the Mafia, as well as ordinary criminal gangs, demand of their members unlimited devotion. Expect little personal freedom if you "belong to" a combat organization.

Hence, the fighting group is likely "to end in some one's vest pocket." Once its leaders have made it an object of idolatry, *they no longer need to make the group serve its members*. The outcome of peoples blindly yielding to the insistent demands of their respective governments for patriotic self-sacrifice is needless and meaningless war. State worship is therefore the more dangerous, the less the people control the state.

Engulfment. A forest fire spreads because the heat from the blazing part converts the foliage of the adjacent green forest into tinder. Opposition likewise exhibits a mysterious tendency to engulf outsiders. You never see a conflict involving a dozen quickly narrow down to two; but often you see a conflict between two quickly draw in a dozen. A community may be split from top to bottom by the personal rivalry of two political, financial or social leaders; people "take sides" until no neutrals remain. The conflict between Austria and Serbia in July, 1914, became a quicksand into which 28 nations sank!

Why do outsiders plunge into a going conflict as moths into a flame? The explanation is that as time goes on the belligerents make ever more desperate attempts to win allies. A, who begins to fear lest he lose, will give anything, promise anything, to a friendly outsider if only he may gain thereby an ally a'. Combatant B now becomes alarmed, shows himself so cajoling and liberal that he acquires ally b'. It is again A's turn to worry and in desperation he pulls wires until he acquires a new ally a". And so engulfment goes on until all who keep their heads join in measures to arrest it.

Deterioration of "wild" conflict. If not regulated, every variety of opposition *grades down*. Never does a struggle go "from bad to better," but always "from bad to worse." Controversialists who start with billingsgate will not *of themselves* arrive at courteous polemic. Feudists who at first lie in ambush and shoot at women and children, will not, in the absence of outside pressure, rise to fighting only in the open and with armed opponents. You never find belligerents who have been poisoning wells and scattering disease germs among the enemy spontaneously dropping these "dirty" tactics as the war proceeds.² For as fighting

² Of course, the plane of conflict may be raised if superior persons (trained officers, idealists) get to the helm.

"drags on," the combatants become more weary, exasperated, vengeful, fearful of losing. On false reports of what the enemy are doing, one side resorts to foul tactics and now the enemy feel justified in repaying "in kind." Whatever chivalry the belligerents started with disappears; more and more the cry is "Anything to win!"

This is why you will get no long record of "clean sport" unless everything unsportsmanlike has been precisely defined and strictly punished. The code of rules under which joint debates and athletic meets are conducted becomes longer and more explicit with experience. Thanks to the growth of publicity every competition or fight of moment will have to heed the comments of the onlooking public and renounce all tactics they hiss at.

Relations among oppositions. Oppositions occur between sexes, ages, races, nationalities, sections, classes, political parties and religious sects. Several such may be in full swing at the same time, but, strange as it may seem, the more numerous they are the less menacing is any one. *Every species of going conflict interferes with every other save only when their lines of cleavage coincide; in which case they reinforce one another.*

Suppose that there is a certain strain along the line between Christians and Jews. If now, a strain appears along a quite different line, *e.g.*, that between employers and workmen, the former opposition will become less intense. For Jewish bosses and Jewish workmen will go asunder; likewise Christian bosses and Christian workmen. On the other hand, Jewish and Christian capitalists will recognize that they are "in the same boat," while Jewish workers and Christian workers will sympathize with one another as fellow victims of exploitation.

But take a tension between blacks and whites. Suppose now embitterment arises between labor and capital. If the lines of cleavage cross, each opposition will weaken the other. But if, as sometimes happens, all the employers are white men and all the employed are black men, then *one antagonism reinforces the other* and the rift in society is deeper than ever. Paradoxical as it may sound, a society riven by a dozen oppositions along lines running in various directions may actually be in less danger of early break-up than one split along just one line!

Means of lessening the sum total of opposition. Not that the volume of opposition in a given society is constant, or that it is a matter of indifference how much it is. All oppositions, save only healthy rivalries, fair competitions and fruitful controversies, are not only wasteful of energy but they block coöperation between opponents. The wise

therefore have always deplored opposition and have worked out the following preventives.

1. No invidious discriminations. In all save private and domestic relations, let a man's color, race, ancestry, religion and politics be ignored; ask only, "Can he deliver?"

2. Difference of belief and opinion, instead of being taken as proof of wilful perversity, may be looked upon as the natural consequence of individual differences ("no accounting for tastes"), or of unlikeness in education, occupation, experience or associations. Good-humoredly differers may "agree to disagree."

3. The fondness of the young for strife on account of the tensions and thrills it offers may be lessened by providing them with harmless and amicable forms of competitive sport.

4. Concord may be promoted by abandoning acrimonious controversy and adopting the "objective attitude" of the scientific inquirer toward matters of dispute.

5. So far as society equalizes life opportunities for the young, strife is less bitter because opponents are contending, not for their children's chances, but only for their own.

6. Conflicting interests may contend in good temper provided there is no assumption of superiority and air of disdain. The one-time *hauteur* of American railroad officials greatly exasperated their complaining patrons, while the nothing-to-arbitrate attitude of pig-headed employers has helped to inflame their workers.

7. In so far as government is representative and speaks for all, it wields greater moral authority and can do more to mollify intra-social struggles.

8. Society may forestall a struggle between interests by laying down in an impartial spirit their relations. In case their relations are of such a nature as not to admit of being thus prescribed from outside, it may avert conflict by threatening to throw its weight into the scales on the side of the right or the reasonable.

9. Free access of an aggrieved element to some forum, court of law, administrative commission, legislature, or electorate, where it can count on a fair hearing and an impartial verdict, may avert bitterness even when its verdict is adverse.

10. By preserving the fullest freedom of discussion society invites the aggrieved to appeal to the court of public opinion.

11. Whether discord or harmony is to prevail depends not only upon economic and social conditions, but, in part, upon mental attitudes; e.g.,

whether men accept or reject a religion of brotherhood, regard contention or peace and fellowship as the more "natural."

12. Creative thinking may avert or terminate conflicts by devising an ingenious solution (not a compromise) which satisfies both parties. In the United States the struggle over who shall have the right to marry couples was avoided by the state recognizing *both* civil marriage and ecclesiastical marriage. Perhaps a struggle between church and state over elementary schooling may be sidestepped by providing that each church may instruct her children in the public schools for a stated period each week.

13. Why should not man discover bigger boulders in his path than the fellowman? Shrewdly observes Lasswell ³ :

More men are killed by pathogenic bacteria than perish from bullets, yet the imagination of mankind has not yet been kindled against the invisible enemies of the species. It may be that the manipulation of collective opinion for the sake of raising the prestige of science will contribute toward the achievement of this sense of unity of man with man. It may be possible to dramatize the plight of man as a lonely adventurer adrift on a speck of dust in the unplumbed vastnesses of celestial space and thus to arouse a sense of the ludicrousness of internecine strife. . . .

³ See *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, under "Conflict, social."

CHAPTER XI

OPPOSITION—GOOD SIDE AND BAD SIDE

STIMULATION

The chief types of opposition are *competition* and *conflict*, i.e., a race and a fight. In the former you may do nothing to hamper your opponent; in the latter you may block his efforts, even disable him. Hence competition, unlike conflict, *stimulates but does not destroy*. Since nothing irks like being often thwarted, the emotion roused by conflict is anger; but the beaten competitor is stirred to envy or jealousy rather than to anger. All the sages deplored conflict but not all of them deplored competition, for its higher forms will survive even in an ideal society.

Some reach their best only when vying just as a spirited horse makes his best speed only when "paced" by another horse. Says Cooley¹:

Human rivalry appears to have much of this instinctive element in it; to become aware of life and striving going on about us seems to act immediately on the nerves, quickening an impulse to live and strive in like manner. . . . The motive of rivalry, then, is a strong sense that there is a race going on, and an impulsive eagerness to be in it. . . . Rivalry supplies a stimulus wholesome and needful to the great majority of men and . . . is, on the whole, a chief progressive force, utilizing the tremendous power of ambition, and controlling it to the furtherance of ends socially approved. . . .

Moede, tested (1920) seventeen pupils in a class, working individually and working in competition. The eight poorer students did better in competition than alone. The seven better students sometimes did not so well as when alone. The cause of the difference seems to be that the better pupils work so hard when alone that they are little quickened by rivalry; when associated; the poorer pupils, on the other hand, work with nothing like maximum attention and concentration until competition "keys them up."

These experiments were made upon very unequal competitors; competition between those of nearly equal powers always heightens speed,

¹ C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, 1902, pp. 275-77.

the gain being about 10 per cent when it is uncertain which will win. On the other hand, *both show a decrease* when the difference is so great that the conclusion is foregone. These experiments seem to justify the old practice of ranging the pupils in a class in a row according to their performance. The dull pupil may not aspire to head the class, but he is stimulated to get by the one next above him and to keep above the one next below him.

Whittemore had twelve university students work singly, then in competition. His conclusions (1924) are:

All subjects turn out more work when competing than when not competing. The average percentile gain is about 26.

The subjects least capable in speed, profit most from competition.

All subjects do poorer work when competing than when not competing.

The homogeneity of the group with respect to the quality of the work produced is less under non-competitive than under competitive conditions.

Working with 1,538 school children of grades 5 to 8, Maller reports (1929): "The efficiency of work under competition was found to be consistently and significantly higher than under coöperation."

How to generalize rivalry. In the camps of the American Expeditionary Force overseas (1917-18) games were adapted to large numbers. New games were built incorporating movements used in the major sports. The competitive spirit was roused by pitting group against group and awarding points. On the same principle business men, in stimulating their selling force, do not award prizes or honors to those men making the biggest sales, because this narrows the contest to the salesmen in "easy" territory. But every man is brought into the contest when careful estimates are made of the coming year's sales in each district and the winners are the salesmen who most surpass these estimates.

Often the athletic rivalry between high schools breeds nothing but contests between small teams and picked lads. From such matches the great body of pupils derive no stimulus. The remedy is a system which spurs each lad to score what points he can in the various athletic events. The sum of these individual scores is the total for the school and this divided by the number of boys enrolled gives the average athletic excellence for that school. In this way school can compete with school, even when too far apart to meet, and every pupil may feel the enlivening prick of rivalry.

In many schools all of the important hygienic precepts are built into

a score card whose aggregate is 100 per cent. The pupils in physiology and biology are expected to check each day the items which they have lived up to and at the end of each half term their average is entered in the teacher's record book. By posting the names of those averaging above 80 per cent and posting the averages, a health contest is under way encouraging the best averages, hence the best health.

Utilizing the rivalrous bent. Shrewd athletic directors deliberately foment rivalry in order to convert self-development into a race. By means of competitive games and contests they stir up many who would accomplish nothing if they were shown gymnasium apparatus and urged to get to work in order to improve themselves physically.

Toward the end of the World War the Russian soldiers, having no tradition of active sports, became the prey of sloth and boredom in the quiet sectors and suffered great moral deterioration. The English and American soldiers, on the other hand, brought with them an interest in sports and preserved their morale by games and athletic matches. The Young Men's Christian Association workers in the prison camps no doubt saved thousands of war prisoners from moral collapse, melancholia and death by applying the prick of emulation. Encouraging these half-starved, homesick, miserable captives to organize competitive games calling for strength, skill, and quickness, seems a mockery till one marks how the eye kindles, the form straightens, and hope revives as their hearts respond to the challenge of a chance to beat!

The United States Steel Corporation methodically employed rivalry among its plants in order to stimulate production. *The Pittsburgh Survey* found ²:

When a mill broke a record the men who accomplished the feat were praised, their names published in the trade journals, while superintendents of other mills taunted their men with the disgrace of having been beaten. This would arouse all the skilled men to greater activity and another mill would establish a new record. For years a piece plate cut to the shape of a huge broom was kept suspended above the Edgar Thompson blast furnaces at Braddock, as a symbol that all competitors had been swept aside and that these furnaces were producing more pig iron a day than any others in the world. This made a strong appeal to the men, and they were constantly on edge to retain that record.³

A technique has been worked out for benevolent institutions by which the soliciting of members or contributions becomes virtually a sport.

² Vol. III, p. 184.

³ When the men in a mill made a new record, *that amount of production was henceforth expected of them!* However, "the superintendent passed cigars."

The soliciting force is organized into two divisions, each headed by a general and consisting of a number of "teams" with their captains. The generals pick their captains and the captains pick their workers. The effort is concentrated on a "campaign" to end on a fixed date. Every noon the force lunches together, each team at its own table. After luncheon the captains report, and the results of the day's work are chalked up on a big bulletin board. Each worker is racing with every other worker on his team, each team with every other team in the division, and each division with the other. The spirit of rivalry is roused just enough to make the distasteful task play, but never to the point of leaving disappointment or bitterness in the beaten.

Standards growing out of rivalry prevent overpopulation. Man tends to multiply up to the food limit, at which point all margins for pleasure, beauty and leisure have been swept into the hopper for the raising of big families. Almost the only thing that has ever arrested the growth of numbers well inside the food limit is the diversification of wants in response to rivalry. At first this, that, or the other thing, is wanted for *vanity's* sake. One cannot endure to be surpassed by another in trophy, ornament, or display. In the course of time the new wants acquire a firmer basis. Vanities are pruned and trained into "comforts and decencies," which become indispensable to self-respect.

Services of economic competition. Wasteful as economic competition often is, let us not overlook its magical effect upon the man in a rut. An editor who, a dozen years ago, gave his best thought to adapting his newspaper to the needs and tastes of the community has failed to notice how silent, gradual changes have transformed the community's interests. Not until a neighboring journal cuts seriously into his circulation, is he roused to the necessity of making over his paper to suit his new constituency. So it is with the manufacturer, the merchant, the railroad man. Absorbed in routine, they drop effortful thinking and fall below their best possibilities until the threat of loss lashes them into renewed mental activity.

In a static time hard work and conscience may keep one up to the mark; but in a time of rapid development rare is the man who will serve the public best by working diligently on familiar lines. There is need of frequently changing the character of one's goods, one's services, one's methods; but few will do this of their own free will. Only fear of being supplanted by a competitor will goad one to the point of adapting one's output to the changed requirements of the public.

ANTAGONISTIC EFFORT

The factor in conflict which is altogether bad is *antagonistic* effort, *i.e.*, equal efforts expended along the same line in opposite directions, so that A is neutralized by B and B is neutralized by A. We see it in the "tug of war" which often exhausts the rival teams before a decision is reached; in the futile straining of locked wrestlers neither of whom can overcome the other until both are nearly spent; in the exchange of blows by which well-matched pugilists may pound each other into pulp; in the advertising campaigns of competitors which offset each the other but leave them both nearer the poor house; in the alternate price cutting of two business rivals, which pushes them ever closer to insolvency; in the lawsuits and appeals with which litigious men bankrupt themselves; and in the retaliatory tariffs by which two nations beat each other's commerce to its knees.

Conflicts of attrition. So long as the antagonistic efforts balance *nothing is settled*. All exertions promptly met and neutralized by counter-exertions are wasted; *only the margin of superiority counts*. This is exhibited in a railroad "war" when rates are slashed below the cost of service and both competitors slide steadily toward bankruptcy. The railroad with the longer purse will win; but it may never recoup itself for its losses by higher rates, for the beaten road, though bankrupt, does not cease to be a competitor. It is seen in the costly electioneering campaigns of rival political candidates. The total outlay of time and money may be quite out of proportion to the salary of the office they are seeking. Neither would have made the canvass could he have foreseen how terribly he would become involved; yet they plunge deeper and deeper into expense because each realizes that all he has already expended is quite thrown away unless he wins this election. Each is hoping to win by a spurt at the finish so they go on and on, "winded" but afraid to quit!

* The expenditure of strength and resources in antagonistic efforts may ruin both contestants, leaving the victor no better off than the vanquished! The more clearly they foresee this possibility, the more they will rather compromise than fight "to the bitter end." But if one contestant realizes what the struggle will let him in for he will be at a disadvantage in negotiating with an opponent blind to the cost of conflict, so he will have to make most of the concessions. In dealing with the clear-sighted, the very blindness of the pugnacious may be a trump card!

Most conflicts cost more than was expected. Reviewing the pitiful squandering of human life, strength and resources not only in the wars between nations but also in the struggles between labor and capital, in commercial "wars," in political contests, in lawsuits and in private quarrels, we perceive that anger, jealousy, and greed, should not bear all the blame. Even the cool and calculating enter into an exhausting conflict expecting to win by a sudden thrust or a clever stroke; they fail to foresee the long drain to be endured. Convinced of his superiority, each contestant neglects to compute the sacrifices which may be necessary in order to convert superiority into triumph. Militarists picture war to their people as a sharp, brief struggle between prepared forces terminating in the victory of the force which is braver, more intelligent or better led. They refuse to recognize how normal it is that warfare should wear down the belligerents till both are prostrate.

The convertibility of resources. The more nearly matched are two combatants, the more prolonged and exhausting their conflict is likely to be. Again, the struggle will be prolonged in proportion as their strength is convertible into combative effort. If citizens can readily be trained into soldiers the conflict does not end when one belligerent has used up his original army, but continues until one belligerent approaches the end of his man power or, at least, of his *morale*. If the factories are capable of being speedily converted into munition plants, the war is not decided by original stocks of munitions, but becomes a matter of comparative coal, iron, copper, food production, woman power, child power, *etc.*, and may go on until one belligerent suffers a complete economic collapse.

Forcing a quick decision. As a rule, it is only the *short* conflict that does not cost the victor more than victory is worth. So the "winded" pugilist studies how he may deliver a "knock-out" blow. By a secretly planned "lightning" advertising campaign the business man seeks to bankrupt his competitor before he has time to prepare a counterstroke. The railway company would administer a *coup de grâce* to a parallel line by cutting fares 80 per cent at a stroke. Regardless of expense, the litigant puts his cause into the hands of the leader of the bar. The aggressor state plans by surprise attack, by speedier mobilization, by having ready the larger number of trained soldiers or aviators, by accumulating in advance the greater stock of guns, aircraft, or submarines, or by springing some new and, at first, irresistible weapon—forty-two centimeter howitzers, or Zeppelins, or poison gas, or tanks—to win the war before

its enemy can convert his potential strength into actual strength. A protracted conflict becomes inevitably one of "attrition" and tends toward the utter prostration or impoverishment of both parties.

Competitive preparedness. When resources can be converted only slowly into weapons, that combatant wins who has a "broad running start" over the other; so you get *competitive preparedness*, another form of antagonistic effort. While less violent than actual conflict it may be nearly as exhausting. In the Caucasus the safety tower of each farmstead evidently absorbed more labor than the habitation itself. In Afghanistan the time wasted in standing guard in the sentry tower that overlooks each field exceeds the time spent in tilling the field. In Albania the man, being occupied in protecting his family, is parasitic on his wife who alone produces anything. Just as in war each people is duped into believing that *this* levy of troops, *this* big gun armament, *this* "victory" loan will win a decision, forgetting that until the breaking strain arrives its every prodigious exertion is counterbalanced by a corresponding supreme exertion on the part of the enemy; so in peace time, they are victimized by the "preparedness" fallacy. They do not notice that their every sacrifice in the way of *more* ironclads, *more* guns, or *more* soldiers becomes the basis of an appeal by the preparedness party in each rival state to insure *its* safety by *more* ironclads, *more* guns, and *more* soldiers. So armament-capping becomes well nigh as ruinous as war itself. When a people realizes that such "security" is economically nearly as exhausting as war, it is tempted to attack its rival in the hope of extricating itself from the "bottomless pit."

How avoid antagonistic effort? Antagonistic effort is, then, the utterly evil element in conflict. It is a pit into which man is precipitated by his aggressive impulses. It is the Adversary baffling and betraying a too-pugnacious and over-sanguine race. Small wonder that the supreme concern of all seers, prophets and founders of religion has been to draw mankind away from bootless strife into the paths of amity and peace!

It is possible, however, to curb this noxious feature without suppressing contest itself. Intercollegiate athletics may be kept from degenerating into a matching of purses by barring players who receive financial inducement to attend college, and by so limiting the training period as to avoid an excessive loss of time in preparation. The anti-intellectual tendencies in public joint debate are held in check by rules forbidding "personalities" and excluding everything foreign to the question. The law denies appeal from a court decision when the value in

dispute is small. Party managers pledge themselves to buy no votes. Laws which limit the amount of campaign expenditure save opposing candidates from ruining themselves in a political contest or becoming bound to selfish moneyed interests which contribute to both parties. Rival railroads agree to close their needless downtown offices, while "legalized pooling" or commission-fixing of *minimum* as well as *maximum* rates restrain them from rushing into receivership *via* rate "wars." After a series of industrially lean years caused by "cut-throat" competition among producers the game of "beggar-my-neighbor" ends in a "combination," or in the absorption of all the weaker firms by the financially strongest. Missionary boards come to the understanding that none will plant a mission in a native center where a Christian mission already exists. Rival colleges avoid the waste of circularizing the same constituency or cultivating the same secondary schools, by dividing territory if they are far apart, or by specializing in different lines if they are near each other.

Finally, war-worn exhausted states may set up an organization for peace, create tribunals with power to decide disputes, renounce their armaments and relinquish their liberty to make war at will.

CHAPTER XII

PERSONAL COMPETITION

Competition is the vying of two or more for a single desired object. Even alternative attractions, *e.g.*, religions, types of education or ideals of life, which make their appeal to the same people, are said to "compete." We are pained to learn that *conflict* has broken out in an organization we are interested in; but not to hear that there is more *competition* within it. For competition excludes all idea of blocking or crippling your competitor, whereas conflict permits the disabling of your antagonist, in any case the thwarting of his efforts. Naturally competition begets less bad blood than conflict, therefore is less dreaded and hated.

Participants in a fist fight never end uttering mildly sarcastic remarks about one another; the trend is always in the reverse direction. Starting with biting remarks they come by degrees to an exchange of blows; which illustrates the truth, *unregulated competition tends downward*. As a rule, if a competition does not slump to face-scratching or fisticuffs, it is because an outside influence prevents it. The competitors may be restrained by the code of gentility; but the pattern of *lady* or *gentleman* is a factor injected *from outside* by society. Every instituted contest should be under carefully-framed rules barring everything which does not tend to establish comparative excellence in the chosen field.

The goals of competition. *Economic* competition is, of course, for dollars or for what will bring in dollars. But there is competition for other limited desirables, such as *publicity*, *social status*, *popularity*, *fame*, *political power*, *influence*, *etc.*

Comments a sociologist on the Oriental immigrant in Hawaii ¹ :

The subtle change that takes place in the mind of a man as he comes to feel that Hawaii is his home affects the use of his income and savings. At first he spends almost nothing for the sake of its effect on the mind of others. But, by the time his Hawaiian born sons and daughters are old enough to marry, the question of local status is highly important and the family income is expended largely for things that may be expected to enhance prestige. Household furniture, education, gifts to friends on such occasions as weddings and birth festivities come to be important.

¹ Romanzo Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii*, The Macmillan Company, 1937, p. 260.

There is no competition, however, for such blessings as *health, contentment, peace-of-mind* because of these *there is always plenty to go around*. No matter how much health other people enjoy, I may conquer health for myself. Whatever contentment other people have achieved, there is always a contentment I may win for myself. None compete to be "saved"; there is salvation for everyone who can "qualify." Nor is there competition for the enjoyment of the beauties of nature or the masterpieces of art or literature.

The function of competition. Although competition for customers, or patrons, or clients, or subscribers, or employment, or office, or for friends and backers, is prompted by private aims, *it discharges the broad social function of assigning to each his place in the social system*. Since we do not come into the world with our destiny stenciled on the forehead, we discover what we are fit for by experimenting. By a series of competitions we test the impression we make on others, rate our powers in terms of other men's powers, and learn whether we may aspire to the higher occupations and posts. Competition in this sense need not be conscious or contentious. From our school days on judgments are formed about us of which we are unaware, but which go to determine our careers.

The chief alternative to competition as a means of assigning each to his place is *inherited status*. In the later Roman Empire the well-placed families protected their position by allowing none to aspire to a calling above his father's. In Prussia, before the Emancipation Edict of 1807, both lands and occupations were built into the caste system. "Noble" land could not be bought by non-nobles, nor "peasant" land by non-peasants. Neither noble nor peasant could take up occupations which belonged to the burgher class. In India to-day the principal occupations are in the hands of hereditary castes and it is expected that the son of the priest, smith, or accountant will follow his father's specialty. Such a system so clashes with the natural desire to get on and so affronts popular ideas of justice, that it must have come into existence as the device of those in the higher offices and occupations to relieve their children from the competition of the children of the lower-placed.

The intensity of competition. How much you invest in the selective process measures the *intensity* of competition. In a stationary society where, as a rule, children follow the occupation of their father, where certain trades are reserved for certain castes, where the great places in the state are hereditary and elections unknown, where peasant may not vie with burgher, nor burgher with retainer, nor retainer with lord, a man devotes little energy to finding his place. Where on the other hand, as in

our society, at least a third of native adults are found by the census taker in some other than their natal state, where a large proportion have tried some other occupation than the one they follow, where schools are free, and skill is not ordinarily acquired from one's father, where protected occupations do not exist and where politics is an absorbing interest, the expenditure of energy in self-placement will be relatively large.

The intensity of competition varies:

(1) With the degree of personal liberty; (2) With the rate of social change; (3) Inversely as the efficiency of the selective agents. The freer one is to roam the social field, set up in this or that calling, try for the better-paid or more honorable offices and get a decision on one's merits; the less often one runs into racial, religious, or class discrimination; the nimbler are customers or clients or patients in transferring their patronage; the more frequently will the well-established be subjected to the competition of outsiders and the harder must they work in order to escape ousting.

Again, *social change* opens new avenues to many who feel settled. Our automobile industry has in thirty-five years absorbed millions of Americans, few of whom inherited or stumbled into their jobs. In the same time new professions such as play director, social worker, screen actor, radio announcer, have absorbed several thousand young men and women, nearly every one of them placed by competition. The creation of a vast army for the World War set hundreds of thousands of young Americans vying to settle which of them should obtain military commissions.

The better the selective agencies the more quickly, economically, and accurately competitors are sifted. The time will come when an hour with graded tests of mental ability will reveal an applicant's caliber better than a bushel of estimates by his acquaintances. Compare the cost of trying for a political appointment under the old system of bringing "influence" to bear with its cost under the merit system. Some candidates spend on a political contest as much as the salary of the office comes to for the entire term! Two men running for the office of county superintendent of schools will spend three months electioneering; if the selective agency were a competent board of education the tax on their time might not exceed two days!

Systems of education which discover and develop the special capabilities of each individual, as well as offer specialized training for each calling, enable choices among competitors to be prompt and just. Likewise, the laying down of definite requirements for those who would follow

teaching, nursing, law, accountancy, *etc.*, saves much fumbling and disappointment.

RESTRICTIONS UPON THE METHODS OF COMPETITION

Business. In the absence of binding rules or accepted standards of fairness competition assumes extravagant or vicious forms. Said the U. S. Supreme Court in *Sinclair Refining Co. vs. Federal Trade Commission* (1923):

Competition is not an unmixed good. It is a battle for something that only one can get; one competitor must necessarily lose. The weapons in competition are various. Superior energy, more extensive advertising, better articles, better terms as to time of delivery, place of delivery, time of credit, interest or no interest, freights, methods of packing, lower prices, more attractive and more convenient packages, superior service and many others, are and always have been considered proper weapons. Expense attending the use of any weapon, the foolishness of it, the fact that a method is uneconomical, or that the competitor cannot meet any method or scheme of competition because it will be ruinous to him to do so, have not, nor has either of them ever been held unfair. Such things are a part of the strife inherent in competition.

This hands-off attitude hardly accords with current economic thinking. Courts and boards have outlawed many practices as "unfair," not because they are obviously wrong but because they tend to the success not of the better caterer to the wants of the public, but of the inferior one. The criterion of "fairness" is whether the practice tends in the long run to supply consumers with the greatest abundance of good wares or services at the lowest cost—which is sound. By this touchstone are condemned local price-cutting, the operation of bogus "independent" concerns, the use of "fighting" brands, rebates and preferential arrangements, exclusive sale or purchase arrangements, conditional requirements, espionage, coercion and intimidation, black-lists, and interference with the contracts and business of competitors.

Labor. Among workmen "scabbing" and strike-breaking, pace-making, tattling and spying are frowned on as methods of getting on; but it is deemed legitimate for the workman to court promotion by showing superior skill, devising better tools or processes, or making valuable suggestions.

The professions. No honorable doctor or lawyer will advertise, solicit employment, pay commissions for business, undertake cases on a

contingent fee, show a client how to beat the law, or give him advice which is immoral or anti-social in its tendency. Aside from the reputation of satisfying his patrons, he has no legitimate way of bringing his merits to the attention of the public other than scholarly activity in his profession or free work for needy individuals or for the community.

Elective public office. With popular government you have to define what constitutes improper electioneering. Vote buying, personation, treating voters, betting in order to influence an election, deceiving illiterate voters, contributing to churches or charitable institutions during a campaign, providing conveyances for voters, forging campaign literature, publishing false statements of the withdrawal of candidates, keeping electors from the polls, intimidating electors, influencing employees—these have been prohibited either because they drive good men away from politics or because they enable a minority candidate to win.

Appointive public office. Long ago nepotism fell into bad odor. Then "patronage," the right of private irresponsible individuals to name office-holders, came under a cloud. Afterward was challenged the awarding of offices for party work or party contributions, or on the promise of such contributions. The merit system of recruiting civil servants, under which applicants are rated according to training, experience, and proficiency as revealed by examination, raises the plane of competition and improves the quality of office-holders. Many who aspired under the "spoils" system now have no prospect, while many who formerly had no prospect may now aspire!

The basis of promotion. In private business the superior has generally been free to promote whom he would. But in large concerns, where the superior is often a salaried man and not financially interested, his choice is likely to be affected by family, social standing and personal liking. Here, as in the public service, "free promotion" often gives the relative, the fawner or the wire-puller the advantage over the modest man of worth. On the other hand, where, as in church or university, promotion goes by group choice, there is less chance for "influence."

The great rival principle is that of *seniority*. This is simple and certain and leaves no room for favoritism and prejudice. It prevails in nearly all armies and navies, because the officers are not greatly dissimilar in ability and training, while length of experience is of great importance. Its principal merit, however, is that it insures that the loyalty of subordinates shall not be impaired by the jealousies and resentments which spring up like devil grass when promotion is suspected of being arbitrary. In the civil service it has less place, but it finds favor with

all unions of government employees because more complicated systems lend themselves to manipulation. American railroads after futile attempts to install a system of efficiency ratings have been forced by the organizations of their employees to promote on the seniority principle.

However, it is a *deadening* principle. Not only is the oldest in service not necessarily the most efficient, but, by checking competition for promotion, it takes away one incentive for acquiring efficiency. Furthermore, by putting age in the saddle, it favors the reign of senile conservatism. The open-mindedness and enthusiasm of youth are needed to break the crust of custom continually forming in society. Under promotion by seniority only rarely will a *young* man attain to a responsible post. Hence, the attempt to work out some scheme of efficiency ratings by which the employee as he goes along makes up the record on which one day will be decided whether he or another shall be advanced to greater responsibility or reward. During the World War the American army and navy sought to base promotion upon frequent and detailed reports of superior officers as to the professional zeal and ability of their subordinates.

The principle of relevancy. May rival colleges in their circulars make invidious comparisons? May the theater owner with propriety call the public's attention to the greater fire risk of a rival place of amusement? Is it "hitting below the belt" for a baking-powder manufacturer in advertising to cast doubt on the wholesomeness of other brands? Is it "foul" for an applicant to submit truthful matter reflecting on the qualifications or worthiness of another applicant? While evidence as to comparative merit is always pertinent, the judgment of a competitor is so subject to bias that invidious comparisons by him should be ruled out. Generally "war to the knife" between rivals proves ruinous to both good morals and good manners.

The general principle to follow in drawing the line between proper and improper methods of competition is relevancy. Men have a just horror of "political influence" in official circles, but do not object to learned bodies being heard from when it comes to filling an important technical post; their opinion is *relevant* to the problem. The physician may not advertise, for self-laudation is *irrelevant* to merit; not so is his appointment as lecturer on the faculty of the local medical college. It is *relevant* for preparatory schools to list the institutions which admit their graduates on certificate and to call attention to the performance of these graduates in college and university. Boastful comparisons are *irrelevant* to the competition of religious denominations, which ought rather to be

decided by the type of character which they produce in their members. The awarding of public office on the basis of services to one's party is intolerable, because party work is *irrelevant* to the successful conduct of the office.

In other words, *we resent a success won by some other prowess than the one called for*. We are disgusted by the fight that becomes a "foot-race" and by the foot-race that becomes a fight; by the slugging match that becomes a "joint debate" and the joint debate that becomes a slugging match. We resent that social tact, irrespective of scholarship, should govern a university appointment, and that scholarship, irrespective of social tact, should govern a diplomatic appointment.

The plane of competition. It depends chiefly upon the kind of practices tolerated whether or not a competition will lower those who take part. If paid puffery, kowtowing, assurance, blowing your own trumpet, wire-pulling, "petticoat influence" and such like regularly win, then the field will be abandoned by those who will not stoop to such methods. The greater the number of attractive fields in which such methods prevail, the greater the proportion of ambitious young people who will finally let go their high standards and sink to a lower moral level. It is of little avail for parents to implant moral scruples in their children if in many alluring fields they see the plums go to the tricky and self-ingratiating. Clergymen might do well to note that *raising the plane of competition* may accomplish quite as much in "saving souls" as artistic evangelism!

In the early frontier communities and in certain isolated American communities to-day "anything goes" (biting and gouging) in a fight. In earlier American political contests, "rough-and-tumble" was the rule, while rival newspapers resorted to a scurrility now unknown. In old societies on the other hand the recognized competitions are hemmed in by standards, so that in most arenas honorable young men may compete without losing their self-respect. The rearing of a ring fence about every competition indicating just what is and what is not permitted is a moral achievement *which takes time*. These restraints originate with the better element—and only slowly do they arrive at a consensus.

Competition and sympathy. Competition need not breed enmity. In a society like ours, in which anyone may try to be anything, there will be much disappointment but not necessarily much ill feeling. A graduate of the law school joins the bar of a town with a score of lawyers. At the end of a year or two he may have to give up the law, but very likely he cannot hold any particular competitor responsible for

his shipwreck. So it is with business men; the failure realizes he has been eliminated by "general conditions" rather than by a rival.

Even when the loser of a competition knows the winner he will not hate him, provided that the competition has taken place under reasonable rules, which have been loyally observed. Bitterness there will be when one believes that the rules have not been lived up to by one's rivals or that one is the victim of malicious discrimination. In large organizations there will be bad blood if it is suspected that favor governs promotions. If, on the other hand, the patently efficient man is promoted, the good will and sincere congratulations of his competitors may go with him as he rises. In the field of college sports the most intense rivalry to "make the team" will not generate personal bitterness provided that the coach is competent. People like the British and the Americans, who have absorbed much of the spirit of sportsmanship, will attribute their failures to something in themselves; but no little ill will attends personal rivalries among peoples like the Poles, the Danubians, the South Americans, who inherit an ideal of sensitive aristocratic pride and have had little experience of competitive sports.

LIMITING COMPETITION

Some think that the inevitable wear-and-tear of the competitive system that has grown up in the modern era has a lot to do with the growing volume of nervous breakdown, insanity and other forms of crack-up. If such is the case devices to temper the strain deserve attention.

Muffling competition. In Japan the code of the *jinrikisha* men forbids one runner to pass by another going in the same direction. The young and strong runner is not to dash past the old and feeble runner lest the latter be so much the sooner eliminated from the calling. When you have had a house built in Japan you have entered into a relation which cannot lightly be broken off. Whatever repairs may be needed during the life of the house must be arranged for with your builder, never with anybody else. None but he has the right to send for the plasterer, the roofer, the tinsmith. So is it with a garden. The maker looks after it season after season and no other gardener can be hired to touch it unless the original relation has been dissolved by mutual consent.

This is a survival from the old communal organization of Japan. We Americans, on the other hand, have been willing to allow competition to permeate every part of life. Our commercial traveler cannot see why

with his better goods and lower prices he cannot get orders the first time he visits South America. The loyalty of the South American merchant to the European house from which he has been buying seems to him unbusinesslike and unreasonable, while the merchant concludes that to Yankees money is everything.

Competition under communism. Comments an observer of Russia:

Perhaps the most serious weakness which Soviet experience has revealed in a socialist economic order is the complete elimination of the progressive stimulation of competition. The Soviet industrial trust or trading organization is super-monopolistic in character. Private initiative in economic life is entirely eliminated; and the half-hearted competition which formerly existed between coöperative and state shops in the towns has been destroyed with the decision to supplant the coöperatives entirely with state trade. Rewards and punishments handed down from above in arbitrary and haphazard fashion do not adequately replace the constant impetus to better and cheaper production and better service to the consumer that is automatically furnished by a competitive system.²

Limiting the period of competition. Those who take the long view recognize limits to competition. Certain great American railroads have deliberately adopted the policy of not replacing elderly servants with younger and more vigorous men but retaining them until they retire on a pension. Some, to be sure, are past their peak of efficiency; on the other hand, by holding out the prospect of a life career these companies attract a higher grade of ability than they would obtain under a ruthless system.

Society will reap the advantages of competition if every man until thirty to thirty-five years of age is liable to be passed or ousted by a better man. But after this probationary period it may be well to consider a man's value to the employer as settled and to make him feel safe from displacement so long as he continues to "make good."

What irony that, at a time when intelligent business men are striving to build up a stable and loyal force, university presidents who have been bitten by the "efficiency bug" or caught the inhumane spirit of high finance recommend that professors be replaced as soon as the university has skimmed off the cream of their strength! The tendency of our time is toward attracting good men by holding out a life career, instead of throwing them away like squeezed lemons at the end of their prime.

Value of a sense of security. Young people vie eagerly for the favor

² W. H. Chamberlin, *Collectivism, A False Utopia*, The Macmillan Company, p. 214.

of winsome individuals of the other sex, but marriage should put an end to such rivalry. Love has to compete with other interests in life, so it is still worth while for spouse to woo spouse; but neither should feel exposed to the competition of younger or more attractive members of the same sex. "Trial marriage," by reintroducing competition, would subject the mated, or at least one of them, to a tormenting uncertainty and deny the blessed *sense of settledness* matrimony ought to bring.

The confidential relation which grows up between patient and practitioner—resulting in the trusted "family physician"—muffles competition, to be sure, but few would care to see it disappear. The same is true of the assumption of permanency in the relation between pastor and flock. No doubt the clergyman who, after some experience, settles into a life pastorate is happier and gives his parishioners better service than if he held a succession of pulpits. On the other hand, professionals without permanent employment—such as newspaper, stage and screen people—are exposed to the full force of competition with the young and after their peak their lot is often tragic.

The courts wisely recognize property in the "good will" of a business, for it encourages the business man to build up lasting relations with a group of satisfied customers. Were not "good will" something one can conserve and sell, a merchant would have no motive to cultivate it after he contemplated removal, change of business, or retirement.

Security of tenure. The public service must be made a career before the public will have able, trained and loyal servants. This implies security of tenure after a limited novitiate and dismissal only "for cause." Such stability absolutely excludes the idea that offices—save those which determine policy—should be treated as the "spoils" of party victory. Public servants will rarely be as well paid as the servants of mammoth business concerns; all the more, therefore, should they be assured security of tenure.

As the principle of security of tenure becomes established appears inevitably the "dead line." If it is taken as a matter of course that the employer—church, university, corporation or state—will retain the faithful servant during his declining years, the employer will naturally insist that it must in return have him for most of his prime. If clergymen and others find increasing difficulty in obtaining permanent placement after the age of forty-five, it is not that the employer is harder-hearted but that employment entails heavier responsibilities.

Old-age pensions or allowances follow quite logically upon the policy of undisturbed tenure. The time comes when it is cheaper to retire the

old servant on half or third pay than to continue paying his former salary for services of little worth.

While competition thus happily is being mitigated for certain groups of brain workers, it is a shame that the great army of manual laborers should be afforded no shelter whatever from the competition of the younger and more active. Something might be done to stabilize employment by a law requiring the employer to pay the employee dismissed without fault a wage proportionate to the length of time he had been in the employer's service.³

Is the tempering of competition unfair to youth? Is not all this a discrimination on behalf of age against more efficient youth? No, the policy may be justified even to the young. Their being held back a little may be looked upon as the payment of premiums for insurance to protect their own inevitable period of decline. For example the young scholar at thirty might well take over the professorship of the scholar of sixty. But the old scholar holds his chair until he reaches the age of sixty-five and the young man continues five years more as assistant professor before the chair falls to him. When he in turn reaches the point of declining energy the rule will now work to his advantage. On the whole, then, has the blunting of competition helped him or hurt him? Viewing his life as a whole, one can hardly doubt that he makes a good bargain when by foregoing his early supplanting of the older man he saves himself in turn from being supplanted at a time of life when check or discouragement may be fatal.

³ E. A. Ross, *The Social Trend*, 1922, Ch. XII, "For a Legal Dismissal Wage."

CHAPTER XIII

INSTITUTIONAL COMPETITION

When an institution finds itself menaced by a rising competitor the following tactics are open to it:

1. *Destruction of the competitor.* Its first impulse is to *destroy the competitor*. A "trust" cuts the price of its products below cost of production wherever an "independent" seeks to sell. A shipping "combine" has "fighting ships" which are called into play when a new steamship line enters its trade. As soon as the competitor announces a sailing date the "combine" advertises a steamer to sail on or before that date and offers a freight rate below the actual cost of carriage. To protect its monopoly of prestige the dominating social class may hobble by strict sumptuary regulations the classes which challenge it. In colonial New England there was a law that no one who possessed less than \$1,500 might wear lace. In feudal Japan the prospering farmer, craftsman, or shopkeeper could not build a house as he liked nor have certain articles of luxury. The richest commoner might not order to be made for him certain things which were the privilege of his "betters."

The spread of anti-slavery feeling in our North was due to the conviction that slaves menace free labor. Regarding the early abolition of slavery in Massachusetts John Adams remarked: "Argument might have had some weight . . . but the real cause was the multiplication of laboring white people who would not longer suffer the rich to employ these sable rivals so much to their injury."

After representative government, with its inevitable strife of parties, has been set up, the parties controlled by the propertied strive to crush any rising party which champions working-class interests. Loath to meet it on the hustings they hypocritically denounce it as "unpatriotic" and "subversive," a movement with criminal aims led by scoundrels, which is not entitled to the status of a legitimate political party but deserves only to be stamped out by banning its propaganda and jailing its leaders. Thus was outlawed the socialist party in Germany under Bismarck, and in line with the same ruffian technique our "red-baiters" would deprive the communist party of its place on the official ballot.

Religious persecution attempts to protect a monopoly by murder.

In Diocletian's time Roman religious beliefs were weak while the Christian beliefs were vigorous and spreading; so in desperation the old system made a ferocious attempt to exterminate all Christians. A thousand years later the Church stamped certain sects out of existence and strangled heresies in their cradle. Says Coulton:

. . . that which some love to picture as the harmonious growth of one great body through the Middle Ages is really a history of many divergent opinions violently strangled at birth; while hundreds more, too vigorous to be killed by the adverse surroundings, and elastic enough to take something of the outward colour of their environment, grew in spite of the hierarchy into organisms which, in their turns, profoundly modified the whole constitution of the Church. If the mediaeval theory and practice of persecution had still been in full force in the eighteenth century in England, nearly all the best Wesleyans would have chosen to remain within the Church rather than to shed blood in revolt; and the rest would have been killed off like wild beasts.¹

2. *Withdrawal from competition.* In case the rival cannot be wiped out one seeks to *withdraw from competition*, just as an army which cannot beat its enemy retires behind fortifications. The rulers of Japan, realizing early in the seventeenth century that the Jesuit missions were disintegrating a society founded on communal custom and filial piety, slew the native Christians, drove out all foreigners save the Dutch traders, who were confined to a 3-acre isle, made it a capital offense for any Japanese to leave Japan, broke up all vessels capable of long voyages, and attacked any European ships entering a Japanese port, except the vessels of the Dutch company.

In the third quarter of the last century, it became clear that the American standard of living could not possibly survive the competition of the Chinese coolies' standard of living. The friends of the American standard finally reared a barrier against the Oriental standard in the form of the Chinese Exclusion Act.

A state lacking in opportunities cannot hope to attract immigrants and therefore by every means in its power it binds its nationals to it. It discourages their emigration, sends agents abroad to organize them if they have left the homeland, and frowns upon their naturalization in another state.

A church that cannot crush competitors by her own strength summons the state to her aid. In South America until recently the state protected the religious monopoly of the Catholic Church. Only since 1865 in Chile

¹ G. G. Coulton, *From St. Francis to Dante*, 1907, p. 40.

have non-Catholics been permitted "to practice their religion inside private buildings belonging to them." Up to 1907 the law decreed that any person conspiring "to establish in Bolivia any other religion than that which the Republic professes, namely, that of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church," is a traitor. The constitution of Peru declared "The Nation professes the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion; the State protects it and does not permit the exercise of any other." Not until 1915 was the last clause abrogated.

If the state will not shield her, the church that shrinks from competition seeks a life apart. The early Church permitted mixed marriages in serene confidence that the Christian would convert, rather than be converted by, the pagan mate; but an edict of Louis XIV forbade marriage with heretics because of "the continual temptation of perversion." An expanding church does not admit very young members and is willing to leave children alone; but a church hard pressed seeks to incorporate them at an early age and requires its members to rear their children straitly in the faith. It conducts its young through a tunnel of church schools and societies lit by church lamps, instead of letting them into the broad daylight of the public school, the social settlement, the social center, and the public playground. This is why Soviet Russia will not allow anyone but parents to teach religion to persons under eighteen years of age!

Great care, too, is taken to button up the minds of the faithful. The church forbids them to read certain periodicals, patronize certain libraries, see certain plays, or follow certain university courses—a sure sign that the church counts on surviving *by holding on to her own people* rather than by winning new converts!

The college loath to modernize its curriculum and methods cultivates assiduously its alumni and appeals to them to send their sons to "dear old Pennhurst." Facing the growing interest in natural science and social science, the classics dig themselves in as "required subjects," while the new attractions are kept in the inferior status of "elective subjects." Menaced by a new political movement they dare not meet in the open, the old parties pass a law excluding from the official ballot a party which has not received a specified percentage of the ballots cast at the last election!

A device for holding business competitors at bay is the "factor's agreement," which binds the dealer to handle only the goods of our "make." Or a firm may require of the dealer the handling of articles upon which the patents have expired, as a condition of obtaining other articles, or

the handling of a certain article as a condition of the handling another article or line of articles.

3. *Constrained adaptation.* The government-led Westernization of Japan was not a heart conversion so much as the reluctant taking over of certain Western institutions and policies in order to save Japan from absorption by some Western power. Look how often of late outstanding liberals and leaders of popular parties are assassinated by the kept bullies of Reaction posing as "patriots"!

In China the activity of the Christian missionaries forces the native faiths to assume higher forms in order to survive.² Chinese scholars read into the Confucian classics elevated moral ideas which they have imbibed unconsciously from Christian sources. Under the spur of missionary competition, the Confucians send out wandering gossellers to spread the doctrines of the sage at fairs and festivals. Chinese Mohammedans, Buddhists and Taoists form "national associations," found schools, relieve the distress of the poor, help needy children to go to school, and attend to the marriage and burial of the destitute.

The Ceylonese Buddhists tell of the "incarnation" and the "immaculate conception" of Buddha and comfort the dying by assuring them that the Lord Buddha will presently receive them into his arms. The Buddhists of Japan besides sending out missionaries of their own have adopted various methods of their Christian competitors. They have stated times for preaching. They have pastoral visitation, street preaching, Sunday schools, prison and army chaplains, and special organizations for young men, women, and children. They maintain charities, push temperance, and set up schools.

The "amusement" clause of the Methodist Book of Discipline has in many places become "a dead letter" because enforcement would handicap the church in competing with less strict churches. In like manner the churches develop "institutional" or social, or recreative, features, not because the ruling element really wants them, but in order to attract or hold the young people, or the unchurched.

The coming up of socialism forced a reluctant church to concern herself with the material welfare of the masses. In the 1870's, in order to check Lassalle's movement, Bishop Ketteler of Mayence organized in Rhenish Prussia "Christian trade unions" which spread to Germany and Austria. It is not of record that they ever did *anything* which the bosses strongly objected to their doing. In Belgium the socialists, in accordance with their avowed principles, organized coöperative banks

² E. A. Ross, *The Changing Chinese*, 1911, pp. 256-57, 279.

among the poor; in order not to lose them, the church, a religious institution, started coöperative banks of her own! In the same way co-operative credit associations have been organized in Quebec in connection with the church.

In Mexico after the masses had gotten out of hand the church tried to lure the hand-workers into "Catholic unions" or "free unions," which submitted themselves to the authority of the church in policy as well as in doctrine and pledged respect for religion, country, family and property. Such tactics only excited the sardonic mirth of men who had risked their skins for the exploited workers years before the clergy showed a spark of interest in them. The advanced social program of the "Federal Council of Churches in Christ in America" was adopted by some of the thirty Protestant bodies reluctantly and only because they realized that "something must be done to win back the workingmen."

When wage earners start to vote or form unions the businessmen's parties put on a pro-labor veneering. They run their man as the "log cabin" candidate, woo labor with genial handshaking and barbecue, give labor leaders political jobs, scatter lush promises they do not intend to fulfil, give their policies a labor flavor (high tariff urged as "the protection of American workingmen"), pass measures which they know the courts will throw out as "unconstitutional," toss labor a few sops, or grant it benefits while at the same time providing capitalists with bigger benefits along other lines.

The competition of young American commonwealths for settlers hastened the extension of the suffrage and the early adoption of a system of public education. The competition of ambitious cities for residents or factories or state institutions forces them to adopt policies respecting prostitution, schools, police, handling of labor troubles, etc., which may be wormwood to the dominant element.

The adaptation of universities to new conditions is usually forced. Those of the seventeenth century, embedded still in scholasticism, adopted the "freedom of inquiry" which prevailed in the newly-founded scientific academies—only because in no other way could they attract the best scholars of their day. Americans are fortunate in having two types of university—endowed and state. Their competition for professors broadens academic freedom, while their competition for students tends to modernize the curriculum by introducing such new subjects as economics, sociology, business administration, and journalism. The catering of the endowed universities to the prejudices of donors, actual or possible, would hamstring their teaching of the social sciences, were it

not that they have to meet the competition of the liberal state universities.

In public institutions and in private institutions there are strengths and weaknesses, but they are not the same for both. Accordingly if the two types are brought into honorable competition within the same field each is stimulated to develop the kind of strength the other has, along with its own kind of strength, and to rid itself of the weaknesses peculiar to it. Fortunate therefore is the society which has both public and private high schools, both state and endowed universities, both state and private forestry, both state and commercial insurance service, both parcel post and express companies, both community and private agencies of poor relief, and both state and philanthropic institutions for dependents. There should be no partnership between private societies or foundations and the government; each should go ahead under its own steam and show the best it can do.

4. *Specialization.* Finally, an institution *eludes competitors by specializing*. A college may snap its fingers at rivals offering commerce and journalism and keep its halls filled by offering the best-framed and best-taught classical course of study. When yellow journalism seems to be carrying all before it, some journals save themselves by offering the judicious a soundproof retreat amid the howling of Bedlam. Until lately the British navy refused to enter the common arena of competition among the professions. *No one could become a cadet without a recommendation from some relative or friend of the family in the navy.* This restriction might seem to limit fatally the talent the navy drew upon; but the prestige accruing to the navy from its social exclusiveness really operated to supply it with more than its due share of talent!

A church which, as regards science and social work, is out of tune with its time may go in for beauty. With dusky and mysterious interiors, magnificent mosaics, wonderful Gregorian music, forests of lighted candles and domes blue with incense smoke, it may attract those who are sensuous or mystic in temperament.

Tactics of the new. The tactics of the new have to be quite different. Young and weak, it will not dream of *destroying* its established competitor. It cannot *withdraw from competition* for it has no trenches to withdraw to. No *constrained adaptation* seeing that it is already adapted to its time. In case it *specializes* there is no competition at all between it and the established.

So the new resorts to tactics not open to the established. It courts public favor by *making extravagant claims and promises*. The old has to be cautious in making promises for they can be checked against its record;

but the young aspirant is held back by no such hobble. The untested remedy sets up as a cure-all; the untried reform poses as advance agent of the millennium. When the Fourier "phalanx," solitary confinement for malefactors, the "single tax" on land values, the "monitor" system, or the "natural" method of learning a foreign language enters the lists, glowing pictures can be painted of the wonders it will work.

The new employs *sensationalism*. The established has the prestige of age and possession; the new must gain prestige by other means. The newly rich, in order to break the spell cast by the old families, set a pace in extravagance and ostentation which the former social arbiters cannot stand. The leaders of new departures in art or literature inspire curiosity and awe by long hair, flowing ties, unfashionable cut of dress, bizarre actions, and studied unintelligibility. New religious movements are much readier to claim "signs and wonders," than are settled churches.

The new *appeals to the more easily aroused demands of human nature*. The demand for *freedom* is one of these and hence the new holds out the lure of release from some form of restraint. Jesus proclaimed, "My yoke is easy and my burden is light." Paul preached "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law." The Reformers offered Christians "freedom from prelacy." The Anabaptists permitted prophecy *ad libitum*. The Quakers rejected the sacraments and a paid clergy. The Free Methodists gave free vent to religious feeling. Philosophical individualism has a great pull with the "half-baked," while the doctrines of anarchism have a seductiveness all their own. That the artist should throw off all "gyves," including the Ten Commandments, always makes a hit in some quarters. "Free verse" is a rallying cry, while "symbolism" is hailed as loosing the artist from the trammels of the actual. "Free election of studies" is the slogan of the assailants of the rigid curriculum.

Other winning cards in the hand of the new are *ritual*, *secrecy* and *exclusiveness*. The strength of their appeal is obvious.

Thanks to such tactics the inferior new may triumph over the "good old" if the plane of popular intelligence be low. In ignorant minds valuable institutions may be shaken by the blatant claims of charlatans and false prophets. For a while people may be lured from hard-won and age-tested truth to follow glittering sophisms and bubble promises. What meets man's deep and lasting needs may be abandoned for that which, for the moment, chimes with his fitful desires.

Let no institution elude competition. When, however, the plane of popular intelligence is high, it is chiefly competition that makes institutions adapt themselves to altered conditions. Without this spur the

institution stands still, even degenerates. Since this is so, *no institution ought to be shielded from competition by any special privilege or advantage*. The youthful sect, party, college, doctrine, or ideal ought to have the same freedom to organize, agitate and proselyte that the established enjoys. Moreover, individuals should be free to quit old organizations without forfeiting too much. Interparty migration (or the menace of it) tends to liberalize parties; interdenominational migration, to liberalize churches; interuniversity migration, to liberalize universities; and interstate migration, to liberalize governments.

An institution that has the children of its members as a matter of course needs not cater to them, and may petrify in its tracks. So it is unwholesome that children should be expected to take over *en bloc* the friendships, grudges, loyalties, and allegiances of their parents. The parent who lays upon his child inescapable obligations before the poor youngster has reached the age of free choice is virtually confiscating his child's personality!

If, instead of *inheriting* their adherents, organizations had to *win* them, they would accommodate themselves to the needs of to-day. The contrasts between organizations would connect less with differences of origin and history and more with the actual contrasts of type in contemporary society. In religion, for example, Methodists and Catholics, Friends and Christian Scientists, Dunkers and Salvation Army, would, no doubt, find each a type of followers that they were best suited to, but certainly *some* of the one hundred and fifty religious sects in the United States would perish because their real *raison d'être* is in distant European set-ups or remote historical conditions.

The vying for public favor by rival parties, sects, schools, professional codes, systems of education, theories of government and ideals of life brings about that accommodation of institutions to popular preferences which characterizes "democratic" society. The competition of patterns and manners for adoption makes them direct and expressive instead of formal and stiff. The competition of ideals of life for favor humanizes them so that they chime with the better self of man. As organizations and institutions are obliged to compete they come into line with the general trend of opinion and feeling. Under *inherited status* institutions make the character of their people; under *competition* the people make the character of their institutions.

CHAPTER XIV

AGE CONFLICT

Far below the surface goes on an intermittent struggle between old and young for access to the controls. Let "young" mean those under forty; "old," those over sixty; call the in-between "middle-aged." Age conflict has been little noticed seeing that it never results in broken heads. This is because: (1) old and young intermingle at every social level; (2) the contending groups are fluid in make-up, the old recall their restless fiery youth while the indignation of the young is tempered by the thought that, as they grow old, power will come to them of itself; (3) the ire of the old is cooled when they see their children confronting them, while the young are staggered to discover their parents in the opposing ranks; (4) the middle-aged mediate the age conflict.

BASES AND FORMS OF AGE CONFLICT

Young and old differ in aptitudes. Long ago Lord Bacon pointed out:

Young men are fitter to invent than to judge, fitter for execution than for counsel and fitter for new projects than for settled business.

Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold, stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end without consideration of the means and degree; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences; use extreme remedies at first; and, that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them.

Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success.

Young and old differ in objectives. The young normally judge measures, policies, and institutions from the point of view of Opportunity; they favor whatever will enable them to get on, get up, faster. But the older appraise from the point of view of Security—in their jobs, their property, their investments, their domestic relations, their social standing, their religious faith. So the young are critical of the existing.

The older, on the other hand, are conservative from fear of losing place or vantage already theirs. The former want more open doors—*ahead of them*; the latter want more closed doors—*behind them*!

Blockheads, of course, will be conservative even in their youth, while the gifted may remain progressive all through life. Again, certain of the young may lean to the right because they see things through the eyes of their parents, while some of the old lean left to the end because they look out on society through the eyes of their children. Then the heirs of property, situation, or social position will probably be conservative even in youth; but the old who have "toiled and moiled" yet gotten nowhere realize they have nothing to lose and see no reason why they should not clamor for a change in the "rules of the game."

Each type exasperates the other. The elders resent the crude egotism and rashness of youth, its insistence on having what it wants *at once*, its brazen proposals to change or discard inherited culture-patterns. Goaded by their passions the young emit and follow biased judgments; it is the old, whose passions are cooled, who can be looked to to give out disinterested judgments.

The old can be tolerant of the young, but the young, having never tasted age, have small patience with its faults. Age's realism and cool deliberation offend the eager and impetuous. They see the once alert become with advancing years almost vegetative, loath to examine new ideas, to study or think hard. The old will not qualify themselves to guide society aright, yet toward the young capables they show a fierce jealousy; *they are afraid of being thrust aside*. Nor does character always improve as the passions of youth cool. Often the fire of idealism and generous enthusiasm dies down, so that the erstwhile high-minded and chivalrous become stodgy, comfort-loving and hypocritical.

In a dynamic era chasms open. Within a fast-changing social order—such as that of the West has come to be—the time interval between generations becomes historically significant. If, in the average case, the child is 33 years younger than its parent, it takes form in another phase of culture than that which moulded the parent; it grows up in a stage of society quite other than the one the parent was reared in. Despite their years under the same roof and at the same table they may have difficulty in understanding each other; in some ways they twain *are foreigners*!

Forms of conflict. Age conflict may take the form of a *revolt of youth*, i.e., the young insist on choosing mate and occupation, reject the religious, political and social orthodoxies which their elders thrust upon them, brush aside hoary but burdensome rules of conduct for which they

see no warrant. "I want to think for myself" they protest with warmth, "I want to lead my own life."

It may take the graver form of the young *attempting to wrest the control levers from the hands of their elders*. Hotly they challenge gray-beard monopoly of the key posts in state, party, church, courts, bureaus, army, and navy, universities, professional and learned societies, business organizations. The old rely on age qualifications, length of training and experience, promotion according to seniority. The young try by daring and sensational "stunts" to outshine their elders and center attention upon themselves. The old plead the value of their detachment, their long experience, their store of garnered wisdom, their caution and deliberateness. The young charge their elders with being timid, inert, hide-bound, routinary, with want of initiative and decision, with failure to recognize and understand the new factors in a situation. The slogans of the old are "Ripe judgment," "Safe and sane," "Experience counts," "A steady hand at the helm." The young chant "New blood," "More vigor," "Away with the old fogies," "Give the younger a chance."

Age conflict in the past. Observes Goldenweiser:

The exaggerated prestige of old age is one of the *differentiae* of primitive civilization.

While these (the old men and in some groups the old women) take a less active part in the everyday activities, their leadership in ceremonial and political matters is pronounced, and they do everywhere constitute the great depositories of tradition, figuring as the mouthpiece, as it were, of the conservative *status quo*. They know the past, in fact, they know all there is to be known, and they see to it that this knowledge is passed on without much loss, as well as without much addition. They are the great stabilizing fly-wheel of the civilizational mechanism.¹

The invention of writing weakens the position of the old. So long as law is but custom handed on orally the graybeards are key men, for their minds are reference books of settled cases. New cases do not stagger them, for in some recalled precedent they have at hand a solution. But in comes writing and presently all jurisprudence, equity, history and science are more accessible in books than in the memories of old men! The younger no longer stand in awe of the larger experience of their seniors, for from books they can gather the fruits of many men's experience.

Nevertheless, in ancient Sparta the *Gerousia*, or council of twenty-eight men, all of them over sixty, held the state for centuries to the

¹ A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, 1922, p. 257.

system of a semi-mythical legislator. Even in Athens, if any young orator advanced new ideas, the old politicians who had the ear of the assembly denounced him as a hireling and a traitor so that he had to retire from the *agora* to private life. Both Rome with its "Senate" of "old men" and the Church with its "presbyters" or "elders" provided scope for the organizing ability and disinterestedness that usually bloom late in life if at all.

AGE CONFLICT IN MODERN SOCIETY

Static times versus dynamic times. Quiet epochs leave power in failing hands, whereas stirring times, which discredit precedent and tradition, give the capable young their opportunity. Gowin² has shown that the Protestant Reformation was led by churchmen whose average age was thirty-eight, whereas in quiet times the Church was guided by men well up in the sixties. Men of forty-two came to the helm during the Puritan Revolution, although sexagenarians have held the tiller of England in calm epochs. The dozen greatest French revolutionaries averaged thirty-eight years, while in smooth water the skippers of the French ship of state ran to fifty-nine years. The American Revolution was brought on by men under forty, while the anti-slavery agitators were forty-one; but in slack stretches American destiny has been confided to men averaging above fifty-three years.

Japan was modernized by men under forty, the Turkish Republic and New China are led by young men. In the Philippines those who had their education in English and assimilated the ideas introduced by the Americans, have all the power. The awakening of patriarchal and age-worshipping Asia will array young against old for at least three or four generations, during which myriads of gallant young progressives will be killed by minions of the power-loving old.

Religion. The ancestor worship of the Far East puts even the middle-aged under the thumb of their forebears; but in its maturity almost any religion works this way. Having a monopoly of interpreting it the old make it back up the control of parents over their grown children. Impairment of the authority of a regnant religion, therefore, brings in its train a weakening of patriarchal control. The introducers of a foreign religion, finding the striplings more receptive than the graybeards, stand always for the right of young adults to reject their parents' beliefs and

² E. B. Gowin, *The Executive and His Control of Men*, 1915, pp. 264-70.

choose for themselves; so, wherever they go, missionaries tend to shatter the ancient social order based upon the authority of the ancestors.

Education. Better child nurture and teaching enable the young more quickly to develop their powers and cast off the yoke of their elders. The conflict of ages is sharpened when education is being rapidly extended, so that many young people are far better instructed than were their seniors. Among us shoals whose parents had but the rudiments are winning diplomas, even "seeing the world" before settling down. Such come to perceive on what flimsy foundations rest many of the cherished beliefs and ways of the ignorant "old folks." On the other hand, the prolonging of the period of preparation for life work protracts financial dependence on parents, delays entrance upon a profession and arrival at one's peak of earnings and influence. *Adult education*, extending one's period of mental suppleness and intellectual growth, helps the old stand off the young.

Government. Democracy utilizes the patriarch less than monarchy, aristocracy or oligarchy. "Favor and popularity," said Lord Bacon, "follow youth." This is why elected bodies include more young men than appointed bodies, why a legislature elected on a broad franchise will include more young and magnetic vote-getters than one elected by delegate bodies, why the shift to popular election of United States senators was a victory for the young.

Growth of capital. The elders have a great and growing advantage in their accumulations. In general, what men under forty own cannot compare in volume with what is owned by men above sixty. Their incomes differ less; but the incomes of the young are derived more from work, those of the old spring rather from ownership. The ever-greater rôle played by capital in production gives the older, so far as they wield capital or credit, an advantage over the young in launching an enterprise.

Power of bequest. Everywhere we see grown-ups deferring to or obeying parents from fear of being "cut off in the will." This is why, now and then, scions of millionaires are found among the radicals, they have first-hand acquaintance with "capitalist domination"! Limitation by law of the testator's liberty to bequeath his estate as he likes is one means of depriving parents of their power to bend their children to their will. Another is the ownership of the means of production by the State, as in Soviet Russia.

Organization. In any organization promotion on the principle of seniority fills the higher positions with gray-heads. Promotion according to

demonstrated merit gives scope to the young who have shown unusual ability and force. Organizations *to do work*—such as banks, commercial and manufacturing concerns, school systems, charitable societies—greatly needing drive and initiative, are less likely to prosper in the hands of the old than such organizations as churches, learned societies, academies, religious orders, fraternal orders, financial houses, and political parties.

The youth movement. In various societies since the World War youth has come to be self-conscious, organized and aggressive. Soviet Russia is a land of youth and dominated by the spirit of youth. Let me cite some impressions I had in the summer of 1934.

Out from Yalta in the Crimea I spent hours in a camp for Young Pioneers, *i.e.*, boys and girls eight to sixteen. The camp, which has its own milk farms, bee-hives and vineyards, is occupied during the long vacation, May to October, and accommodates four shifts of three hundred each. There are many such camps in Russia, but this is one of the most desirable. All the children here are *udarniks*, *i.e.*, have distinguished themselves in some way. Each is on a "project" of his own choosing and the group have their own Soviet where they learn to deliberate and administer their collective affairs. Never have I met a body of children so alert and reactive as these.

Some miles away I visited a camp of Komsomols (Communist youth, seventeen to twenty-four) and was well heckled regarding labor conditions in my country. What a contrast between the product of our high-schools and that of the Soviet high-schools! *Our* teachers can hardly impart to their pupils any critical truth about working conditions or public utility finance without bringing down on their heads the "business" school-board, the local chamber of commerce, or the local chapter of the D. A. R. . . . The Young Pioneers and the Komsomols . . . possess an uncanny insight into anti-social situations which *we* have been taught to tolerate.³

In Italy "Fascism was mainly a political movement of the younger generation which had been convulsed by the War and needed a guiding hand. Since Fascism means bread for its partisans and hunger for its enemies, most of the young people in Italy don the black shirt and shout their fidelity to their Dictator." Germany's Youth Movement was recruited from the young people "who crowded the schools and colleges of the Republic after the Armistice and who could not be absorbed through normal employment when their education was completed." Thousands of restless unemployed people who had roamed the countryside as members of the Youth Hostel Association were quick to organize

³ E. A. Ross, *Seventy Years of It*, 1936, pp. 172-73.

under the emotional appeal of Hitler. Now they constitute the Nazi Youth Movement.

SOME CONTEMPORARY TRENDS AFFECTING AGE CONFLICT

Current developments telling on the side of the old are:

- a. The old are growing in relative number owing to the fall of the birth-rate and to the prolongation of human life in consequence

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY AGE AND SEX:
1930 (BLACK RECTANGLES) AND ESTIMATED FOR 1980 (IN OUTLINE)

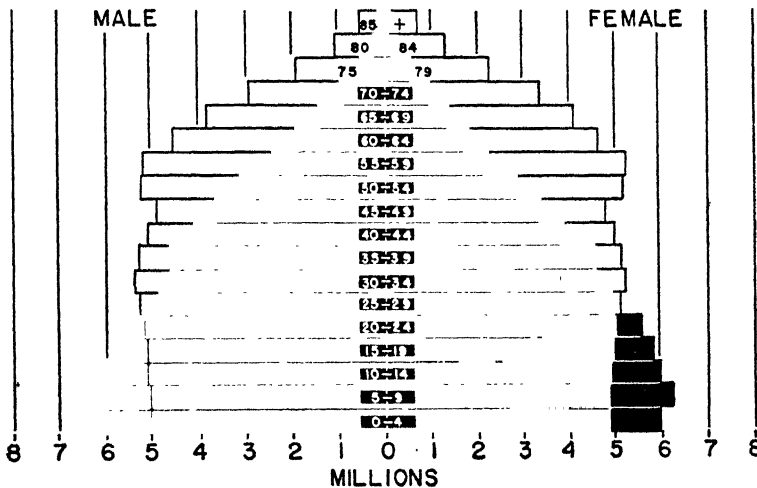


FIGURE 27

(From School of Public Affairs, Princeton University, and Population Association of America, Inc.)

of the vanquishing of many diseases. Since our grandparents' day the proportion of the population over the age of sixty-five has doubled. It is now about 6 per cent while those past fifty are near 20 per cent. In 1930 those 20-44 were seven times as numerous as those over 65. It has been computed that by 1980 they will be only 2 to 2.4 times as numerous! As the cohort of elderly grows they are more able to impose their will. In the nineteenth century the tillers of society were in the hands of men about fifteen years older than were the helmsmen of the fifteenth century. By the end of our century the mean may have gone up another fifteen years!

- b. The rise of a new technique for "keeping young." Elderly women are availing themselves of "beauty culture" to hold the center of the stage instead of retiring early to the wings leaving the lime-light to the blooming girls. Men past life's noon show signs of making a like rally. Guided by a personal hygiene ever more scientific and medical examinations ever more thorough, they are using

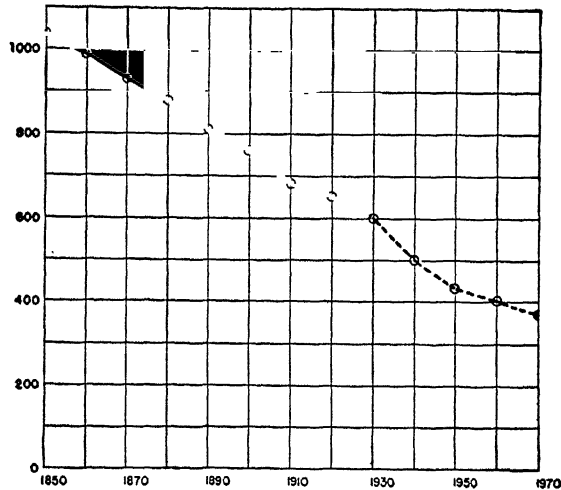


FIGURE 28

CHILDREN UNDER EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE PER 1,000
ADULTS AGED 20-69 YEARS, 1850-1970

- gymnasia, golf links and country clubs to prolong the vigor and elasticity of both body and mind.
- c. Discovery that one's decline into stupid prejudice and obstinate conservatism as the years pass is not inevitable, but is the penalty of long addiction to bad thought habits. Following from youth up a proper mental hygiene prevent such fungoid growths.
- d. More and more in capitalist society income and power go with ownership. Since most of the old hang on to their property till death, they are sure to be courted and deferred to by all who have hopes of being remembered in the will.

Among trends imparting social weight to the young are:

- i. Many of the young are equipped with a vastly better education than their parents received. For the greater part of its history edu-

cation has consisted in passing on a stock of learning which the young were to accept without question. Secondary schools were expected to plant in their pupils the orthodox ideas of their time. This is why many high-school graduates prove tighter-minded in later life than those who quit school at the sixth grade! But the rise of the sciences has shattered the old idea that the task of the school is to pass on learning; its business is to *help one to make the most of one's powers*. The "progressive school," in which the pupils *learn* in order to *do*, does not shackle youth with the pet notions of their elders but so builds them up that they can discern how arbitrary are many of the beliefs and ways of the hide-bound "old."

2. The young, with their uncluttered minds, are quicker than their elders to "catch on to" the countless new things coming into the warp and woof of our lives. On the farm it will be the boy rather than his father who "fixes" the tractor when it is out of order or gets the radio to "work."
3. In almost any line "long experience" is counting for less. In the mass production industries semi-automatic machine operations have lessened the value of stored experience and put a premium on the drive and pliancy of youth. "Speeding up," synchronization of production processes, and insistence on a higher output per man make it difficult for the older worker to retain his place. In a slack season many firms lay off the older worker first and rehire him last (if at all) when employment picks up.
4. Such assets of the graybeards as ripe scholarship, profound erudition, familiarity with ancient lore, close acquaintance with venerable sacred writings, weigh less now than at any time in the last twenty-two hundred years. More and more humanity is pinning its hopes of relief from the major ills of life to the progress of the sciences.

Balancing these conflicting tendencies, one may predict that ere long through advanced humanity the young will succeed in squirming from under the patriarchal knee, but that the old will contrive to keep in their hands most of the controls in society.

CHAPTER XV

SEX CONFLICT

Between individual men and women in the love relation there are, of course, innumerable clashes of personality; but even between the sexes as groups there smolders an antagonism which ever and anon bursts into flame. Among its causes are:

The sexes differ in instinctive equipment. Woman has at least one instinct all her own, the maternal; while man has the stronger pugnacious impulses. Nor do the sexes share equally in the will to dominate, to display one's self. Nietzsche had a point when he said, "Men and women are alien—never yet has anyone conceived how alien." That they react so differently in many situations makes each sex seem at times "queer" to the other. In the refined classes the sexes are carefully trained from childhood to conventional attitudes toward each other; but among the "plain folk" each sex views the other with some distrust, dislike, or contempt. Rough old farmers talking freely by themselves conclude that women generally are touchy, unstable, flighty, vain, irresponsible and sly. But their women about a quilting frame agree that for the most part men are coarse, sensual, self-willed, violent, egotistic and unreasonable.¹ Both groups underrate the might of *the going culture* in determining the traits of men and women.

Sagely remark those pioneers in mental sex-testing, Lewis M. Terman and Catherine Cox Miles²:

In modern Occidental cultures, at least, the typical woman is believed to differ from the typical man in the greater richness and variety of her emotional life and in the extent to which her everyday behavior is emotionally determined. In particular, she is believed to experience in greater degree than the average man the tender emotions, including sympathy,

¹ Middletown's culture says that men and women "are different kinds of people. Men are stronger, bolder, less pure, less refined, more logical, more reasonable, more given to seeing things in the large, but at home needing coddling and reassurance, 'like little boys.' Women are more delicate, stronger in sympathy, understanding, and insight, less mechanically adept, more immersed in petty detail and in personalities, and given to 'getting emotional over things.'" R. S. and H. M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, 1937, p. 176.

² *Sex and Personality*, 1937, p. 2.

pity, and parental love; to be more given to cherishing and protective behavior of all kinds. Compared with man she is more timid and more readily overcome by fear. She is more religious and at the same time more prone to jealousy, suspicion, and injured feelings. Sexually she is by nature less promiscuous than man, is coy rather than aggressive, and her sexual feelings are less specifically localized in her body. Submissiveness, docility, inferior steadfastness of purpose, and a general lack of aggressiveness reflect her weaker conative tendencies. Her moral life is shaped less by principles than by personal relationships, but thanks to her lack of adventurousness she is much less subject than man to most types of criminal behavior. Her sentiments are more complex than man's and dispose her personality to refinement, gentility, and preoccupation with the artistic and cultural.

Man has monopolized power. As chief trouble maker, and protector of his own from trouble, man has arrogated to himself the shaping of the large events and institutions conditioning the life of family, community, tribe and state. For the ages that his decisions related to little else than war, peace, and security, women consented to their exclusion. Tied down by their babies they left fighting and all that it involves to the men. But since *written law*, instead of *ancestral custom*, has come to fix the rights and duties of spouses, and since the man-managed state has laid its hand on family, children, education, recreation, industry, public health and public morals, thinking women more and more resent exclusive male control of law and state.

Man has set up ideals for women as well as for men. On the whole the ideals *for* men have been wrought out *by* men, but the ideals for women have not been wrought out by women. In Japan, for example, the mould into which the daughter's soul is poured is plainly man-made, whereas the mould into which the son's soul is poured is by no means woman-made. The female is to be modest, self-abnegating, gentle, retiring and domestic because the male wants her so. The world over, man imposes his own notions of what women ought to be and do. In gratifying his sex impulses he claims for himself a degree of liberty he is quite unready to concede to woman. The wide divergence in the meanings of "virtue," "honor," "modesty," "liberty," as applied to the two sexes-is man's work. How much it irks the human female to be what he requires her to be, how many of her best possibilities she sacrifices, and whether she is happy in the rôle he forces on her, are questions which never occur to the self-confident male. For him *That is the way I like 'em* is final and sufficing!

Where the spirit of our Old South reigns, an elaborate upper-

class "lady"-worship fails to conceal the naïve assumption that God placed women here for the sake of the male sex. As a matter of course women should find their mission in serving, pleasing, and inspiring men, but no one suggests that the male sex has its end in anything it does for women; *its end is within itself*. The young woman should cultivate a conciliating and caressing manner, and avoid opposing or disagreeing with men. If she has opinions she dissembles them and if she has learning she hides it, lest male irritation blast her with the reproach "unwomanly." To please men she must wear delicate and flimsy clothes, no matter what they cost her fingers or her purse, and shun the plain but convenient "tailor-made" garments. Male opinion blames the widow who remarries for putting her own happiness above loyalty to a man's memory; but no one thinks less of the widower who remarries. The divorced man goes everywhere, but the divorced woman is socially ostracized, no matter what her justification. The men hold under constant surveillance the reading, associations, and activities of their womenfolk, and expect the woman to subordinate her own notion of what is proper for her to the judgment of her nearest male relative. In a word, her repute and standing concern her menfolk more than they do herself!

The mountain of balderdash literature on "the woman question," stressing impressively the disabilities which Nature has imposed on the female sex and solemnly warning of the terrible risks of making women free, is, to the reflective, a gigantic index of male self-conceit and fatuousness. The parade of learning, logic, and impartiality in thousands of such sermons, articles, pamphlets and books appears on close inspection to be as empty as a soap bubble!

Genesis of sex conflict. An inter-sex adjustment comes to be bedded in the culture patterns and unthinkingly we adapt our behavior to it; but when the culture patterns disintegrate hidden injustices show up. Hence, in our day, with the crumbling of venerable religious dogmas, the decay of the principle of authority, the overtaking of the clergy by other learned professions, the adequacy of fewer births, and the opening to women of no end of doors to self-support, the right of one sex to fix the destiny of the other is challenged. Why—it is asked—are men so eager to bar women from the skilled trades, the higher educational walks, the professions, public service, and public office, unless it is that they want to keep the soft berths and the power seats for themselves?

Features of sex conflict. Sex conflict does not slump into sheer carnage, as may race conflict or class conflict. The sexes are cross-linked by countless close ties—lovers, spouses, brothers, and sisters, mothers

and sons, fathers and daughters—so that they *never* face each other in hostile array. Physical combat between the sexes has not been, will not be. Nor is it a conflict between *all* men and *all* women; rather it is a duel between the old, masculine, woman-depreciating culture and the new bi-sexual culture built on science. Always some women uphold male domination and some men are ired at the spectacle of female repression; so each group tries to win converts from the other. The champions of male rule work artfully upon the feelings of emotional women to make them distrust themselves and accept an assigned status; while the friends of aspiring women appeal to the fair play sense of men to persuade them to let their restive sisters go free.

As agitation thrusts "women's rights" into the focus of attention, sex antagonism flares up a bit; then, as women are conceded instalment after instalment of freedom and opportunity, which blithely they hasten to use and enjoy, the sexes with a sigh of relief settle contentedly into the altered relations and their antagonism speedily dies away. Always, however, there is a residue *owing to differences in the reaction of the sexes to elemental life situations.*

What determines the outcome of sex conflict? In some fields, namely, intersex association and manners, status of the wife, of the mother, domestic seclusion, the education of daughters, *etc.*, the outcome of the conflict in the higher social classes practically settles it for the rest, unless society is cleft by deep racial or cultural chasms. On the other hand, upper-class example cannot remove the grievances of woman in respect to her legal status in home, industry, education, the church, and the state; so battle rages about these citadels of masculine power.

Not fists nor weapons settle intersex conflict, not always even argument and debate. Factors from outside the field may decide. Quite in their day's work delvers into biology, psychology, sociology, or church history may explode baleful dogmas which for ages have buttressed male domination: such as, that God is male, that woman was created as an afterthought and solely for man's pleasure and comfort, that the Fall in Eden was due to Eve's tempting Adam, that owing to her menstrual flow woman is "impure," that about conception there is something guilty and shameful, that celibacy is exalted and God-pleasing, that the father is sole author of the child's being, that women have no souls, that women as the chief ally of the Devil in dragging men down to perdition must be kept cloistered or veiled, that "it is shameful for a woman to speak in a church," that woman's intellectual powers are

contemptible, that it is not worth while to educate her, *etc., etc.* Once those ancient props are dust little is left on which the male sex can base its claim to dominate.

Developments keeping women under the yoke. Although the theological dogmas which buttressed male domination are crumbling, certain current developments tell against sex equality: (a) war and "preparedness" exalt the sex that fights; therefore, if savage struggle for dominion is to rule the international scene in the immediate future, the cause of women will lose ground; (b) decay of the household industries shrinks the economic importance of the home-staying wife and makes her depend more on her man; (c) heavy athletic contests emphasize the physical superiority of males to females; (d) the popular connecting of happiness with the *owning of things* (a by-product of modern salesmanship) is hostile to idealism in the relations of the sexes, and looses man's greater physical strength and hankering to dominate; (e) abandonment of democracy in favor of single-party rule maintained by ruffian methods (Nazi-ism) tells against the weaker and less pugnacious sex; (f) if the West should tear itself to bits in a series of general wars, the woman-belittling Oriental culture might gain prestige in the eyes of humanity.

Developments releasing women. (a) Mental testing proves the intellectual parity of Darby and Joan; (b) limiting the size of the family spares wives from being looked upon as mere brood mares; (c) communal nurseries (as in Soviet Russia and among the Jewish settlers in Palestine) allow the mothers to keep on with their jobs; (d) parents give their daughters as good a schooling as they give their sons; (e) admission of women in growing numbers to the higher walks and the learned professions; (f) the power-driven machine enables women physically weak to hold millions of jobs in industry; (g) sex equality in voting, access to public office and participation in public life add to women's power and prestige in society.

World-wide sweep of sex conflict. In the ages to come changes in life conditions or ruling ideas may cause reversions to male dominance; but *our* time, at least, should witness the swift spread through most of mankind of the freedom, opportunity and respect attained already by about a fifth of the world's women. Three-fifths of humanity are steeped in Oriental cultures which, in the main, subordinate the female sex to a degree hardly to be matched in any culture of which we have record. The readjustments between the sexes throughout the Asiatic world will make fireworks, we may be sure, for several decades. "In China bobbing the hair is a symbol for which women die martyrs, able and energetic

girls, killed in backward villages during some militarist reaction." In Moslem Asia there are villages where women who leave off the veil are bound to a post and stoned. Without growing tension, sex embitterment, female self-assertion and occasional savage reaction women's day cannot dawn in the Orient.

THE OUTLOOK

Should a reaction develop against sex-equalization, the primary cause will be not men's old craving to dominate, but spread of the conviction that "emancipated" women are in a way "falling down" on their race-continuance "job." It will be shown that not a sufficient number of children are being born owing to the wife's dread of pregnancy; that the wives of superior and successful men are not delivering their due quota of heirs; that gifted women *achieve* rather than marry and bear children inheriting their gifts; that children are not being looked after and cared for as self-sacrificingly as of yore; that mothers are bringing up their daughters to demand too much from life, or to sidestep the duties which fall upon them as women; or mothers are too absorbed in their pursuits or pastimes to acquire over their sons that character-building influence which was often the reward of the old-fashioned home-staying mother.

Upon these functions the leaders of women should center their attention. If too many capable women are frittering away their newly won freedom in pleasure-seeking, beauty culture, the sex chase, struggle for social recognition, pursuit of a career, etc., then will rise a tide of opinion unfriendly to sex-equality.

There are limits beyond which sex-equalization cannot go. The time may come when women collectively will have as much weight in society and state as men; but there is no prospect that in sex relations the man will lose his prerogative to make the advances, to woo, to propose marriage, because it rests on physiology. A marriage may be fulfilled even if the wife does not respond to the amorous advances of her husband, whereas it fails utterly in case the husband does not respond to the amorous advances of his wife.

CHAPTER XVI

RACE ¹ CONFLICT

Of all group oppositions race conflict holds the most menace. Age conflict and sex conflict never become sanguinary. Conflicts between town and country, even between employers and workers, are limited by the realization that each is necessary to the other. Religious wars and class conflict cease when the beaten conform to the will of the victors. But a man cannot change his race as he changes his religious beliefs or class aims. Disarmed and submissive he is just as offensive to the conquering race as he was while he was fighting. The logical thing to do would be to exterminate the beaten race in the style of Ghengis Khan. It is only because what poses as "conflict of races" is usually a struggle over territory that the beaten race is left alive once it has been driven off areas which the more powerful covet.

There is a physical basis for repulsion in the fact that races may differ markedly in features, physiognomy, skin color, hair, body odor, *etc.*; and everything distinctive of one race is commonly offensive to members of other races. Each isolated racial group look upon their own traits as defining the perfect human type.

The possibilities of inter-racial trouble are multiplied many fold when races are supposed to fall into a hierarchy. Those which at a comparatively early date became possessed of the elements of an advanced culture claim to be "superior"; while those which, being remote from the developing centers of culture around the Eastern Mediterranean (Africans south of the Sahara, Australians, Melanesians, American Indians), remained at a low cultural level, are stamped as "inferior." This rating of races by the grade of culture that geography and history have permitted them to acquire is one of the most devastating delusions of contemporary Western civilization.

Race as the anthropologist sees it. Scientists insist that the basic mental differences among color races are like those among stocks within the same race. What makes Malays, or American Indians, or Congolese

¹ *Race*, of course, is altogether a *biological* term and should not be in any way confounded with national, religious, cultural, or social groupings.

a mystery to us is not mental quirk but cultural background and special experiences.² Given our training, their minds would work as ours. In many areas of race contact shrewd observers find no "native mind" distinct from the common everyday human mind. In every major race are found individuals capable of taking in our whole intellectual heritage. Even naked savages, if protected from exploiters and given time, will become civilized. Reader, how were your ancestors and mine living when the First Pyramids rose?

On the other hand, it would be strange, indeed, if all branches of mankind scored equal when within each branch we find all grades from idiot to genius. The *mental* traits of a local variety, like its *bodily* traits, correspond to the special conditions of survival it has been subjected to for, perhaps, tens of thousands of years. Considering the very dissimilar degrees of contrivance, foresight and self-control required for keeping alive and rearing young in regions as diverse as Greenland, Nejd, Uganda and Polynesia, it would be a biological miracle if all local varieties of man were found to be of just the same brain power.

If distinct races or strains should be proven unequal in their mental capacities, the more gifted will set up restrictions on breeding with the lower; but this implies the "color line" and will make bad blood. Moreover, it is not yet settled whether the crossing of the more specialized

² Dealing with the contention that the Negroes in Africa have a larger development of the instinct of submission than other races, since they have been enslaved for so long and to such a large degree, Professor Ellsworth Faris points out that along the Congo River, inhabited by Bantus of the same racial stock in small political units, slavery is everywhere present and the differences between a slave and a free man are very striking. The free men are proud, independent, often haughty, in their bearing; slaves, on the other hand, belong to a lower status. They submit to their masters, allow themselves to be sold to others without protest, give to their owner the perquisites from any game they may have killed in the hunt, and in every other way act as if they are being motivated by an instinct of submission.

"If, however, one inquires as to the origin of the slaves among the Bangalas of Bopoto he learns that they belong to the Bankundo tribe who live a hundred miles and more up river. Upon ascending to the Bankundo tribe one finds the free men among them showing no traces of the slave psychology, but with the same haughtiness and independence that slave owners traditionally exhibit. The Bankundos, however, own large numbers of slaves of their own, who in their turn show the slave attitude quite unmistakably. These slaves of the Bankundos are spoken of as Balolo, that is, 'up-river' people, and the Balolo, when you go up river and find them, are free people, owning slaves who come from higher up the river. The same thing is found as one ascends the stream, and the interesting fact develops that the slaves are always sold down river, are unable to escape and get back home, accommodate themselves to their situation, accept the inevitable, and breed generations of slaves. But people from the same village and sometimes in the same family remaining at home (for captives in war are the chief origin of slavery in this region) are free people with none of the slave psychology."

human varieties gives good results or bad. So long as we *don't know*, balancing "arguments for" miscegenation and "arguments against" is childish; we shall just have to await scientific investigation on a large scale in the numerous regions where there has been much race crossing. Meanwhile, since the scrambled can never be subsequently unscrambled, social and legal barriers against crossing should not be condemned.

Unequal race multiplication begets conflict. Thanks to their being helped to down famine, epidemic, and tribal wars, backward races more and more are cutting their deaths, but rarely do they cut their births as do the advanced races. The men are not so considerate of their wives and children. In South Africa the Bantus "under the white man's broad shield" multiply like rabbits, threaten to overflow any areas reserved for them and displace their white neighbors not by *outdoing* them, but by *underliving* them. It is unlikely that sub-civilized races will be allowed, after they have filled their homelands to the distress point, to overflow into the homelands of civilized races and displace them.

Clash of cultures poses as "conflict of races." The so-called "race hatred," which for centuries blazed or smoldered between Gaels and "Saxons," Poles and Russians, Germans and Czechs, Kurds and Armenians, is but a mask for economic, political and religious enmities. Much that has passed for *race conflict* is really *clash of cultures*. What offends is not the other fellow's physical traits, but his speech, ways, beliefs, and values. What is behind the prejudices among Americans against Mexicans and Italians?

Hatred of the economic competitor wears the guise of race antipathy. So long as the white laborers in our Pacific States (1867-82) faced displacement by immigrant Chinese they abominated everything about these supplanters. Here and there the inoffensive coolies were made victims of brutal mass violence. But within two decades after the adoption (1883) of the policy of Chinese exclusion by the United States the sense of pressure had passed from the minds of the whites and the remaining Chinese were not only tolerated but even liked!

The rise of anti-Japanese feeling later was due not to "natural antipathy," but to fear inspired by the rapid economic advances of the Japanese on our Pacific Coast and by certain moves of Japan. On the other hand, looking upon the people of China as potential customers rather than competitors, we find virtues in them which we refuse to see in the Japanese. In the same way anti-Negro feeling crops up in new places and in new social layers as the Negro makes his way out and up from the cotton fields.

Shrewd and wise is the statement of Bogardus:

As long as unskilled immigrant laborers, of any race, remain "in their place," amenable to control, all goes well. But let a few of the more energetic of their number climb industrially, start a labor union, or lead a strike; let a few of the families move out from the immigrant neighborhood into a better-class neighborhood; let a few of their children take prizes or class offices at school—and straightway the underlying competition is recognized and social conflicts are stimulated. Immigrants who have been encouraged because of the work they can do, are viewed in a new light as potential competitors for rank, position, status. The slogan is raised: We are going to be overrun. . . . Anti-race propaganda is both subtle and openly spread, and an overt race conflict is at hand.³

Competition makes a lasting split only when your competitors are readily identifiable. When they are of other hue ill will springs up against them, extends even to members of that race who are *not* competitors. Repaid in the same coin the feeling is now real race hatred. Hence, admit to your country those of another color who come as tourists, travelers, culture seekers or culture bearers, but, unless you want a new rift in society, bar those who will directly compete with your own people.

Resentment of alien domination may set races at odds. In India, as formerly in Egypt, the tension between natives and British springs not from true race antipathy, but from *the strain of alien rule*. In some British the wielding of power and the consciousness of belonging to a privileged caste breed an overbearing attitude. In the high-caste Indians, once the spirit of nationalism has been aroused, the realization that in everything that counts the alien has always the last word becomes galling. As a rajah put it to me, "there is not a single Indian who has not several times in his life been insulted or aggrieved by some British official."

Prudent immigration policy may embroil races. The restriction of immigration by a nation with a controlled fertility, fearful of being swamped by the overflow from congested blindly multiplying peoples, will seem an insult when the excluded are of a different race. Under dread of population pressure many nations will eventually adopt policies which ignorance or malice will charge to sheer race antipathy—and which will be resented as such.

Democracy calls for a people fairly like-minded, able to think, feel and act together. Exclusion of immigrants of an altogether different hue and culture may be motivated by a people's reluctance to become a hodge-podge of diverse colors, tongues, and faiths, with the most discordant

³ E. S. Bogardus, *Immigration and Race Attitudes*, 1928, pp. 8, 9.

moral and economic standards; yet the policy will be interpreted as a gesture of racial arrogance.

DEVELOPMENTS AGGRAVATING RACE CONFLICT

Modern mobility. Two centuries ago only a handful of venture-some missionaries, traders and travelers had dealings with men of another hue. But the progressive abolishment of distance, the reaching out of traders for new markets, the quest of industrialists for untapped sources of raw materials, and the search for virgin fields for the profitable investment of capital, have forced a growing contingent to have relations with people of another color. Hence race consciousness *and perhaps race conflict* are advancing upon humanity at a terrifying speed.

White conquest and domination. In four centuries Europeans with the aid of gunpowder have fastened their yoke on the natives of the Americas, Australia, Oceania, Africa, and large parts of Asia, crushing many of them into slavery. Constituting 44 per cent of the world's population, they control 72 per cent of its area. As a result the whites now have a bad case of "swelled head"; other races can hardly get along with them save as confessed inferiors. "Nordic" superiority? But how old Hammurabi would have hooted at it! Or Rameses II! Or Solomon! Or Haroun al-Raschid! Or Marco Polo!

Capitalistic imperialism. The world's surplus capital is in the hands of whites and the hankering of white capitalists to make "big money" by seizing the untouched natural wealth of areas occupied by other races and dictating the terms of employment of the native labor they require, prompts them to use the vast propaganda machinery they control to pillory the colored peoples, and to hurrah for white domination over them. So a "hell's broth" is being cooked up.

The inevitable spread of Western civilization. Our civilization, immensely powerful owing to its superior science and technique, is very unequally distributed, and not all races lacking it resent being taken in hand by a race possessing it. Morocco, Nigeria, Java, Borneo, and Hawaii, testify to the blessings a government on the Western model can bestow. Nevertheless, the time will come when the brighter subject races, having taken over our civilization and served their apprenticeship, will crave to govern themselves. But will the gains from empire and the sweets of power be yielded up on demand?

Growth of race consciousness. Sensitiveness to contrast in hue is of relatively recent origin. Declares Lord Olivier ⁴:

⁴ "Color Prejudice," *Contemporary Review*, 1923, CXXIV, pp. 449-56.

Color prejudice, in the common sense of the term, is in fact essentially a modern phenomenon, dating largely from the rise of the Bristol slave-trade and our assumption of military supremacy in India, and is a complex of many reactions of Negro slave-holding and Asiatic dominion.

Lord Bryce points out ⁵ that:

. . . down till the days of the French Revolution there had been very little in any country, or any time, of self-conscious racial feeling. . . . However much men of different races may have striven with one another, it was seldom any sense of racial opposition that caused their strife.

Intolerant nationalism. The rising passion for national homogeneity begets impatience with racial minorities. Witness the former pressure on Polish Catholics by Protestant Prussia and Greek-Orthodox Russia; anti-Semitism prompted by the suspicion that their religion makes the Jews internationalists; the legislation of our Pacific States aimed at landholding by Japanese immigrants; the demand that the Negroes in the United States be deported to Africa. The hellish possibilities that lurk in this ideal appear from the deliberate extermination (1915-16) of a million Armenians in Turkey, and from the driving out from Asia Minor in 1922 of a million and a half Greeks and Armenians, leaving everything they could not carry on their persons to be appropriated by the Turks!

"Nazi" doctrines of race. Anti-Semitism appears to have been taken up by the German National Socialists to win popular support for a party that actually proposed to do away with political democracy. But the philosophy of race they finally came to propagate, if widely acted on, would prepare for mankind a future of such bloodshed, hatred and horror as no one has ever yet imagined!

MEANS OF MITIGATING RACE CONFLICT

Regulated avoidance. In India from time immemorial religion has segregated different races or strains into castes, the members of which do not mingle, eat together, or inter-marry. Accepted as "God's will" the caste system inhibits all race conflict. Elsewhere we see races held apart by residential segregation, "Jim-crow" cars, "nigger heaven" sections in theaters, separate schools, playgrounds, churches, public libraries and labor unions, the ban on inter-marriage, and the exclusion of the weaker race from the skilled trades, the offices and the professions. Unless, how-

⁵ In his Creighton Lecture *Race Sentiment as a Factor in History*.

ever, the weaker race generally acquiesces in such restrictions latent conflict will persist.

Justice. Mingled races may share unequally in higher functions and still enjoy equal protection in their rights. There are areas under white rule—Jamaica, British Guiana—where the local courts deal out even-handed justice to all. The police do not discriminate between offenders on the ground of color. Blacks are in the rural constabulary and exercise authority over other blacks. The civil service makes room for educated negroes under white direction. There is no unfairness between races in providing police protection, health service, or school facilities. "A Negro may attain the highest success in business or profession, may go to all of the places and do all of the things where his desires and money can take him." In French society superior Asiatics and Africans circulate on their merits.

Fairness in bestowing *recognition* is an emollient. Every time a member of the minority race wins a fellowship, receives an honorary degree, is voted a medal, presides over a church gathering, achieves a commission in the army, or has his poems, plays, or music acclaimed by the general public, race tension is eased.

Exposing the base source of race prejudice. R. Marshall⁶ found that of the 77 whites in a village of Northern Alaska 9 with an average intelligence quotient of 94 regard the Eskimos as "distinctly inferior to the whites in every way"; 38 with an average of 104 deem the Eskimos "somewhat inferior to the whites but should be treated as equal"; 30 with an average of 106 regard the Eskimos as "fully as admirable a people as the whites."

Included among the nine people who regarded the Eskimos as distinctly inferior were the whites with the first, second, fourth, and fifth most enemies among their own race. Not a single one of the nine people was ranked by his fellow whites among the top half in popularity. This hints at an interesting psychological linkage. A person is disliked by his own people, so, in order to assuage the feeling of inferiority which this must at least subconsciously create, he bolsters his pride by stressing how much superior his entire race is to another race.

The protest of universal religions. Islam recognizes no color bar, hence its strong appeal to Africans. Since the Europeans came into contact with the blacks south of the Sahara in the fifteenth century and began to carry them away as slaves Christianity has not lived up to its principles of the brotherhood of man. Of late, however, its far-sighted

⁶ *Arctic Village*, 1933.

leaders have seen the necessity of a definite stand on race. The Jerusalem conference of the International Missionary Council in 1928 declared "any discrimination against human beings on the ground of race or color . . . is a denial of the teachings of Jesus." In Africa and Asia Christian missionaries often anger white settlers and colonial governments by building up in the natives a sense of human dignity and helping to develop leaders among them.

Interracial coöperation. The formation in the American South and in South Africa of near a thousand general, state, and local committees made up of representative whites and blacks, to study the race problem, consider grievances, find out what may be done to improve race relations and then line up both races in doing it, is a rational way to lessen race friction. Hitherto each race has seen most of the worst element of the other; fellowship and team work on these committees between the best whites and the best Negroes improve each race's opinion of the other.

Communism takes its stand for race equality. Asserts Dr. Hans Kohn⁷ :

In the Soviet Union a determined stand has been taken against race discrimination. The rational belief in the complete equality of all races has become the official creed, and energetic educational efforts are being made to raise the social and economic conditions of the underprivileged races. . . . Communism helps to organize backward races in their struggle for political and economic advancement and liberation. This assistance contrasts with the attitude of many white labor and socialist groups among whom race interests are stronger than class interests. The help given to backward races by communists emanates not only from their identification of racial and class conflicts and from an alliance against the capitalist and imperialist powers but also from the fundamental policy against race discrimination within the Soviet Union. Bolshevism continues, in a rationalized and secularized form, the stand of primitive Christianity against race discrimination; but the equalitarian Soviet theory goes further than most Christian agencies in tackling not only the psychological and emotional causes of race conflicts but also their economic roots.

THE OUTLOOK

In large numbers the whites, armed with the most effective means of taking human life, are seeping into areas which other races have occupied for ages and regard as their own. The bulk of these whites are quite without moral restraint so far as other races are concerned and are

⁷ Article on "Race Conflict," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 1934, Vol. 13.

capable of any collective atrocity against the native population in case they find it seriously in their way. The only source from which restraint may be laid upon them is the people "back home," who are under less temptation to spurn the demands of justice. Here is the reason for upholding "imperial control," as against independence or "home rule," for the so-called "colony."

As for the larger, more advanced and more formidable non-white peoples, the whites must quickly "come down from their high horse" and deal with them as equals if that most dreadful of all wars—race war—is to be avoided.

Than the relations of color races no social question is more in need of the organized effort of the best element in all races. All of broad outlook ought to seek a platform of conviction on which they can stand as a unit against the mischievous proposals which appeal to the emotional and shortsighted multitude.

CHAPTER XVII

CLASS CONFLICT

Class conflict is precipitated by some economic or technological change which lifts a new class or depresses an old one. Disposal of the Roman "public land," the spoil of conquest, brought on the struggles with which the Gracchi were identified. Later the flooding of Italy with enslaved war captives called forth convulsive movements from the dying small-husbandmen class. Cheap access to foreign breadstuffs led over a century ago to the struggle between the landlords of England and the factory lords with the masses over the question of the "corn laws." In the closing decade of the last century the appreciation of gold precipitated a struggle between debtors and creditors which died down when, after 1897, gold began to depreciate.

But other economic developments *allay* class opposition. The spread of rural coöperation may put an end to the outcry of small farmers lest they be swallowed up by large capitalistic farming. Coöperative stores may end the friction between the public and the retail merchants. In the interests of factory efficiency intelligent employers drop the exploitative policies which most exasperate their workers. The necessity of buyers for the output under "mass production" reconciles many employers to the policy of paying high wages.

Alternation of social strife with social peace. Since a class struggle is too wearing to be let run on, an adjustment is brought about in customs, institutions, law, or the constitution of the state. Each class may gain its main point, so their opposition dies away. Ere long this adjustment seems a part of the order of Nature and later generations can hardly conceive of any other arrangement. Thus there was social peace in England from the abolition of villeinage until the beginning of the enclosures. But presently some economic or technological change upsets this settlement and class strife flares out again.

In a long social calm the sense of class is dulled, feeling for family, community or nation becomes strong, and society is deemed an outgrowth of natural fellowship and the spirit of coöperation. Morals, law, and state, are regarded as consistent one-piece creations of conscience

plus reason. Conversely, a period of sharp conflict begets the idea that society is not born of good will, but is the arena of contending interdependent groups. The social order is looked upon as outcome of a balancing of opposed forces, while laws and institutions are seen as compromises rather than congealed logic.

TYPES OF CLASS CONFLICT

Laity against clergy. In South Europe all through the nineteenth century the "liberals" have striven to break the grip of the clergy upon charity, education, the opinion-moulding agencies, and politics, leaving them free, however, to promote religion. In Latin America, where under the colonial system of Spain the Catholic hierarchy enjoyed vast wealth and power, the struggle to throw off the clerical yoke has been at times bloody. In colonial Massachusetts and Virginia there was a long fight to oust the Protestant ministers from their commanding position. Throughout Islam to-day the friends of Western culture challenge the iron control exercised by the very ill-educated and narrow-minded Mohammedan clergy.

Civilians against military. Because it has weapons, discipline, the habit of violence, lust of command and scorn of labor, the army would domineer over those engaged in the pursuits of peace. How it has been brought under control is a long story. Japan (1939) shows that it is still possible for the military to take the bit in its teeth and bolt.

The active against the leisured. The idea that only recipients of unearned income, namely, the holders of feudal estates are fit to hold the reins has been losing ground ever since in Venice, Genoa, the towns of the Low Countries, and the cities of the Hanseatic League, rich merchants and bankers began vying with the territorial nobles. Owing to their reinforcement by industrial capitalists in the last two centuries "men of affairs" have gained greatly in prestige. With the lords of business have ranged themselves the stars of the professions—successful lawyers, surgeons, engineers, architects, and artists. These live as splendidly as inheritors of long rent rolls; so it is no longer possible for the aristocrat to look down on the banker, steel king, or factory lord, even if the latter is "self made" and visits his office every day!

Commoners against nobles. Nobility means *privilege*. In France before the Revolution the nobles besides their rents enjoyed privileges much resented by the peasants, such as the collecting of market tolls, the right to hunt over the tenants' crops and the right to hold a "manorial"

court in which the lord was at once judge and party in suits arising out of his claims upon his tenants. Moreover, nobles were exempt from most of the king's taxes, they were not subject to the lower courts, and all the "plums" in Church, Army and State were kept for the court nobility.

Since about 1760 there has been a revolution in ideas which has made every form of special privilege odious. Accepted is the principle of equal rights and equality before the law. All feel that social recognition of unusual merit or of preëminent services to society should take the form of money reward, public honor, or social distinction, never of *privilege*, particularly of *transmissible privilege*. The British House of Lords survives as stronghold, not of *privilege* but of *capitalism*!

Cultivators against landlords. The French Revolution started a movement which by the sixties of the last century had emancipated the peasants throughout Europe. Confiscation of estates of *émigré* nobles enabled the French peasants to get their hands on most of the farm land of France. The abolition of Negro slavery and the prohibition of peonage broke up the old plantation system in our South. Thanks to the Land Acts of 1881 and since, much of the soil of Ireland has been acquired by those who work it. In Egypt and the Philippines there has come lately a great diffusion of land owning. Since the World War the progress of smashing land ownership as a basis for domination has been startling. The Russian Revolution wiped out the titles to one hundred ten thousand estates containing 165,000,000 acres of arable. To avert Bolshevism legislation forcing the break-up of the estates has been put through *in ten countries* of Eastern and Southeastern Europe. "At the present moment the real situation in Europe is such that there are only a few insignificant remnants of large estates in the hands of the owners other than the peasantry and farmers."¹ The Mexican Revolution doomed the system of huge *haciendas* with peonage. In Central America and South America, however, landlord domination, a legacy from colonial days, stands unshaken. Asia, too, is cankered with landlordism—how much no one knows—but the late crash of European landed gentries is beginning to reverberate through Asia. It seems safe to predict that by the end of this century in no country on the globe will the actual tillers of the soil be in the chains of oppression, ignorance, and hopelessness, as they generally were down to 1789.

Laborers against capitalists. In a century the overshadowing class conflict has come to be that between workers and capitalists. The issue is not that of ordinary industrial conflict—whether employees shall have

¹ Sorokin and Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, 1929, p. 69.

more of their product. On into the future as far as we can see this will have to be fought out in particular concerns or particular branches of industry. It is the question—first ably formulated in the famous Marx-Engels Communist Manifesto of 1848—of *abolishing the class of persons living on what is paid them for the use of their capital*, so that no element will be able to live without working. Whether this can be realized depends on whether the state can competently organize production. If it can do it, say, four-fifths as well as private capitalists are doing it, labor would reap an advantage, for at present American capitalists get 30–35 per cent of the net value produced in the manufacturing industries.

Anti-capitalist developments. Certain changes are weakening the hold of the economic system known as “capitalism.”

1. Demonstration that many of the current standards of beauty, propriety, rightness, and truth are of neverwork origin (Veblen) and intended to discredit workers by gilding conspicuous waste.

2. Wearing thin are such mouldy sophisms as “Earn more than you get,” “There is always room at the top,” “Three generations from shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves,” “Interest is the reward for abstinence,” “Businesslike” = “economical and efficient.”

3. Economists now recognize that our revered economic order is really *an acquisitive system*, which metes out no certain and condign punishment for such heinous economic crimes as waste, restriction of output to hold prices up, the buying up and suppression of patented improvements, adulteration, fraud, monopoly, and overcapitalization.

4. In the heyday of capitalism the big shipowner, merchant, or manufacturer personally attended to his concern; but, as concerns become incorporated and capitalists become security holders, their perpetual receipt of income looks like “something for nothing” in the eyes of the salaried managers who make the business “pay.”

5. Realization by the thoughtful that the attainment of government “by and for the people,” international peace, free speech, free press, academic freedom, even-handed justice, truthful journalism, a socialized education, and a spiritual religion is continually made difficult owing to secret pressure and sly machination from the side of capitalists.

6. Capitalism *may collapse*, rather than be “overthrown.” Can catch-as-catch-can private enterprise, which without warning in one country in a few months leaves fifteen million workers without jobs and livelihoods, be fitly characterized as a *system*?

Pro-capitalist developments. Other developments, however, tell against the program of “dictatorship of the proletariat.”

1. Mental testing discloses steep inequalities in natural ability among normal folk and shows that such inequalities resist the leveling power of a common education and social environment.

2. The growing ease of escape of gifted individuals from the ranks of machine tenders lowers the social prestige of this class, deprives it of its natural leaders, and causes the slogan "All power to the workers!" to be hooted at.

3. The increasing complexity of the industrial and business mechanism and the dependence of great populations upon its smooth functioning make the leaders of labor hesitate to take it over. Imagine a single agency—the State—undertaking to supply the ten thousand different commodities offered in our stores!

4. Business leaders have scored a brilliant success in bringing about the coöperation of scientists and inventors in solving the technical problems presented in modern industry.

5. Incessant newspaper and magazine glorification of the pet notions, prejudices, and ideals of the business men who buy advertising, along with the control of party organizations *via* finance and veiled propaganda may save capitalists for an indefinite time provided that they have the self-restraint to let the workers share in the fruits of industrial progress.

Tactics and weapons of class struggle. To win support each dominant class camouflages its selfish motives by standing for some high-sounding principle or broad social interest. The landed proprietors demand the shutting out of cheap foreign-grown foodstuffs in order that a virile rural population be preserved as the nation's reservoir of potential military strength. Confronted by a tenants' union they pose as "defenders of the rights of property." Manufacturers solemnly aver that their sole purpose in seeking high tariff protection is to be able to pay "an American wage." To beat the labor unions employers pose as champions of "industrial freedom," as unselfish upholders of the "open shop" principle that the workman may work where and for whom he pleases and under such conditions as he deems fit. In resisting the demand for a legal working day they profess disinterested solicitude for the freedom of the wage earner to contract for such length of working day "as may seem good to him." The wealthy resist progressive taxation on the ground that it would "penalize industry and thrift." *Every threatened privileged class uses the occasional breaches of the peace which invariably accompany popular movements to strike the fetching pose of "champion of law and order."*

Each class kindles the fighting spirit of its members by circulating

shameless lies as to what members of the opposing class have said, or attempted, or done. If possible, it makes an economic thrust at its opponent. Landlords evict tenants who will not pay the higher rental demanded. Tenants reply by agreement not to pay the higher rental and to rent no premises from which a tenant has been evicted. Workmen strike; employers lock out or black-list. Farmers build their own grain elevators and stock pens. Manufacturers' associations obtain an ordinance against picketing, and menace with ruin any employer who signs an agreement with union labor or runs a closed shop. By union labels a special market is created for goods of the "fair" employer, and by sympathetic strike the employer who uses "scab" product is embarrassed, or by boycott the market for his products is curtailed.

THE OUTLOOK FOR CLASS CONFLICT IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

The following from *Middletown in Transition*, 1937, sequel to *Middletown*, 1929, by Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, shows what is going on in a small Mid-Western manufacturing city.

Business people do not like to think of "classes" and feel happier in ignoring the possibility of their existence. And tradition aids them . . . for, according to the "American way," even the working man with a wife and four children and eighteen dollars in his Saturday pay envelope is on his way to becoming, if not a millionaire, at least independent and secure in his old age. Or, if he isn't, it is because he is lacking in initiative or thrift or industry and is therefore simply getting what he deserves.²

The newspapers endeavor to spread the idea that the community is just one big happy family.³

In 1932, the high school dean proposed that high school girls wear a simple uniform "in order to eliminate class distinctions in high school and to place the poor on an equal footing with the rich." But the evening paper promptly shuddered editorially at such regimentation and denial of democratic principles.³

The line between working class and business class, though vague and blurred still, is more apparent in 1935 than it was ten years before. Business-class control over the city has tightened, and the determination to run an open-shop town has increased. Business doesn't intend to tolerate any funny business from labor. Local editorials reiterate that "capital and labor are partners," but to Middletown that means that the working class does well to dance to the tune that the business class pipes. Out of the depression there is unquestionably emerging the first faint outlines of local labor solidarity.⁴

² *Middletown in Transition*, p. 444.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 445.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

Some boys and girls now no longer dare brave the front door of the high school "with the steps crowded with richer students looking you over," but go around to the side entrance.⁵

Middletown labor in characteristic American fashion lacks any driving sense of class consciousness. It has no dynamic symbols for itself as *over against* the business class; but it has been taught by press, by school, by church, and by tradition to accept, as its own, watered versions of the official business-class symbols.⁶

These minor white-collar people are beginning to realize as the city grows larger that they definitely do not belong with the small upper classes.⁷

This trend toward the separating out of the middle class is definitely increasing in Middletown.⁸

It is far more congenial to the mood of the city, proud of its traditions of democratic equality, to think of the lines of cleavage within its social system as based not upon class differences but rather upon the entirely spontaneous and completely individual and personal predilections of the 12,500 families that compose its population. Various groups of inconspicuous folk keep breaking off from the central big-business drive of the Chamber of Commerce and setting up bitter little pressure groups to try to protect their interests. These things are regarded as "disloyal," as "stirring up dissensions," and as the work of "trouble makers."⁹

As American society matures signs multiply of a line-up of those who live from the sale of their labor against those who live chiefly from ownership. Farmers working independently with land, implements, live stock, etc., are not drawn into this line-up; nor are professionals, whose services are rendered chiefly to individuals. It is *the industrial wage-earners* who are most likely to challenge the capitalists' unceasing push for more profits. But the pure capitalists do not stand alone as champions of profits; conscious of weakness they combine with the active business element (chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations, employers' associations, etc.) in the endeavor to control society.

Facing a rising tide of criticism, opposition, and legal restrictions, American capitalists are far more class-conscious and class-loyal than they were a generation ago. More and more they think, feel and act together. They are willing to follow leaders, wholeheartedly support class policies, smash whatever stands in their way. Of late a culture has grown up here embodying the views, bents and aims of capitalists. According to this culture capitalists and business men have a self-evident right to organize themselves to any degree that seems good to them; while it is needless, fantastic and un-American for wage-earners to or-

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 452.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 454.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 456.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 457.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 461.

ganize themselves in order to strengthen their bargaining power. It is abominable and a portent of revolution for strikers to threaten strike-breakers, but it is gallant and high-spirited for local business men to turn "vigilante," put on hoods, and collectively "beat up" or "run out of town" the outsider sent in to unionize local workers!

Capitalism is constantly evolving and new short-sighted practices are bringing it into disrepute. Look at the extension of banker control over enterprises, which means management with an eye single to profits; the maze of "holding companies" designed to mask exorbitant profits; agreements to "freeze" prices in order to gouge consumers; the failure of industry to provide steady employment for its working force. Nevertheless, private capitalism can point to many distinguished achievements—*e.g.*, providing the American people with the best and cheapest automobiles in the world—to offset these shortcomings; nor do we know how many of the latter can be corrected without enfeebling private initiative. The one safe forecast is that business will not be allowed to go forever at its own gait, serving or knifing the public welfare as it chooses, but will be *required*, by law or public authority, to *do* what it claims to do and to *deliver* (actually) what it professes to deliver.

The vision of proletarian social revolution rolling like a prairie fire over all industrial societies, bringing workers to the top and obliging capitalists to work, is not shared by the sociologist. For these societies differ greatly among themselves in worker status and attitude. The more that stands open to the workers in the way of health service, schooling, means of recreation, political participation, and paths of promotion, the more doubtful will be their response to the slogan "Down with capitalism!"

The impression that the relations between classes in this country are worsening has no solid basis; in my own time I have seen a blurring of class lines and a growth of man-to-man relations between members of different classes. Social democracy is making gains. Nor does relentless analysis of contemporary American society oblige us to look for increasing capitalist-worker confrontation and enmity until a struggle for mastery breaks out. In a half-century the working week in industry has been cut a quarter and the 15–20 hours of added leisure open to workers and their families something like "the good life." A radio set and time to listen to it mean access to as good music as the millionaire hears. In his low-priced or "used" car the hand-worker can visit a thousand beauty spots his parents never saw. And he can avail himself of the ever-multiplying facilities for adult education.

Such a man is not likely to feel himself a "wage slave"!

As workers quit slums for suburbs, own and use a bath tub, shave daily, drive cars, have a "Sunday best," possess a fair education and look "presentable," their social status so improves that you cannot convince them they have "no show." Playgrounds, parks, public forests, bathing beaches, high schools, community centers, health centers, clinics, hospitals, convalescent camps, large-scale public housing, "security" and other desirables can all be had without abandoning "private ownership of the means of production." Presumably capitalists will consent to pay taxes to make these conveniences possible rather than risk utter ruin from the eventual rising of an enraged working class.

Are the heirs of wealth here coming to be functionless, luxury-loving and "soft"? On the whole, no. Many are starting in the family business near the foot of the ladder and "working their way up" through the organization. In no previous era have so many fortunes been voluntarily "dedicated to a public use." Heavy taxation of the estates of decedents will very likely be used to check the multiplication of families of endowed loafers; for our lawmakers show themselves much more willing to hamper the *transmitting* of fortunes than the *winning* of them. Within the capitalist class active money makers will continue to dominate, rather than idle "coupon-clippers."

The *laissez-faire* social philosophy, which had thinkers hypnotized for more than a hundred years, is dead. From time to time a branch of business—proprietary medicines, retail liquor selling, variety shows, private medical schools, investment trusts—goes bad and the heavy hand is called for. Every legislature, every Congress nails new pickets on the fences protecting against noxious forms of "enterprise"—adulterated foods, deceitful nostrums, humbug cosmetics, fraudulent securities, misleading advertising, bought testimonials, "fixed" prize fights, "phony" gambling devices, "fake" diplomas! No, business will be left free to pursue legitimate aims, but will be required to give up practices found to be against the public interest.

The 205 social settlements which have sprung up among us since 1889 contributed their bit to narrowing class chasms. With 1,500 staff members and 7,500 volunteer workers these institutions reach at least a million persons a year. From residence in the settlements thousands quite outside the class line-up—writers, artists, scholars, intellectuals, professionals—have learned something of "how the other half lives." Enjoying general confidence and the gift of utterance, they have opened the eyes of the public to the flocks of cormorants which prey upon the poor. The settlements "strike out against sweat shop, unsanitary work rooms,

child labor, low wages, overwork of women and other civic and industrial evils." "The war and post-war years have witnessed a further extension of settlement interests and strategy into large-scale public housing, city and regional planning, systematized social insurance, internationalism and world peace."¹⁰ The settlements, of course, cannot wipe out class conflict; but they have brought together Alley and Avenue, mitigated the virulence of class conflict, and imparted vigor and self-confidence to public opinion.

Sunlight is a great sanitary agent, destroying harmful microbes that can flourish only in the dark. The microbes that infest society—they, too, cannot endure the light! Concealment and misrepresentation are the main reliance of the beneficiaries of a social abuse; snatch away these two cards and hardly will they take a trick. The Russell Sage Foundation listed at the close of 1927, 2,775 completed social surveys. By now the total cannot be less than 3,500! One can predict that in time the whole social body will be X-rayed and the resulting chart showing the location of nests of monopolists, price—"freezers," labor trimmers, hijackers, and racketeers can be consulted by anyone. This is bound to lead to the extirpation of many wrongs which now feed the fires of class struggle.

¹⁰ Article on "Social Settlements" in Vol. 14 of *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.

CHAPTER XVIII

INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT

Conflict between workers and their employers not only involves the momentous issue of the sharing of the earnings of industrial concerns between labor and capital, but generally is aggravated by the feeling among employers that they are, of natural as well as God-given right, "masters" and that their workers are trying to wrest from them their self-evident right to "run their business as they please."

Unlike the conflict between working class and capitalist class just considered, industrial conflict is waged between bodies of dissatisfied workers and their employers. These workers do not aim at "overthrowing capitalism" or "abolishing the capitalist class," but at the removal of specific grievances or the improvement of their condition *within the existing social system*. They may be fighting only for endurable conditions, or for conditions as good as some other workers have, or as good as they themselves have had some time. When workers make demands which, they know, cannot be met without fundamental change in the relative status of labor and capital, the resulting grapple is *class conflict* rather than mere *industrial conflict*.

Some industrial conflicts grow out of a drive by workers to change the balance between employer and employee. Once the desired change is effected the matter may cease to be a bone of contention. Such are struggles over the standardization of the working day, the legal responsibility of the industry for injuries arising out of industrial accidents, the limitation of child labor by law, the right of workers to deal with their employers through third parties, namely, the officials or agents of their unions. But, in the nature of the case, struggles over *wages* cannot arrive at a final settlement. Price levels change and with them profit levels, an industry gains or loses in profitableness, the supply of a particular kind or grade of labor fluctuates, the local cost of living changes; any of these may force wage revision. Even in the absence of economic justification employers will cut wages when they feel themselves strong in relation to labor, while laborers will demand more wages when they think they can win. So wage disputes cannot be expected to cease until

the parties concerned unite in setting up machinery by which conflicting claims may be adjusted according to working principles which both sides accept as fair and reasonable.

Industrial conflicts are born of industrial changes. While industrial conflict originated in the pressure upon wages exerted by a grasping mercantile capitalism in the closing stage of the handicraft system, it is only since the industrial revolution that it has assumed large proportions and become, so to speak, institutionalized. In each country such a conflict makes its appearance not long after the industrial revolution. In China and India it was but a few years after the introduction of modern factories before conditions became so intolerable that labor organized and struck. Latter-day industrialism furnishes the employers such a powerful leverage that the workers can be pressed down into utter misery if they do not unite and threaten to tie up the industry.

Issues and objectives. There is no aspect of the sale and delivery of labor which may not give rise to an industrial dispute: The pay scale, the basis of remuneration, the amount and compensation of overtime, the length of the working day, Sunday and holiday labor, night work, removable hazards to life, limb or health, sanitary conditions, shop discipline, rules and fines, grounds of discharge, workers' freedom of speech and freedom to organize, recognition of the union, the closed shop; these by no means exhaust the list of matters over which master and men may quarrel. As labor gains in self-confidence and foresight more of its battles turn on matters relating to job security, the concrete freedom of the shop and the integrity of its organization. Such are the tenor of espionage, shop discipline, arbitrary discharge, denial of the right to organize, the company union, *etc.*

Weapons and tactics. Each side has spies to worm out the secrets of the other. Workingmen intimidate non-strikers and beat strike-breakers or else hire sluggers to do it. Employers hire gunmen, mine guards and watchmen to beat up labor leaders and provoke violence. They make "plants" of explosives in order to "get something" on the labor leaders. Bomb outrages are met by deportations. Each side gets together funds to defend its own law violators and to convict the law violators of the other side. If public sympathy or support is decisive, the fighting class embarks on a campaign to win the favor of the public. It pleads the purity of its motives and the rightfulness of its claims, demonstrates that they are identical with broad social interests and brands its opponents as predatory, lawless and desperate. In case the class has

political representation and can gain some of its ends *via* politics, it establishes a political front and log-rolls with other groups.

In most branches the mass of equipment required for production has enormously increased. To-day when a hundred cotton-mill operatives strike they tie up perhaps ten times as much capital as did a hundred operatives who struck eighty years ago. As stoppage becomes more costly to the capitalist, he is more restless when tied up by a strike and is prepared to resort to more ruthless measures to break the strike. Lately a sub-committee of the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate after two and a half years of intensive investigation drew out from 485 witnesses and the study of 116 strikes occurring between 1930 and 1937 several thousand pages of evidence of a very wide use by employers of labor spies, professional strike-breakers and strike-breaking agencies, private armed police operating outside company property with the result of bloodshed, brutality and the usurpation of public authority, and large arsenals of "industrial munitions," *i.e.*, machine-guns, sawed-off shotguns, long-range tear gas and sickening gas missiles, accumulated in anticipation of labor troubles.

Along with the growing prominence of capital equipment goes a tendency toward larger production units. Automatically this diminishes the importance of the individual workman to the employer and augments the importance of the employer to the workman. In a ten-man shop, the employer loses one-tenth of his force and of his profit, if one disgruntled workman quits him. In a hundred-man shop, he loses only one per cent, so that, as units grow, the protesting workman is less and less considered. On the other hand, the bigger the units the fewer, so that it becomes less likely that this workman, without changing his residence, can find another factory in his line to employ him.

This automatic dwarfing of the individual wage earner gives rise to an irresistible movement toward organization. Those who work in factories not theirs, with machines not theirs, on materials not theirs, under conditions they have no voice in determining, and turn out a product that belongs to some one else, discover that they have an interest in common. Only when combined can they compel the employer to heed their grievances and claims. The union of the employees of a single concern ("company union") may equalize them with their employer as respects power to inflict loss, but *it does not equalize the two parties with respect to holding-out power*. Hence, the workers unite themselves into wide unions in order to assure financial support during a strike.

Industrial conflict and the law. The course of the struggle is greatly affected by the attitude of the courts towards "combining to raise wages," "conspiracy," the boycott, the blacklist, the enforcement of "specific performance" of the labor contract, the legality of a strike on behalf of the closed shop, the legality of the "yellow-dog" contract, the legal definition of what constitutes "coercion" and "intimidation." Times innumerable the workers have been hamstrung in industrial conflicts because the means by which alone they could mass and wield their economic power were held unlawful and their use would subject them to arrest and imprisonment.

Industrial conflict and the state. In the long run distinctions between "lawful" and "unlawful" in industrial disputes are brought to reflect the actual distribution of political power. Accordingly the workers endeavor to make themselves a force in politics either to obtain statutory remedies for court decisions crippling them in their struggles or to bring about protective legislation such as prohibition of night work, imposing maximum limits upon the length of the working day, workmen's compensation for industrial accidents, the seamen's law, curtailment of the use of the injunction in industrial disputes and minimum wage laws. From time to time new weapons in aid of the employer are forged by the courts and nothing but an intelligent wielding of the power that resides in the ballot saves the workers from being put at a fatal disadvantage in their struggle.

Industrial conflict and the public. When boycotting is attempted or the employers plan to "starve out" the strikers, the attitude of the public may be decisive. The tram company loses when the public will walk rather than be served by brought-in strike-breakers. Public sympathy inclines toward the workers when their cause has a strong emotional appeal, for example, when they are shamefully overworked or underpaid, when families are being set on the sidewalk, when women and children are visibly suffering, when the elementary rights of free speech or free assemblage have been ruthlessly trampled on, or when their opponent is a swollen and hated trust. Rarely, of course, is there any pathos about the employers' cause, so their tactics are to divert public sympathy from the strikers by playing up their occasional acts of violence or pinning upon them the false label "anarchist" or "bolshevist." The picturing of strikers as enemies of property, marriage, religion and the state is an old game that has been worked ten thousand times and has netted the employers billions of dollars that otherwise would have gone to labor

as wages, yet (such still is the simplicity and gullibility of the public) it is far from worn out!

When an employer feels himself in a strong position, he deprecates public inquiries "because they give opportunities to certain men to air their views." The "aristocracy of labor" are not always eager to have the searchlight turned upon their cause when they have a dispute with their employers, but the ill-paid endeavor by street parade, mass meetings and pilgrimages to draw public attention to their plight. Thus in the parade of the striking London dockers of 1888:

Emblems, quaint and pathetic, were carried in the ranks. The docker's cat and the sweater's cat, the docker's dinner and the sweater's dinner, the docker's baby and the sweater's baby, diminutive and ample, respectively. . . . Fish heads, onions and tiny loaves were carried on pikes as an object lesson in docker's fare to the magnates of the city.

The spectacle of non-resistant suffering is very effective in winning public sympathy. Wanton arrests, imprisonment for ignoring harsh injunctions, cruelty by mine guards or sluggers are fine material for a publicity which evokes pity. But in some cases violent self-help arrests attract attention, start investigations and gain publicity for grievances. In a West Virginia conflict the miners met the violence of the employers and their henchmen in office with armed resistance. The "war" that followed advertised the ugly situation, the story was laid before Congress and the committee of investigation placed the responsibility squarely upon the mine owners and the subservient state officials.

Results of industrial conflicts. It is certain that the tens of thousands of industrial conflicts of the past century have had the effect of limiting the power of the capitalist "to run his business as he pleases." Out of experience of losses from strikes or from noticing what has happened to other employers, he learns to pay some heed to the needs and desires of labor. Even lost strikes crimp the employer's pocketbook and make him consider how he may avoid labor troubles. Beyond all question a century of growth in the will and power of labor to take its own part has chastened the spirit of arrogant employers. The "nothing to discuss" manager has lost too much money for his stockholders to stand high in their favor, while the manager who has contrived to keep the wheels turning by showing himself reasonable, conciliatory and fair-minded is called up higher.

Labor, too, has learned from its heartbreaking struggles. In certain

directions it has met a disposition to yield, while at other sectors of its battle front every foot of ground has had to be fought for; so it discovers the lines of least resistance and advances along them. It finds what prerogatives cannot be wrested from capitalists without risking the prosperity, or even the life, of the business. It learns that certain things in the control of industry are more vital to employers than other things which may be more valuable to labor.

Industrial relations are coming to be socially willed. In the absence of strong labor organizations wage-slashing employers would soon divert to profits billions of dollars now paid as wages, and labor would presently come into a condition and a frame of mind that might lead to an appalling social explosion. On the other hand, vast hard-fought industrial struggles between giant corporations or employers' associations and powerful labor unions hold out such prospects of violence and immense economic loss—to the public as well as to the belligerents—that society will probably insist on the substitution of rational process for an endurance contest. This, however, in modern democracies will not come about by the fancied "short-cut" of "compulsory" arbitration, but by the more delicate and exacting process of mobilizing public opinion through the activities of government investigating bodies, "labor boards," *etc.* Thus the terms of employment, instead of being arrived at as aforetime by "the higgling of the market," will come gradually to be matters of social volition, avoiding, however, the crude mechanism of direct compulsion. Many will shiver at seeing the relations between employer and wage-earner removed so far from their "natural" basis; but the alternative is the virtual disappearance of the private employer bent on extracting the utmost profit the situation allows and his replacement by the state!

THE AVOIDANCE OF INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT

Even with both parties in a belligerent mood there are various time-tested means of lessening industrial conflict.

1. Avoidable conflicts occur because one side counts on throwing dust in the eyes of the public. Hence, if all the significant facts about a troubled industry could be broadcast on short notice, the chances of hoodwinking the public would be greatly curtailed and many a clash might be avoided.
2. Industrial conflicts are so costly that they will be shunned in the degree that the parties can forecast the probable outcome. The time may

come when the counsel of industrial engineers is available to both sides and that side will yield which is shown the certainty of its defeat.

3. When labor and capital disagree flatly as to how a profit-sharing scheme will work out or how speeding up by a bonus system will affect the worker's health, instead of sounding a call to arms they may agree to invite an outside expert to look into the project and tell them what may reasonably be expected of it.

4. Realizing the cost of fruitless bickering labor union and management in a given concern, say a railroad, may coöperate for greater efficiency, the earnings from the resulting increase of production to be shared on terms settled in advance and satisfactory to both.

5. Often employers show fight because they imagine labor aims to oust them and operate the concern itself. When they discover that their workers, far from aspiring to conduct the enterprise themselves, a task for which they have neither the ability nor the experience, wish only to influence such matters as pay, hours, working conditions, safety and job tenure, they become willing to adopt a plan whereby grievances may be remedied before strife breaks out.

CHAPTER XIX

RELIGIOUS OR SECTARIAN STRIFE

The resort to force in the field of religion is relatively modern. In the ancient world, Lord Bryce points out, "All religions were mutually compatible, so that a polytheist while primarily bound to worship a God of his own country, might worship those of other countries also. . . . The first people that claimed exclusive reality and wide-stretching power for its own Deity was Israel."

It took the ferocious religious wars which lacerated Europe from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth to open men's eyes to the hellish possibilities which lurk in the non-toleration of religious differences.

Religious strife is a social cancer. Nothing, indeed, is worse than bloodshed over religion, for, on the whole, it is *the superior* who are decimated. The coarser pay small heed to things spiritual; required to conform or rot in jail, *they conform*. It is only those with a dash of idealism who will suffer rather than give up their faith. If they are not using religion merely as a cloak for worldly aims the persecutors, too, are far above the rabble in idealism; so, if *their* heads are broken, the human stock is left the poorer. As a means of rooting out the nobler, leaving the fatheads and belly worshipers to multiply undisturbed, nothing beats bloody religious strife.

Other oppositions fade or soften with the lapse of time; the quarrel is adjusted, or drifts out of attention as new interests beget new alignments. Not so is it with religious opposition. If to-day God is angry that we tolerate those who worship Him in a different way or worship another Deity, He will be just as angry next week or next year. On other battlefields the combatants make peace when both realize that the struggle is costing them more than victory can be worth. The religious, however, feeling themselves under God's eye, *dare not compromise*.

Sectarian controversy is no social menace. In its raw youth the religious sect, fired with zeal for "saving the world," lashes out at every creed and group which stands in its way. It threatens, bans, anathematizes. However, "hard words break no bones"; so long as the state

"keeps the list," maintains "a fair field and no favors," sectarian wrangling will not shatter the public peace. Explosions are to be looked for only if downright persecution is permitted, or if the state puts itself behind a particular religious body. Then it is that Pandora's box is opened.

Religion can thrive without state support. In Europe the devout have been taught to interpret the state's refusal to pay religion's bills as signifying cynical indifference to what may befall the spiritual life of the people. A state that spends nothing on religion is stigmatized as "god-less," while disestablishment of a state church is solemnly branded as "an act of national impiety." Now, a century-and-a-half of American experience disproves these charges. Not only does religion flourish better here than in most countries with a state church, but European inquirers discover in America no sentiment whatever for state care of religion. The devout remain unconcerned so long as their religion has the state behind it to subsidize and promote it, but they bestir themselves as soon as they realize that its fate is altogether in their own hands.

Traits of people-supported religion :

Democratization. Where the constitution of the church is elastic the laity are conceded a share in church government; where it is rigid the clergy pay more heed to the wishes of their flocks, persuade rather than command. Then, too, religion is obliged to become simple and graspable. A century ago DeTocqueville testified:

I have seen no country in which Christianity is clothed with fewer forms, figures and observances than in the United States; or where it presents more distinct, more simple or more general notions to the mind.

Greater consideration for the worshiper. In a state-supported church often one finds elaborate and beautiful services, although few are present save the officiating clergy; for after all, God is being glorified! The people, on the other hand, are loath to pay for a worship in which they have no voice nor part. They will support only rites that stir an emotion of adoration in the worshiper.

Less sacerdotalism. In a state-supported church the clergyman's whole duty may consist in the performance of the appointed rites; but in a church dependent on the free-will offerings of its members he does not come off so easily. His sacerdotal functions shrivel, to be sure, but he is expected to give his people solace, counsel, and instruction. He becomes, in effect, priest, public teacher, personal counselor and social worker.

More practicality. A people-supported religion is obliged to show a

practical spirit. Results in another world and an after life are not enough; it must demonstrate its power over human lives here. Can it inspire loyalty, hope, and self-sacrifice? Can it relieve its afflicted members?

Divorce of church and state implies:

(a) Freedom of religious belief and the free exercise of worship within the limits imposed by regard for morality and public order.

(b) No religious test to be set up as a requisite for naturalization, voting, office holding, or jury duty.

(c) No one to have his civil or political rights abridged by ecclesiastical provisions; nor to be absolved from the performance of his civic duties by his religious views.

(d) No recognition of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by public authorities.

(e) No public money to be spent for the support of religion.

(f) Cemeteries to be controlled by municipality rather than church.

(g) No indoctrination or obligatory participation in worship in public schools or state educational institutions.

(h) Clergymen not to make the exercise of civic functions a matter of conscience, nor threaten spiritual penalties for one's political activity.

Most of this program was early realized in the United States and of late it has been spreading rapidly. What embitterment we missed by keeping church and state separate may be guessed from certain laws found necessary in disestablishing a long-dominant church. In France, according to the Law of Separation of 1905, buildings used for worship belong to the public; no political meeting may be held in a church; no religious sign or emblem may be fixed on public monuments or in any public place save buildings used for worship, cemeteries, and monuments of the dead. The clergyman is prosecuted who, in a place of worship, insults or defames a public official, or who incites to resist the execution of the law or the legal acts of public authorities, or tends to arouse or arm one section of the citizens against the others.

In Mexico official permission must be obtained before opening a new temple of worship for public use. A church may not maintain convents, primary schools or charitable institutions. Ministers of religion may not solicit funds or conduct worship outside of church buildings, may not wear elsewhere their distinctive garb, may not publicly criticize the government or officials. They may not vote, hold office, or assemble for political purposes. No political assembly may be held in a place of public worship. No political party may bear a name indicative of relation to any religious belief. No religious periodical may comment on political affairs. In a word, let the clergy be content with promoting religion!

These are not spiteful and persecutive handcuffs, but necessary means of freeing the state and political life from mischievous clerical meddling.

Means of avoiding sectarian strife:

1. Streets and other public places should not be used for religious demonstrations. In a single year recently forty riots occurred in India between Hindus and Moslems resulting in the deaths of 197 persons and the injury of 1,598 others. All but six of these were caused by Hindu religious processions insisting on making loud music while passing Mohammedan mosques!

2. Neither churches nor groups formed on a religious basis should endeavor to control by secret "trades" and wire-pulling political parties, nominations, elections, appointments, or public policies. If a church feels it should "take a hand" in politics, let it do so openly and avow frankly its motives.

3. In matters political or civic one's religious convictions or church affiliations ought not to figure at all. Dragging them in should be resented as wilful injection of a foreign issue.

4. Clergymen should beware of preaching a political sermon on the specious plea, "The issue is between simple right and wrong."

5. Charter provisions as to the church affiliation of the members of the governing board of a private educational, research, philanthropic, or civic institution are to be deplored.

6. It is short-sighted for church people to throw their custom, their patronage, or their votes to the merchant, professional man, or candidate who is their fellow-member; for other churches follow suit and soon the community is split along sectarian lines. The fewer the commercial, professional, social or political advantages church membership bestows and the greater the spiritual advantages, the better will be the feeling among the churches and between the church and the "world." Let a church aim to *exalt religion* rather than promote the worldly interests of its members.

9. Those who delight in stressing points of doctrinal difference among the denominations should be discredited.

10. Ecclesiastics determined that their church shall have its own schools, social centers, recreation centers, charitable societies, and boy scouts, and who forbid their people to participate in community undertakings along these lines, should be deemed stumbling blocks.

Church and state in relation to education. False prophets are so ready to delude and prey upon the ignorant that the state cannot afford

to withdraw all support from the church without putting itself behind the school. In these days of loosening of churchly bonds, only rise in the plane of popular enlightenment has hindered the spawning of foolish sects from becoming a public nuisance as it was in the seventeenth century. Yet there are churches which withdraw the children of their communicants from the public school in order to segregate them in the parish school!

The devout have good ground for being dissatisfied with an education so bare of religion as that of the public school must be. The remedy is to set aside week-day periods during which the pupils of the community school may go to appointed places and receive religious instruction according to the wishes of their parents.

The separate church school with its emphasis on religion denies the civil organization access to the budding mind. The modern democratic state is very far from being a sheer coercer. To procure obedience it puts its trust in civic attitude rather than in *fear*. By bringing the young under appropriate training in the public school it aims to *socialize* its future citizens. Now, if the children are to know no other schooling than that of the church, the democratic state misses all opportunity to build citizenship into them. The church is free to mold at will the sprouting conscience and teach the child always to put *her* claims above those of the state, although the latter is the one organ of the *whole* society.

Again, segregation all through the formative years with those of its own faith in school and on playground is a poor foundation for a citizenship which shall scrupulously respect the equal rights of fellow citizens of other faiths or no faith, recognize generously their virtues, and co-operate with them freely in every field save only that of religion.

Although separation of church from state has solved the problem of how differing religious bodies may live together in peace, a great controversy may break out over the question whether the church or the state shall have charge of popular elementary education. Either excusing the members of a religious body which maintains schools of its own from paying taxes for the support of the public schools or the sharing of the state school fund among religious bodies according to the number of children they are teaching will have a disastrous effect upon the endeavor to socialize and fit for citizenship by means of the community school.

Experiencing increasing difficulty in propagating their peculiar theology in the atmosphere created by modern science, the clergy of some religious bodies will insist upon withdrawing the children of their followers entirely from influences which they do not themselves control.

This will raise the question whether society has any rights at all respecting the influences to which its future citizens shall be subjected.

Social policy respecting mischievous varieties of religion. There have been hundreds of bestial or degrading cults which held man back socially. The spread of a sub-social or anti-social religious sect is, therefore, a matter of grave public concern. Nevertheless, the use of law against it would give zealots an opening to demand that *all* forms of religion save their one "true" form, be suppressed; which would land us soon in the sixteenth century! The score of on-the-whole-uplifting religions which now dominate the bulk of mankind have won to the fore by superior strength of their appeal rather than by ruthlessly trampling down their rivals; so we have no call to give up the principle of religious toleration. Provided that the plane of popular enlightenment be kept high by means of public schools, public libraries, and other cultural agencies, there will be little to fear from the pernicious cults which from time to time spring up and have their brief day.

CHAPTER XX

CONFLICT BETWEEN LEARNED AND IGNORANT¹

There is enduring conflict between the *enlightened*, who reject baleful popular superstitions and strive for certain intelligent social-welfare measures—such as compulsory vaccination, compulsory sterilization of congenital defectives, compulsory school attendance, anti-quack and anti-healer laws, anti-spitting ordinances, freedom of speech and of the press, religious liberty—and the *dark-minded*, who resent such measures and would fetter the intelligent by anti-vivisection laws, anti-teaching of evolution laws, anti-birth-control-information laws, censorship of opinions, banning of “radical” books, suppression of free speech, *etc.*

It is childish to imagine that the ignorant tend to defer to men of great knowledge. The truth is, the ignorant, unless from childhood they have been taught to look up to the learned, are jealous of them and welcome an excuse for humbling them. This is why in the early civilizations the learned, if they stood outside the charmed circle of the priesthood, *cultivated a paternal relation* to those they taught so that it should be a sacred lifelong obligation of pupils to protect their teacher. In old China the scholars built up such a prestige for themselves among the people that it was quite “the thing” to wear spectacles and affect the scholar’s stoop!

The learned are most in danger, however, from scheming persons who wish to silence them and to that end inflame the ignorant against them. It is the priests of the popular religion that rouse the rabble against heterodox thinkers and men of science. Unscrupulous politicians who seek to ride into power on the pledge to “kick King George out of the schools of Chicago” set the horde of “patriots” yapping at the high school teachers of American history. Quack doctors lead the assault upon regular physicians and fire fools with the cry, “Vaccination violates God’s law.” Pulpiters out for popularity and power touch off the latent fanaticism of the pious by proposing to “tear down the statue of the pagan goddess Liberty” in New York harbor and replace it with the figure of Jesus Christ!

¹ I do not treat of *sectional* conflict, *nationality* conflict and *party* conflict because these topics are in the capable hands of the political scientists.

In a society of aristocratic traditions scholars are likely to find among the social superiors a following which will not let them be torn to bits by the unlettered mob. Nowhere are the ignorant so free to harry the learned as in a political democracy, in which they are used to being flattered and cockered by stump orators, campaign "spell-binders," candidates for public office, and other courtiers of Demos. Led thus to a high opinion of their own wisdom and worth, they hate the intellectuals who presume to explode their pet dogmas.

Athenian intolerance. For some time after 415 B.C. the Athenian courts made strenuous efforts to punish every discoverable case of impiety. The philosopher Anaxagoras who insisted that the heavenly bodies are but masses of fiery matter was found guilty of irreligion and nothing but the intervention of his old pupil, Pericles, saved him from death. He is the first freethinker known to have been legally prosecuted and condemned for his freethought. Protagoras ventured to read at the house of the freethinking Euripides a treatise of his own, beginning with the avowal that he offered no opinion as to the existence of the gods, life being too short for the inquiry. The remark got wind and he had to fly for his life. His book was publicly burned, all who possessed copies being required to give them up—the earliest known instance of "censorship of the press." The supreme instance of democratic bigotry was, of course, the condemning of Socrates to death on the charge of undermining religion. In the more aristocratically ruled Greek colonial cities philosophic speech was comparatively free; it was the self-conceited Athenian masses that introduced into Greek life the persecution of critical spirits.

The ardor of every modern social thinker for the promotion of public education springs from his realizing that, with the spread of universal suffrage and majority rule, intellectuals are sure to be dealt with in Athenian fashion unless the plane of popular intelligence be raised.

Intolerance in the United States. In the educationally backward regions of the United States the learned are probably in a more exposed and insecure position with reference to the untutored many than anywhere else in the civilized world. Neither constitutional safeguards nor the enlightened churches are able to shield them from the bigotry of ignoramuses lashed into fury by designing preachers of the more benighted sects. Political candidates have gone about lauding the yokel for his "practical common sense" and sneering at the enlargers of knowledge as "college fellers" and "smart Alecks." This is the favorite dodge of legislators justly suspected of having betrayed their constituents to the moneyed interests, when they are running for office against a college-bred

reformer. Again; demagogues and professional "patriots" make capital for themselves by attacking teachers and textbook writers of American history. If defeated before the board of education they take their cause to the polls and invite citizens with only boyish Fourth-of-July notions of American history to pronounce upon the tendency of historical scholars to present the American Revolution as a part of a general democratic movement among the English-speaking peoples!

In 1924 investigation of the teaching of social science in the 62 colleges of a prominent Protestant denomination in our Southern states showed little freedom in the teaching of these branches when they were tolerated at all. In one Southern state the legislature has made it unlawful to teach in state-supported schools "any theory that denies the story of the Divine Creation of man as taught in the Bible, and teach instead that man was descended from a lower order of animal." Another state, going further, penalizes any teacher or textbook commission adopting a textbook "that teaches the doctrine that mankind ascended or descended from a lower order of animal." When the legislature refused to pass such a law, the measure was forced onto the ballot by an initiative petition and adopted by a majority of the voters! In a state which has no anti-evolution law, certain local school boards have ruled that evolution may not be presented as a fact, "even in private conversation between teachers and pupils."

So a battle is on between men of science and the champions of popular tradition. The latter propose to settle it, not in the laboratories, in the libraries, in the meetings of learned societies, or even in the forum of public discussion, but *on the hustings and at the ballot box*, next to Bedlam surely the worst imaginable place to settle questions as to the origin of the world, of life and of man! When the traditionalists declare, "It is not for a group of educators to decide what they wish to teach youth but for the fathers and mothers to decide what they wish to have taught their children," they appeal to the lowest standard ever proposed for a system of public education. For what is education for if it is not to make children more enlightened than their parents are?

School teachers as butts. Special burdens are imposed on teachers. Attempts have been made to bar from employment women teachers who bob their hair or smoke cigarettes, wear short skirts or gay colors. School boards have ordered their women teachers to wear "ankle-length smocks," to avoid "dates" and dances, to take part in "church work," to spend a specified proportion of their week ends in the community, not to fall in love or become engaged, not to go out with any young man "except insofar as it may be necessary to stimulate Sunday School work." As for

marrying it nearly everywhere costs the teacher her job. Men who smoke are denied a teacher's certificate and men teachers are ousted for smoking. New York teachers, a committee reports, have been "punished for organizing unemployed members of their own profession, for arousing public opinion against crowding in the schools, for defending victimized colleagues, for addressing meetings. . . ." Teachers are required to promise not to join the Teachers' Federation. No wonder "school-teachers are becoming the most tight-lipped and timorous group of creatures of any profession in the country."

Imposers of these shameful gyves are not *fools*, but *crooks* fearful of being found out, who, by thus hectoring and humiliating the intelligent, make "a hit" with their long-eared constituents.

More than a decade ago, a questionnaire to 3,000 educators pretty well distributed over the United States brought out that 77 per cent agree "one should never allow his own experience to lead him in ways that are contrary to the teaching of the Bible," 80 per cent hold that "no school, college, or university should teach anything that is found to cause its students to doubt or question the Bible as containing the word of God," 51 per cent believe that "radical" criticism of our country is always unjust and should be suppressed. If facts are found favorable to socialism they should, in the opinion of 37 per cent, be omitted from high school histories. Forty-three per cent deem that our manual laborers get a financial reward justly proportional to that taken by capitalists; 54 per cent think that no texts should be used in our schools which question or doubt the justice of our social and economic order.

Quite justifiably the historian, Dr. Charles A. Beard, declares (1936):

We have reached a point in American life where the maintenance of educational liberty can no longer be taken for granted. All over the country, schools are attacked by highly organized and well-financed minorities that seek to browbeat legislatures, the Congress of the United States, schoolboards, and teachers. The precious values of liberty and scientific inquiry are threatened with extinction, and with them the principles upon which democratic government rests.

Comparative status of scholars. In the larger part of Europe the populace is afforded no opportunity to dictate to scholars what they shall teach, but in the Balkans and the new Slavic states the dignity and independence of the scholar have not yet been well established. In Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany ² scholars in the social

² "It is an ironical commentary on the naïve enthusiasm of a certain type of left-wing intellectual in western Europe and America for Russian communism in theory and prac-

sciences may not voice conclusions offensive to the dominant political organization. In the United States in the endowed universities the scholar's independence is more often threatened by plutocracy; in the state institutions more often from the side of democracy.

MEANS OF PROTECTING THE FUNCTIONING OF INTELLECTUALS

The Church. Through the Dark Ages the Church was a patron of learning and a shelter of scholars against intolerant rulers or ignorant populace. The members of the medieval universities enjoyed the privileged status of the clergy. Later, however, confronted by a rising tide of learning disturbing to her dogmas, the Church became by degrees the greatest persecutor known to history.

The State. The attitude of the absolutist State reflects, of course, the personality of the ruler. Some rulers have been as dark-minded as the unlettered masses, others have delighted to be known as patrons of learning and friends of free inquiry. With the arrival of representative government the enlightened gain influence over state policy. Moreover, since increasingly the State requires specialists, it feels bound to provide the institutions which produce them.

Constitutional guarantees. Provisions in the fundamental law securing freedom of speech, press, and assemblage, religious freedom, a learned judiciary, *etc.*, are of great value to that small minority whose assets are knowledge and ideas.

Chartered foundations. Endowed institutions of learning enjoying a quasi-independent position and secure from vexatious interference by state officials are havens of refuge for scholars.

The learned professions. The members of such a profession cannot but stand for the value and importance of the learning which underlies their calling. Every rise in the standards of admission to the learned professions removes them farther from the numskull point of view.

A learned clergy. "If the blind lead the blind they shall both fall into the ditch." Those religious sects are least open-minded whose laity are led by preachers nearly as ignorant as themselves. On the other hand, when well-educated men occupy its pulpits a denomination will not hound true scholars.

tice that the Soviet Union has shot, jailed, and driven into exile a higher proportion of its educated class than any other country in the world. Germany under Hitler occupies second place in this respect, and Fascist Italy is probably third." W. H. Chamberlin, *Collectivism, a False Utopia*, The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. 46-47.

Science in industry. The good will of the commercial and capitalist class has been gained for pure science partly by the immense and incalculable services applied science has rendered industry and commerce.

Science and healing. A fund of popular gratitude and good will has been built up for men of science from universal recognition of the services of certain sciences in discovering the means of conquering disease and promoting health.

A common front for intellectuals. Realizing that "all science is one" the learned may develop an *esprit de corps*, so that all agree to stand together in defending the freedom of each.

Spread of higher education. Few complete high school or college without some appreciation of the rôle science plays in our civilization and insight into the conditions under which alone the *élite* can function. Now in thirty years the proportion of American young people 14-17 years of age enrolled in high school *has quadrupled* while the proportion of college years attending college *has tripled*. So it is not likely that in years to come the ignorant will be suffered to tyrannize.

CHAPTER XXI

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT—WAR

Distance and combat. In the prehistoric days when men fought with clubs they could do no harm until but a yard or two apart. Later, when they hurled javelins, they had to come within twenty yards of each other before much damage could be wrought. Bow-and-arrow extended the striking distance to 250 yards. Black gunpowder enabled the man with the firearm to drill his enemy a quarter of a mile away. Smokeless powder with small-bore guns extended the range to a mile. In the World War artillery arrived at dropping shells 80 miles away. Now, with the dropping of bombs from fast-flying airplanes and the machine-gunning of troops or crowds from the air, the radius of havoc has been so extended that no longer can any segment of the population feel safe.

The dimensions of warfare. Warfare may be waged in 1, 2, or 3 dimensions.

One-dimensional warfare is exemplified where the fighting is confined to a narrow strip, or is for the control of a highway, such as a mountain pass, a navigable river, a railroad, an isthmus.

Two-dimensional warfare is illustrated in fighting that ranges over an open country by fighters that are not tied to any "line of communication" because they can "live off the country," or, being cavalry, can carry their rations and ammunition with them. Open-sea warfare exemplifies it perfectly, since the surface of the sea presents no natural obstacles.

Three-dimensional warfare is exemplified by sub-surface or super-surface fighting; submarine attack; machine-gunning from the air; dropping of explosives, incendiary bombs, poison gas or pestilential germs.

War is constantly more capitalistic. The amount of lethal machinery the soldier fights with has greatly increased, while the cost of the battleship has grown altogether out of proportion to the number required to man it. The overwhelming predominance of the munitions factor has forever laid the affrighting specter of the subjugation of the civilized peoples by barbarians, such as broke through the defenses of the Roman Empire. The easy destruction of the Soudanese dervishes by

the machine guns of the British at the Battle of Omdurman in 1898 settled that barbarians have no longer "the ghost of a show" before modern soldiers.

A second consequence is that only wealthy or highly industrial nations can hope to wage war with any prospect of success. The money cost of fighting having grown much faster than the blood cost, that belligerent is foredoomed to defeat which has not either great resources and credit for buying the necessary munitions, or else an abundance of technical knowledge, industrial skill and fit materials to divert to their manufacture.

A third consequence is the *greater time* necessary for getting ready to fight. Big guns, turrets, emplacements, disappearing gun-carriages, battleships, bombing planes and landing fields cannot be improvised, but must be begun months before they can be used. Nor is the soldier to be made in a day, he must be trained for a considerable time. Hence, less and less dares a nation rate its *potential* defensive resources as equivalent to *actual* defensive resources. Real security calls for a "preparedness," which becomes more costly as warfare grows more capitalistic.

The advance of invention is, moreover, so rapid that stored munitions of war are soon out-of-date. A new rifle throws its bullets a third farther and at once millions of rifles of the "old" pattern in governmental arsenals become junk. A nation lays out hundreds of millions in equipping its armies with thousands of field guns and suddenly the invention of a gun of longer range or quicker fire or more accurate fire obliges it to scrap them all! The interval between the proud launching of an iron-clad, amid the plaudits of the whole nation, and its last service as target for the guns of a younger vessel continually shortens! So the financial burden of armed peace more and more approximates that of war.

Relations of attack and defense. Continually martial inventions bend the stream of history by altering the relative strength of Attack and Defense. Walls, moats, drawbridges, casemates, mines, disappearing gun-carriages, armorplate, steel turrets, *abattis*, wire entanglements, anti-aircraft guns, strategic railways and listening devices to detect submarines are developments of Defense. Battering rams, mortars, siege-guns, armor-piercing projectiles, asphyxiating gas, hand-grenades, bombing aircraft, torpedoes, and submarines have told chiefly on the side of Attack. Now a new invention enables defenders to snap their fingers at besiegers, ere long some other embodiment of ingenuity puts defenders to rout. As we scan the history of the art of war, we see the balance between Attack and Defense constantly shift.

Defense is strongest in relation to attack in one-dimensional warfare,

since the defenders have only to block the assailants on the line along which they have to advance. On the sea, however, defenders have no advantage since there is nothing to get behind. Likewise in an open-plain country Defense can be outflanked, is no stronger than Attack. When warfare arrives at the tri-dimensional stage, Attack may be actually stronger than Defense, as we see in night attacks from the air in which the aircraft may do immense damage while nothing effective can be done against them *from the ground*. Until recently, aside from the vengeance of pursuit planes, the only reply that could be made to a devastating air attack was a like bombing raid upon the enemy's vitals.

The more that war's destruction is concentrated on military forces, munitions and structures, the likelier the prospect that resort to war will continue indefinitely; for the interests promoting the national policies likely to precipitate war are very sly, obdurate and ruthless. On the other hand, the more that military offensives engulf the civilian population and wipe out cultural edifices in which all humanity may have an interest, the more unbearable war becomes. The more that war is waged from the air and behind the fighting lines, the more indiscriminate are its havoc and destruction of life, the sooner it will come to be looked upon as a universal scourge to be avoided at any cost.

The relation between Defense and Attack is an imperious determiner of social destiny. When smokeless powder, high-power firearms, machine guns, steel-turrets, and land-mines make Defense many times stronger than Attack, a state that is strong in Defense finds itself weak when it invades the territory of another. Small peoples can maintain their independence even against powerful neighbors. The aggressive empire may be held up by some handful of brave mountaineers, so that the nations are admonished to remain each in its own place. When, on the other hand, Defense has little advantage over Attack, numbers are decisive, conquest is easy, the little peoples tremble before the big peoples, empires become more formidable the bigger they grow, and international relations are in unstable equilibrium.

Does modern warfare fulfil an ineradicable human instinct? In the earlier stages of social development, it *does* seem as if a pugnacious instinct can be seen at work. Thus, on the basis of his observations in Central Borneo, MacDougall remarks.¹:

The people are very intelligent and sociable and kindly to one another within each village community; but . . . the neighboring villages and tribes live in a state of chronic warfare; all are kept in constant fear of

¹ W. MacDougall, *Social Psychology*, 1909, p. 280.

attack, whole villages are often exterminated, and the population is in this way kept down very far below the limit at which any pressure on the means of subsistence could arise. This perpetual warfare, like the squabbles of a roomful of quarrelsome children, seems to be almost wholly and directly due to the uncomplicated operation of the instinct of pugnacity. No material benefits are sought; a few heads and sometimes a slave or two are the only trophies gained; and if one asks of an intelligent chief why he keeps up this senseless practice of going on the war path, the best reason he can give is that unless he does so his neighbors will not respect him and his people, and will fall upon them and exterminate them.

But several considerations forbid us to believe that modern warfare is a product of the pugnacious instinct:

1. Hand-to-hand encounter rouses the combative spirit; but what is there to stir the blood in the crew of a battleship, safe behind four-inch armor, shelling an undefended coast town nine miles away? in a big-gun squad working heavy lethal machinery from a point miles behind the front? in the droppers of bombs on masses of infantry or on undefended cities? Soldiers have been through a war without once seeing the face of a living enemy!

2. In spite of being filled with atrocity lies by the military authorities, soldiers in the trenches often come to realize that the men in the opposite trenches are not their personal enemies but fellows just as good as they are, who like themselves are hapless victims of a quarrel between their governments. In such a case they experience not exultation but remorse when by means of a land mine they have managed to blow into bits some hundreds of their suffering antagonists.

3. Big wars, involving the bulk of the young manhood of the country, by no means suffice to gratify a true instinct, because they are rare. Whole generations never once taste "the exhilarating experience of killing an enemy who is trying to kill you"! Instinctive pugnacity would prompt the young men to go on the warpath every spring as happened often among the American Indian tribes. If we really want to give rein to the fighting impulse, we have only to junk our Federal Government; the quarrels that would then develop among the forty-eight states would give "scrappy" youth all the fighting it craves, perhaps a bit more!

Modern warfare is no remedy of overpopulation. Fighting has come to be virtually an extra-hazardous branch of engineering. Not the sword is the fitting symbol of Mars to-day, but the tank, the bomber, the dreadnought. Modern warfare is costly—tons of metal hurled miles! Wealth is poured out even more lavishly than blood; there is more de-

struction and waste than carnage. The dogs of war devour men, to be sure; but even faster they lap up the resources by which men live. Warfare, therefore, is no longer to be relied on as a cheap ground-clearer, a quick remover of excess population and reliever of population pressure. In fact, life, even for the victors, will generally be harder *after* prolonged warfare than *before*!

War's selectiveness. When combat was hand-to-hand, the strong, agile, shrewd fighter was more likely to survive than his weak or slow-witted comrade. But now the havoc is wrought not by your antagonist personally, but by his machinery—long range cannon, bombs, shells, poison gas, tanks, machine guns. They blot out soldiers indiscriminately. So we have to ask, "How do soldiers compare in biological quality with noncombatants of the same age?" The fact is, the physically best are taken while the ill-grown, the rickety, the deformed, the weaklings, the very dull are left behind to breed their kind. It is believed that the vast loss of French manhood in the wars of the Revolution and the Empire is what made it necessary to lower the stature standard of admission to the French army by three inches! The political inaptness of the American South since the Civil War—as compared with the Old South—is laid by some Southerners to dearth of fit leadership owing to the destruction of the flower of the best Southern families in four years of war!

Warfare spells race decadence.

Having a national axe to grind German thinkers have insisted that war is a valid inter-group test of fitness to survive. But race quality is only *one* factor in deciding which side wins. Others are: comparative size of the belligerent peoples, their natural defenses, their mineral resources, their stage of industrial development, their training and technique, their degree of specialization upon warfare.

WHAT IS PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT?

We live in a time when on all hands human life is recognized as a supreme value and the accidents, diseases, and unwholesome conditions which menace it are being fought with unexampled zeal; when, as never before, people are willing to make sacrifices in order to save the lives of others. Nevertheless, as never before, national effort is being directed to devising means for the wholesale blotting out of human life. The explanation of the paradox is that our *culture* is humanitarian, whereas the governments of the "Powers" are militaristic. The States without "empire" are sincerely pacific. The present cult of international violence

is incidental to imperialism. Imperialism appeals to the Powers because the development of the means of destroying human life has been such that any Western government armed with modern weapons can, with little risk to itself, inflict such carnage as it pleases upon an African or Asiatic people that refuses it something it wants.

The more far-sighted financiers and statesmen perceive that we are now in the era of the apportioning of the lands and peoples of the globe; so that what a nation grabs for itself in the course of the next three or four decades may fix its economic outlook and determine its relative importance for ages to come. This is why, although the military establishments of most of the smaller peoples are honestly defensive in purpose, those of the Powers, whatever their mealy-mouthed professions and pretenses, are maintained in order to retain or extend "empire."

The eagerness to grab is sharpened by the demand of modern industries for certain materials that occur in very limited quantity here and there over the globe. The ore bodies and oil pools have been located by explorers, prospectors, and field geologists; usually the natives are not aware of the existence of these treasures and could do nothing about them if they were. More and more, the attitude of the chancelleries of the Powers toward the control of a backward territory hinges on what they have learned as to its subterranean wealth!

The Powers strong enough to insist on taking a hand in carving up the remainder of the globe differ greatly in their attitude toward territorial acquisition. Great Britain has nearly a quarter of all humanity within her empire,² a share altogether beyond reason, which can be defended only at a staggering cost and which may be torn asunder despite her best efforts. The U. S. S. R. has enough backward areas to keep her occupied for a generation. Holland, Belgium, and Portugal no longer have prospect of expanding their holdings and will be thankful to be left unmolested with what they already have. France is a sated power having enough barbarian territory to keep her occupied for a long time. China, besides having no tradition of conquest and dominion, will need her best efforts to keep from becoming victim of Japan's aggression. The U. S. is the only power in our time which, being in undisturbed possession of an over-seas dependency (the Philippine Islands), concluded that it would be a liability rather than an asset and

² Outside the Continental United States there are in Guam, Samoa, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands 2,850,000 persons who are not citizens. Every inhabitant of the Continental U. S. may be said to have $\frac{1}{65}$ of a subject. But for every inhabitant of the British Isles there are 8 subjects out in the Empire. Looking at the proportions of insiders to outsiders, one might deem the British 440 times as imperial as we are!

proposes to turn it over to its own people. The "hungry," therefore grasping and unscrupulous, powers are Germany, Italy and Japan.

When all the desirable and weakly-held parts of Asia have been divided up, as Africa has already been divided, will appeasement ensue? Will the colonial possessions of Holland, Belgium and Portugal be wrested from their weak grasp? As soon as all the savage, barbarian and semi-civilized peoples have been engulfed by the Powers, will greedy eyes be cast on the *smaller* civilized peoples? When about everything desirable has been collected in the hands of eight or nine Powers, will they regard one another with a measuring eye to see which would be the easiest to pull down and carve up? None of these questions can be answered because no one living can foresee how much the public's attitude toward warfare and empire will change ere this century is out. There may be painful surprises in store for "hard-boiled" militarists who serenely look forward to a future of almost continuous warfare punctuated by occasional outbreaks of peace! They may be torn to pieces by infuriated mobs or wiped out at an agreed-on hour by conspirators.

WHAT MAY ALLAY INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT?

H. G. Wells' grim prediction that it will be a joint revolt of opposing aviators that will end the war system and usher in the creation of a real World-State is plausible. The aviators are men of very superior quality in the prime of their youth. In view of the costly weapons that they manage and the heavy responsibilities laid upon them, they are drawn from the cream of their respective peoples. Now, as these thoughtful young men come to reflect upon the real nature of what they are doing, consider the significance of their exploits in the wholesale blotting out of peaceful human life of both sexes and all ages and of edifices of which man may be proud, and in bringing down in planes other gallant young fellows they know to be just as good as themselves, they may become nauseated by the performances expected of them and lend themselves to a conspiracy to overthrow the governments that stand in the way of an effective international organization of power to put an end to the use of violence for settling international disputes.

Thousands of times groups have faced a crisis like that which confronts the nations now. The well-disposed have had to go always armed and on the *qui vive* because of the presence in their midst of a few bullies who encroach on others and will not submit the resulting disputes to

arbitration. A traveler reports that among the feud-ridden Berdurani of Northeastern Afghanistan

the villages and fields bristle in all directions with round towers. These are constantly occupied by men at enmity with their neighbors in the same or adjoining villages, who, perched up in their little shooting boxes, watch the opportunity of putting a bullet into each other's body with the most persevering patience. The fields, even, are studded with these round towers, and the men holding them most jealously guard their lands from anyone with whom they are at feud. . . . If even a fowl strays from its owner into the grounds of another it is sure to receive a bullet from the adversary's tower. So constant are their feuds that it is a well-known fact that the village children are taught never to walk in the center of the road, but always from the force of early habit walk stealthily along under cover of the wall nearest to any tower.

In the Icelandic saga of *Burnt Njal* we see clearly that domestic peace has been brought about not by the spread of peaceableness but by the setting up of courts the awards of which have behind them overwhelming force. Men joined to support legal institutions not out of friendliness but because they found their feuds intolerable. In the same way after the peoples have suffered enough they may rally to the League of Nations or some other world political organization in such strength as to make it possible to coerce sovereign states disposed to break the peace.

CHAPTER XXII

SOCIAL ADAPTATION

Wilful unlikeness in the big features of life is likely to beget misunderstanding and aversion, even hatred. It is not the *differing actions* of other people we resent so much as *the standards which these actions are supposed to reflect*. The gentleman does not resent the overalls and horny hands of the workingman; for he believes that the latter would lead the gentleman's life if he could. But if a man of means, contemptuous of the gentleman's horror of productive labor, gives himself up to manual work, his conduct will be resented. Hostility arises between those with clashing standards, for each sees the ways of the other as a covert attack upon his own standards.

Ethnocentrism. Each people notices and plumes itself on cases in which its standard is higher than that of another people but contrives to overlook cases in which its standard is lower. We despise the coolies of Canton for eating the unclean rat, but cannot understand why the Mohammedans and Jews despise us for eating an equally unclean animal, the pig. We rate the Japanese as immodest because formerly the sexes bathed together unclad, but it never occurs to us that the refined Chinese regard our nude statuary, our art posters, our advertisements of underwear, our *décolleté* gowns and our round dances as evidences of our extreme immodesty!

The irate Oriental feels that he is least like an infuriated beast when he indulges in biting reflections on the character and ancestry of his enemy, *i.e.*, when he assails his *personality* rather than his *person*. The wrathful Occidental, on the other hand, feels that the right thing to do is to muss up the features of his enemy as expeditiously as may be!

The American is shocked by the Chinaman's lack of chivalry toward his wife; the Chinaman is shocked by the American's lack of reverence toward his parents. The American jokes about the absence of toilet soap in his chamber in a French hotel, while the hotel keeper shrugs his shoulders at the American's willingness to use a cake of coap after previous guests instead of carrying his own soap.

Thus every people tends to regard its own ways as refined and excel-

lent, in accord with reason and the will of God, and to look down on others in so far as their ways are different.¹

Now, when elements with clashing traditions respecting diet, dress, manners and social customs intermingle, their mutual aversion not only limits their coöperation, but may even lead to violence. So the thoughtful seek a remedy.² Partly spontaneously and partly from influences brought to bear, diverse ethnic elements in association gradually adapt themselves one to the other. The chief steps in the process are *toleration*, *compromise*, *accommodation*, *assimilation* and *amalgamation*.

TOLERATION

Religion and toleration. Founders of religion have accounted the antipathies arising out of irrelevant differences as the very first of the evils to be cleared away in order to make room for the higher life of man; but always the tribal spirit has revolted at actually putting others on a level with ourselves!

The ancient polytheistic religions did not foment hatred among peoples. Each nation had its own gods but recognized the reality of other

¹ "It is one of the most curious features of Austro-Hungarian life that there is not one of the many races that make up the inhabitants of the Dual Monarchy that is not regarded with hatred, or fear, or aversion or contempt by all the others." F. H. E. Palmer, *Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country*, 1904, p. 122.

² "The impoverished Magyar always insists upon his social superiority to the equally impoverished Hun. The Pole looks with contempt upon the Lithuanian and the latter is prompt to assert his claim to a more remote ancestry and an older civilization than the former. This racial pride, equally strong in each race, is the cause of many conflicts between these men when they meet over their cups. In the early years of mining, it precipitated many a conflict between the immigrants of the various races from the British Isles, and the bloody and fatal quarrels which so frequently take place among the Slavs are due to the same cause. It has its influence upon the industry. The Pole and Lithuanian will not work together. Foremen have to study national proclivities and prejudices with regard to the productive efficacy of groups of employees under their management. In large towns, where the mine employees live, the various races form colonies, and generally keep within the limits of the section appropriated by them." Peter Roberts, *Anthracite Coal Communities*, 1904, p. 25.

"Difficulties sometimes arise between the Porto Ricans and the Japanese. The latter are seldom the aggressors and rather fear the Porto Ricans in individual disagreements, but on one or two occasions when their blood was up, it required prompt and energetic police interference to prevent a sudden extermination of the local Porto Rican population. The customs of the two people are so different that trouble is apt to result if they are placed in neighboring quarters. The Japanese, for instance, have a naïve disregard for proprieties of costume and occasionally walk about their camps in an absence of attire that Americans or Europeans tolerate only in works of art. Porto Ricans object to this in case of adults, and one or two small riots have occurred as a consequence." Report of U. S. Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii.

gods and their right to be worshiped. So long as an individual did not openly reject and insult the gods of his people, he might, if he pleased, worship a deity belonging to some other country. It is *monotheism*, with its insistence that all gods but one are false and every worship but one is a defrauding of the one true God, which makes the man of another faith an "infidel."

Mahomet with his doctrine of the brotherhood of all "believers" broke down countless tribal barriers; but by persuading his followers to draw the line against the *unbeliever* rather than against the *stranger*, he replaced one intolerance with another.

Jesus, with his parable, "Who is my neighbor?" and his teaching of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, launched a mighty influence for fraternity. But the Church came to foster hatred of the heretic, while belief in collective responsibility to God for individual error made each community or nation intolerant of heterodoxy. Hence, the devastating "wars of religion," 1546-1648.

Culture and toleration. Unless they suspect witchcraft, natural men are more tolerant of differences than culture men. Thus Wallace observes of a polychrome town in Malaysia,

Five hundred people in Dobbo of various races, all met in this remote corner of the East, as they express it, "to look for their fortune." Most of them have the very worst reputation for honesty as well as every other form of morality—Chinese, Bugis, Ceramese, and half-caste Javanese, with a sprinkling of half-wild Papuans from Timor, Bobber, and other islands—yet all goes on as yet very quietly. This motley, ignorant, blood-thirsty, thievish population live here without the shadow of a government, with no police, no courts, and no lawyers; yet they do not cut each other's throats, do not plunder each other day and night, do not fall into the anarchy such a state of things might be supposed to lead to. It is very extraordinary!³

Culture men, on the other hand, cherish standards which make them intolerant of many features in the life of nature men, *e.g.*, nudity, uncleanness, trophy-hunting, "witch-smelling," infanticide, slavery, polygamy, and the like.

What favors toleration. Toleration is promoted by certain ways of looking at unlikeness of customs. One is that *such unlikeness shows not worth-difference, but only difference in circumstances and history*. The English will not despise the Scotch as stingy once they realize how the climate and soil of Scotland made frugality a requisite of survival. One

³ A. R. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, 1869, II, pp. 214-16.

will be slow to condemn the Russian peasant as lazy if one considers how his long winter interrupts work and breaks up habits of industry. The duel, mountain feud, or frontier lynching is less shocking when one understands the conditions out of which it grew.

Another helpful idea is that *manners and customs are but externals, it is inner qualities that count*. We have to appraise our fellows as strong or weak, wise or foolish, steady or flighty, "straight" or "crooked," in order to know how to deal with them. We should not allow a pointless classification according to externals to blur this rating.

Toleration is furthered by *regulated avoidance*. In India ethnic elements the most diverse are able to dwell intermingled and have dealings together by observing a strict etiquette of non-interference, even inattention, respecting one another's diet, family life, social customs and religious practices.

Finally, toleration of non-essential differences is promoted by *mutually advantageous contacts and relation*. Buying and selling, borrowing and lending, fellowship in associations, team work, coöperation as fellow citizens oblige us to judge others as *individuals* and give up *lump judgments* of them according to some peculiarity in food, garb, or rite.

COMPROMISE

The necessity for coöperating prompts the unlike to compose their differences and stick together rather than split or fight. Under pressure they consent to more compromises; as pressure lightens they balk at compromise. The medley of peoples making up the Austrian Empire remained for centuries in one state chiefly because, if they failed to hold together, foreign conquerors would reduce them to a status poorer even than they were vouchsafed under the Hapsburgs.

In Finland the struggle between the parties representing respectively the Swedish-speaking and the Finnish-speaking sections of the population died down under the Bobrikoff régime (1898-1904) when the Tsarist steam roller was crushing them into the Russian mass. In place of the war-cry "One nation, one language" the nationalists united on the slogan "One spirit and two languages."

In the United States enforced participation in vast industrial struggles has obliged foreign-born wage earners of many nationalities to sink their feuds. Says Commons:

For the twenty-five years down to 1900 the racial forces in opposition to assimilation between Slav and English-speaking nationalities in the

anthracite industry were dominant. But the industrial disturbances of 1900 and 1902 here . . . directed the social forces into a different channel. On the broad ground of industrial self-interest racial ties are being broken down, largely through the instrumentality of the United Mine Workers of America.⁴

Compromise involves strain, for each has to yield something it values. Consequently, one means of promoting good will among the diverse ethnic elements in a nation is *to lessen the number of occasions for compromise*. In case they inhabit distinct regions allow each "home rule." *Federal* government is, therefore, peculiarly suited to the needs of diverse peoples who wish complete freedom in all cultural matters yet have much to gain from remaining in some kind of political union. This is why the "Russian Soviet Republic" gave place in 1922 to the "Union of Socialist Soviet Republics."

In case the unlike live intermixed, grant *culture autonomy*. Let government concern itself only with order, justice, defense, and economic relations, leaving each national element to organize as it pleases and provide itself as it will with churches, schools, libraries, hospitals, charitable institutions, means of recreation, etc. The law would not make education obligatory, restrict child labor, or regulate marriage and divorce, but leave such matters to the religious authorities of each nationality.

ACCOMMODATION

Another means of bridging the chasm between unlike population elements is *accommodation*, i.e., convergence of ideas and sentiments touching their relations and behavior.

Forms of accommodation.

1. *Borrowing*. If one element in a mixed society is clearly superior in culture the rest will meet on its plane. The domination of the Incas over the hunting tribes of the Sierras was firmly based because they it was who had taught these nature men to till and irrigate, had introduced the llama, founded sun worship, put an end to war and established a compulsory system of industry. The rapid Latinizing of the Gauls after Cæsar's conquest was due to the plain superiority of the Roman culture. Within forty years Druidism lost its authority, the Gauls gave up their warlike habits and took to peaceful labor, Roman speech, schools and towns were everywhere.

Conquerors will even learn from their subjects in case these are clearly

⁴ John R. Commons, *Trade Unionism and Labor Problems*, 1905, pp. 340-41.

superior. The Manchu conquerors of China accepted the Chinese culture. The Franks who conquered Gaul in the sixth century were quickly Gallicized. The Norse conquerors of what became Normandy took over the Latin culture of the French. The impression Rome made on the barbarian comes out in the naïve confession of Ataulfus the Goth that "in the first exuberance of his strength and spirits he had made this his most earnest desire—to utterly obliterate the Roman name and bring under sway of the Goths all that had once belonged to them—in fact, to turn *Romania* into *Gothia* and to make himself, Ataulfus, all that Cæsar Augustus had once been. But when he had learnt, by long experience, that the Goths would obey no laws on account of the unrestrained barbarism of their character, yet that it was wrong to deprive the commonwealth of laws without which it would cease to be a commonwealth, he at least for his part had chosen to have the glory of *restoring* the Roman name to its old estate and increasing its potency by Gothic vigor, and he wished to be looked upon by posterity as the great author of the Roman restoration, since he had failed in his attempt to be its transformer."⁵

2. *Conversion*. This is a sudden adoption, under great emotional stress, of attitudes and ideals from an alien culture. Sometimes the very foundation of personality is changed, so that no word is so fitting as "rebirth." Conversion involves, furthermore, a shift of attachment and loyalty from one's social group to another; it ranges natural leaders on the side of the alien and against the traditional.

3. *Subordination*. At even the men of an Indian village sit in a circle and talk things over; near at hand their women listen but may not join in the discussion. In China the grown son shows his parents every respect and obedience lest they utter the most terrible words that can fall on Chinese ears, "Son, thou art unfilial." In our South the common Negro addresses every well dressed white man he meets as "boss." In the Germany I knew as a student, if the foreman beckoned the workman came running! On the Peruvian uplands Indian women doff hat to every passing white man and the Indian who "joins farms" with a white man is obliged to furnish him each year a quintal of wool (worth \$22.50) at the "customary" price of \$8.00 and help him without wages in shearing time.

Thus out of experience strong and weak arrive at a *modus vivendi*. If the superior demands more or the inferior yields less than is customary there may be trouble; but so long as they behave as expected their

⁵ Thomas Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, 1895, vol. V, p. 402.

relations may be amicable. The chief things that menace the adjustment are *education* and *agitation*. Genuine education meets the objection a Chilean planter gave me: "We don't want the children of our *inquilinos* disturbed in their minds." To-day on scores of fronts battle rages between the champions of schools for the children of the people and those who tremble lest the time-hallowed subservience of the lower orders to themselves be undermined by new knowledge.

Then self-devoted agitators breeze in from the stirring world outside and tell the women in the harem, the peons on the estate, the hill-billy operatives in a Southern mill town: "You don't *have* to submit to this; your sisters, your brethren elsewhere do not." Thereupon in Turkestan the outraged men tie the feminist intruder to a post and stone her; in China the soldiers of the reactionaries hack off the breasts of the "bob-haired girl" who got the women of the city to unbind their feet; in Mexico the *hacendado* chases off his place the "Bolshevist" intruder who tells the indebted peons to seek another employer; and in the Southern mill town the masked business men tie the sent-in labor organizer to a tree and flog him. On humanity's social fronts in the last two decades the beneficiaries of old abuses have coolly been murdering agitators at the rate of, at least, 500-1,000 per month; yet the respectables have the "brass" to assure us, "They're agitating for what they can get out of it!"

4. *Participation*. Finally the excluded share in the prerogatives of their erstwhile superiors. Feminism loses its "punch" when women are seen at the bar, on the bench, in the professor's chair and on the board of directors. The American Negroes cannot feel that everywhere the cards are stacked against them when they hear of Negro bankers, mill owners, college presidents, authors and dramatists. In the Philippines you hear of "Filipinization," in Java of "Javanization," in India of "Indianization," *i.e.*, access of qualified natives to desirable government posts.

What promotes accommodation.

1. *Intermingling*. The Incas speeded the assimilation of the tribes under them by transferring bodies of peasantry from one district to another. Charlemagne deported Saxons into Franconia, imported Franks and Slavs into Saxony. The spread of the Roman culture owed much to the visits of Roman merchants to the remotest bounds of the Empire and to the settlement of Romans in every province. So long as such intercourse and settlement continued, the diverse peoples grew more alike. But, owing to the roads becoming infested with bandits after the central authority broke down, this osmosis ceased in the fifth century

and the differencing forces gained the upper hand. The old provinces were erected into independent states, a whole family of tongues grew out of Latin, and several nationalities with distinct speech, customs and institutions developed out of populations becoming from diverse regional influences ever more unlike.

2. *Improvements in means of communication.* Good highways jerk into the Present groups which have been sealed up in some mountain region like the Scotch Highlands, the Caucasus, the Pyrenees, the Abruzzi, the Peruvian Sierra, or our Appalachia. Contact hardly affects *groups on diverging lines of development*—such as Hindus and English, Turks and Armenians, Jews and Arabs—but it effaces with startling rapidity unlikeness between *groups at different points on one line of development* by quickly bringing forward the belated group. The Highlanders catch up with their fellow-Britons, the Corsicans with the French, the Sardinians with the Italians, the Swanetians in the Caucasus with the Georgians, and the Appalachian folk with other Americans.

3. *A common religion.* The toughest lump dissolves when no longer held together by religion. So Charlemagne forced Christianity upon the Saxons at the point of the sword. The conversion of the heathen barbarians between the fourth and the thirteenth centuries was in every case a momentous event, for it brought them at once within a new set of influences and they began to share in the onward movement of European culture. Just as the heathen Slavs who settled in Greece in the sixth century came on so rapidly after they were Christianized that they furnished a patriarch to Constantinople in the eighth century, so the heathen Danes who settled Northumbria in the ninth century were providing England with archbishops within less than a hundred years. In the wake of the religion of Mahomet followed presently the brilliant Saracenic culture. Christian foreign missions to-day impart so many elements of Occidental culture along with religious teachings that resemblance and sympathy are promoted among peoples at extremely diverse stages of cultural development.

4. *A common law.* A dual system of law preserves the distinctness of ethnic elements in society, while a law common to all weakens unlikeness by ignoring it. The Visigoths in Italy quickly blended with the Italians when at the end of the seventh century the two laws, Visigothic and Roman, which had existed side by side, were fused into one law common to the two races.

5. *A common language.* A foreign language cocoons an ethnic element. Groups of foreign-born have been allowed thus to encyst themselves

here until there are young people born and educated in America who cannot understand or speak the English language!

6. *A common loyalty.* In the Roman Empire the enlightened did not object to Emperor-worship because they saw it as weaving the first bond among the diverse peoples brought within the State by the arms of the legionaries. In Japan it has been deliberately propagated as a means of counteracting the natural tendency of the masses to think in terms of province rather than nation.

7. *The public school.* Separate schools for different population elements deepen the sense of difference because of their emphasis on distinctiveness of history, language, literature, religion and culture, *i.e.*, things of the *past*. On the other hand, the *common* school stresses the *present* and the *future*. Compare the assimilative achievement of the Americans in the Philippines *with* the common school with that of the Dutch in Java *without* it.

8. *The common newspaper.* By its emphasis on the *present* the newspaper weakens the traditions holding groups apart. Oriented in the same direction its readers find new and common interests. The American "yellow" newspaper, which by means of scare-heads, color pictures, comic strips, and gong effects gains the attention of our foreign-born, has been a potent agent of Americanization.

9. *Voluntary associations crossing ethnic lines.* Joint action in defense of common interests quickly overcomes the suspiciousness and aversion holding apart the unlike. An investigation showed that among the foreign-born in the stock-yards district of Chicago each nationality has its own churches, schools, building and loan associations and political clubs. The one association which embraces all nationalities is the trade union, which organizes men according to occupation and ignores nationality. Reported U.S. Commissioner of Labor C. D. Wright:

In his trade union the Slav mixes with the Lithuanian, the German and the Irish, and this is the only place they do mix until, by virtue of this intercourse and this mixing, clannishness is to a degree destroyed, and a social mixing along other lines comes naturally into play.

ASSIMILATION

Assimilation is the process by which an alien element becomes spiritually incorporated. Seeing that the process has gone on here on a great scale and before the eyes of social psychologists and sociologists, let us review what American experience seems to show.

Means of assimilation. *Contact* does not assure it. Observes Bryce of the diverse elements in Tiflis fifty years ago: "Here all these peoples live side by side, buying and selling and working for hire, yet never coming into any closer union, remaining indifferent to one another, with neither love nor hate nor ambition, peaceably obeying a government of strangers." The reason was: they were taking their cue from the Past and following the patterns it set them.

Compulsion does not assure it. The attempt (1881-1904) of the reactionary statesmen, Pobyedonostseff, Ignatieff and Katkoff, to Russify the heterogeneous nationalities within the Russian Empire by driving over them Orthodoxy and Tsardom like an enormous steam-roller failed because it sought to substitute one tradition for another.

Cultural superiority does not assure it. There are innumerable instances of an alien element remaining for generations encysted in an inferior culture. We like to think we assimilate the foreign-born because of the superiority of American civilization. No doubt economic opportunity, absence of caste, political democracy, religious freedom, and the public school strongly attract them. Nevertheless, the secret of our success in assimilating the immigrant who is plunged into the thick of American life instead of swimming round and round in some eddy like a Ghetto or Little Italy or Little Hungary, has been adherence to the following principles.

1. *Toleration.* We have left the alien free to speak his mother tongue, follow his folk customs, foregather with those of his own race, form his own church or lodge, and amuse himself as he likes.

2. *Individualism.* The summons of American democracy to the bent victim of Old-World oppressions, "Stand up like a man!" has an electrifying effect upon him.

3. *The worship of progress.* The custom-bound immigrant is taught not only that nearly everything that makes us safe and comfortable is of recent origin, but that *whatever is will some day be surpassed*. We bid the newcomers turn from their Pasts, so packed with dividing prejudices and hatreds, and eye the Future which together we are building.

4. *The bestowal of the franchise.* Once Josef has a vote he finds himself an object of interest, people try to "talk him over." He is invited to join this group or march in this parade all because of his scrap of political power! Voting, owing to the knowledge it demands, the interest it excites and the responsibility it involves, is quite magical in unifying men of different backgrounds.

5. *Insistence upon education of the young.* Tolerant and easy-going as

America seems, on one point she insists, "Dress as you please, speak what you please, worship as you please, but you *must* send your children to school." In the school we gently detach the young from their parental matrix and make them our unconscious accomplices in Americanizing their parents.

AMALGAMATION

After the major differences between the intermixed elements have disappeared, intermarriage takes place freely and the offspring of these mixed unions reconcile in their persons the opposed tendencies. Inheriting from their two parents distinct traditions they adopt the superior, combine the best elements of both, or else find an independent standing ground for themselves. Thus vanished the historic oppositions of Israelites and Canaanites, patricians and plebeians, Romans and Goths, Gauls and Franks, English and Danes, Normans and English. Amalgamation, then, concludes the process of adaptation.

But no such happy ending is possible in case the physical differences between juxtaposed races offer a barrier to intermarriage. Observes Bryce:

It was the good fortune of the Roman Empire that the vast majority of the races whom it conquered and absorbed had no conspicuous physical differences from the Italians which prevented intermarriage and fusion. Race and birthplace were no great obstacle to a man of force. Two or three of the Emperors were of African or Arab extraction. Moreover, the peoples of Southern Europe seem to have less repulsion of sentiment towards the dark-skinned races than the Teutons have. The Spanish and Portuguese intermarry not only with the native Indians of Central and Southern America, but also with the Negroes. The French of Canada intermarried more freely with the Indians of North America than the English have done.⁶

The color line, as it presents itself in various parts of the world and particularly in our South, makes race blending impossible. This is why no "solution of the Negro problem" is in sight, although much may be done to improve the relations between whites and blacks. The living side by side of elements which disdain to mix is not objectionable in a society of the Asiatic type, which does not aspire to spiritual unity. But in a "democratic" society, which covets a social mind, a color line is a source of weakness. Such a society should guard its future by barring out any immigrating race with which its members will not freely mix.

⁶ *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, vol. I, 1901, pp. 293-94.

PART IV
COÖPERATION AND ORGANIZATION

- CHAPTER
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CHAPTER XXIII

COÖPERATION

All large permanent groupings—not the product of coercion—exist for a common purpose which without them could not be attained; they are *coöperations*. *In union there is strength*. Yes, but, if there be no call to coöperate, *In union there is weakness*; for people object to being held together in a functionless organization. On the open frontier the passion for freedom always leads to the complete independence of each family, unless there is a felt need of coöperation—say in fighting Indians. In South Africa, among the wandering or “trek” Boers, strife with the Bushmen was the sole thing which brought them together.

The purposes of coöperation. The oldest and the most frequent motive to large union has been *coöperation in fighting*. A survey of mankind in the day of Ikhnaton, King of Egypt, the first human individual of whom we have record, would have shown them tied up in tens of thousands of groups—of, say, more than 500 members each—hordes, tribes, confederacies, nations and the like. The motive was not mutual aid in getting a living, but *coöperation in self-defense*. I do not say *aggression* because, if one group in fifty contemplates seizing the hunting grounds, fishing grounds, natural pastures, plantations, fields, or wells of neighbor peoples, all of the rest who are not protected by wastes, jungles, barren mountains or broad waters, will have to band together to beat them off!

So perhaps 98 per cent of the larger human groupings *down even to the present hour* have been formed for *coöperation in fighting*. Brotherly love had very little to do with calling into being the larger human aggregates. While a few peoples fell into the predatory habit, no doubt the motive continually upsetting the settled relations among neighboring peoples was misery resulting from the automatic increase of numbers. And the same is happening to-day; for disease-mastery and the lowering of mortality rates are being far more widely diffused over the world in our time than is the practice of birth control!

Nomads invading settled areas form large loose unions, such as that of the Israelites making their way into the land of Canaan, of the Vedic

people descending into India, of the Cimbri, Teutons and Gauls clutching at Italy. But such unions are temporary, because *attack is optional* whereas *defense is imperative*. For not being ready to attack there is no such penalty as for not being ready to defend! Hence *fear of being attacked* is the master builder of big *permanent* unions. It was not breaking into the land of Canaan which welded the "twelve tribes" under Saul and David, but their subsequent wars with the neighboring peoples. The Iroquois confederacy of six Indian tribes resulted from the encroachments of the English. So long as there were Indians to be fought, so long as the Dutch were in New York and the French in Canada, the American colonists had a lively state-sense. But when they no longer had cause to fear, the demand for internal liberty expanded and, more and more, they resented the arrogant Royal Governor.

An undisciplined race may be ruined by inability to coöperate. Fustel de Coulanges shows that the Germans of the fifth century were the mere remnants of a race which for three centuries had been whipped by the Romans, vanquished by Slavs and Huns, above all rent by long internecine wars. Gone were nearly all the peoples Tacitus describes and lauds. They had torn one another to pieces from sheer incapacity to coöperate in forming a strong and stable state. We find "Franks," "Alamans," "Saxons," *i.e.*, mere fighting hordes; for Franks = warriors, Alamans = all sorts of men, Saxons = axe men. These wandering bands accompanied by their women, children, and slaves were without attachment to the soil, settled life, or idea of fatherland. No stable traditions, customs, law, elders and assemblies. The legal and peaceful régime Tacitus beheld had gone under in centuries of confusion.

He goes on to insist:

Gaul was conquered by Cæsar not because the Gauls were timid but because they would not unite and fight together. In great wars and in the face of invasions personal courage is worth little. It is the strength of public institutions and racial discipline which defends nations. Where the political bond is weak, the invasion at once disorganizes the state, upsets minds, shatters characters and in this growing disorder the invasion succeeds.¹

Next to coöperation in defense the weightiest motive for political coöperation is *the establishment of tribunals for the settlement of disputes*. The creation of the Icelandic Republic in the tenth century is an instance. Iceland, remote and poor, needed no foreign policy, army, fleet or exchequer. The settlements organized the Republic in order to provide ma-

¹ *Histoire des Institutions Politiques de l'Ancienne France*, 1877, vol. I, p. 50.

chinery which should put an end to the destructive feuds which raged among them. It was a government without an executive, developed chiefly upon its judicial side and, to a much smaller extent, upon its legislative side. The League of Nations was born out of a like exigency.

Another common enterprise is the *construction of public works*. The early city builders—in Babylonia, for example, or in Russia—were tillers of the soil providing themselves with a *stronghold*, rather than a *market-place*. The essential thing was the *walls* rather than the *houses*, for in case of foray the peasants fleeing from the open country simply camped in the enclosure until the enemy retired. The residence and trading rôles of the city developed later.

The control of stream water calls for combined labor. The early appearance of the authoritative state in the valleys of the Nile, the Euphrates and the Ganges sprang from the necessity of maintaining irrigation canals and reservoirs. Big stable organization was forced upon the early Chinese by their need of huge embankments to protect them from the flood waters of the Yellow River.

Economic coöperation gives rise to an infinity of small-scale undertakings, such as the collective hunting of a gregarious animal like the buffalo, or of a formidable creature like the elephant or the whale; the common protection of herds against beasts and raiders; the common herding of live stock owned by separate families; the common mowing of the meadows owned by the village community; and the common upkeep of highways and bridges.

Shortage of coöperation. Unlike bees and ants, we do not coöperate from instinct; always there are slackers who hang back because they count on the rest going ahead. Hence, coöperation for ends a little dim or remote *cannot be effected without some compulsion*. The anarchists err in seeing coercive authority as always the child of conquest or personal ambition. It may spring up whenever there are life-and-death matters calling for joint effort—and not getting it!² Whatever it be—

² How anarchists get their eyes opened is illustrated in the case of Vivancos, a transport worker in Barcelona who was active in the anarcho-syndicalist movement. In the late Spanish Civil War he fought so well that he came to be commander of a column of 200 men second to none among the loyalist forces (1937).

"When militarization was proposed and its acceptance became imperative in the face of the tremendous odds against the loyalist cause, Vivancos exerted all of his influence to prevail upon his men to accept this discipline which appeared contrary to their ideals, as the only way. He used persuasion, psychology, and even appealed to their emotions whenever necessary, to convince the stubborn and win back those who, unable to reconcile their anarchist ideas with militarization, had requested their release from the army. But in the end, he succeeded in overcoming all opposition and his column was militarized."

village palisade, city wall, aqueduct, lighthouse, dike, fire-break, home guard, fleet, practice with arms—if purblind scoffers and slackers stand in its way, the wise will back the leader who makes them “do their bit.”

Mutual aid. The simplest coöperation is *mutual aid*, *i.e.*, the spontaneous combining of efforts. Since it goes against the grain it is more resorted to in *hard* times than in *easy* times. Merchants band themselves into guilds when striving for the recognition of king and priesthood, artisans when struggling for legal rights. Wage-earners will not form unions until they have suffered much; employers, until the labor unions are pressing them hard. Fruit growers, cotton growers, tobacco growers, do not combine to control their production until they are at their last gasp. Settlers practise mutual aid most when they are poor and struggling. The American pioneers had their “bees” for sewing, quilting, corn-husking, harvesting, threshing, barn-raising, walnut-shucking, and road-mending. If a man was sick, his neighbors “turned in” and with hurrah and good cheer gathered his crop. If he was “burnt out,” they came together and cut, hauled and fitted logs for a new cabin. They practised “exchanging work” in harvest time and no one hesitated to borrow or lend. Later, when most are “well fixed,” these mutual-aid customs die out.

Mutual aid finds favor with the *lower* rather than with the *upper*. The latter are too proud to lean on one another, *e.g.*, borrow. But the lowly can hardly live unless they stand together. The laboring folk of ancient Rome banded themselves into *collegia*. There was a union for each trade to protect its members against the upper classes, insure security in work, and lend some dignity to existence. Each had its festivals and sacred banquets, its banner, its common fund, its houses and lands, its elected head. Christianity, the religion of love and brotherly aid, captivated this class long before it won the proud.

Peoples like the Slavs and the Japanese, who have but recently emerged from their old-time communal organization, resort more freely to mutual aid than peoples like the Jews, the West Europeans and the Americans, who have been longer individualized. The Slavic ideal has always been groups of small manufacturers coöperating with one another rather than vast industrial concerns exercising an autocratic control over their personnel.

Nearness without “neighboring” is likely to beget bickering. Farmers turn less social when there is no longer anything they do *together*. They may fail to provide themselves with good roads, good schools, good

churches and conveniences for stimulating social intercourse. The remedy is, Get them to coöperate in importing lecturers, entertainers, and traveling libraries, improving the roads, bettering the schools, building and furnishing an assembly hall for common use, mutual fire insurance, co-operative purchasing, collectively thinking out problems which touch the farmers' life.

For the varied practice of mutual aid socializes.

Freedom versus compulsion in coöperation. *Voluntary coöperation or compulsory coöperation?* In the Middle Ages even military defense was sometimes provided spontaneously. In the valley of the Wei River in China one sees river dikes, roads, irrigation mains and town walls which owe nothing to authority. There is a tendency, however, for functions which *might be* discharged by means of voluntary association to devolve upon the State. The citizens maintain a paid police instead of taking turns at "watch and ward." Paid men fight fire instead of volunteer companies. The streets are cared for by a brigade of sweepers instead of by a "clean-up" bee.

The main motives for abandoning free coöperation are:

1. Scheming, selfish individuals dodge doing their part in accomplishing something which benefits all alike.
2. Services like sanitation, education, forest-guarding, conserving natural resources, street cleaning, food-inspection, provision for recreation, *etc.*, are appreciated least by those who need them most.
3. The waste of energy in keeping up as many voluntary associations as there are tasks calling for combined effort is avoided by using a single inclusive compulsory organization, *e.g.*, the municipality. For the library users are not identical with the school users, the playground users, the water users; with those who want steam rollers, or hose carts, or street sprinklers, or garbage carts, or irrigation ditches, or free anti-toxin.
4. What once was done by the intermittent efforts of all—fire fighting, pursuit of criminals with "hue and cry," watching dikes and irrigation canals, road mending, street cleaning, life-saving—has been turned over to the continuous efforts of a few who know their business—firemen, police, street cleaners, inspectors, and coastguards.
5. "Voluntary" coöperation is unwilling to the extent that social pressure is applied in order to whip slackers into line. On the other hand, under popular government, the support of each public service may be "willing" for all but a few big tax payers.

In a word, the *voluntary* method is little used after the community has become too large for all its members to know one another and to act readily in concert; after it has become so differentiated that the sense of common needs to be cared for is dull in the minds of some; and after the community has developed to the point where it can be better served by the trained than by volunteers.

The social division of labor. When the services to be combined or interchanged are unlike, a social division of labor grows up. Some render certain services while the rest render them counter-services. An early differentiation was that *between tillers and fighters*. Barton shows that:

A semi-agricultural cultivation of the palm in the oases was the chief food supply of the Arabs almost from the time of their settlement in the peninsula. No company of men could gain possession of an oasis and hold it for cultivation without organization for defense. Such an oasis would not support them the year round, they must either hunt or keep flocks and herds. In Arabia there was little hunting. If flocks and herds were kept they must be led forth to pasture. While some were cultivating the oasis, the younger and hardier men took the more dangerous part of leading the flocks and herds out to graze.³

Payne likewise finds functional cleavage between workers and warriors at the dawn of agriculture.

An agricultural tribe permanently settled upon productive lands which its labor has rendered additionally valuable, stands in a new relation to neighboring tribes. While its permanently stationary condition exposes it to attacks, which its women, food stores and miscellaneous possessions naturally invite, the social changes produced by increasing reliance on agriculture render its members as a whole incapable of offering effectual resistance. Hence the warrior class. Such a class, having as its primary function the defense of the community against external aggression, is found in all advancing agricultural tribes. Where an aggregate of such tribes, as happens in favorable circumstances, has been welded into a nation and has consequently come to make a figure in history, this class has always been the principal agent in the process. An advancement not defended by an adequate military organization would be fore-doomed to extinction.⁴

Rise of the standing army. The ancient societies had no armies distinct from the civil population. The free man was both citizen and soldier. Then the Roman Empire created a professional army of 400,000 soldiers, by means of which one hundred and twenty millions lived in peace and security. But the people lost their liberties while the martial

³ G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, 1902, pp. 33-34.

⁴ E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, 1892, vol. II, pp. 1, 2.

spirit so decayed among the civilians that, once the regular troops had been beaten, they put up but a feeble resistance to the barbarians.

The union of weapons and prestige in the same hands makes it very difficult to keep the military always subordinate to the civil authority, *i.e.*, to keep the armed servant from becoming master. In Europe the army has been the private preserve of the aristocracy and therefore a hotbed of reactionary intrigue. Our forefathers decried a "standing army" and put undue faith in a militia. The modern device of *universal military service* prevents a gulf opening between the military part of society and the civil part.

The governing class. This class arises out of those who, possessing wealth and leisure, have gained the intelligence and organization needed for the control of public affairs. It cultivates the martial spirit and skill in arms, moreover *it knows how to govern*, whereas the unlettered masses are quite too ignorant and narrow-minded to rule the state. In England of the eighteenth century, the country gentlemen; in our South, the planters; the Junkers in East Prussia; the *hacendados* in Chile, exemplify a governing class. The two former had to let in traders and capitalists. The last is still a governing class because in Chile trade is in the hands of foreigners, who have no voice in politics.

Such a class may rule vigorously and intelligently but it never uses government to promote social ends or to elevate the masses. In time it is almost sure to come into serious economic dependence upon the government it controls. The prosperity of the English gentry became involved with the "corn laws," of the Chilean *hacendados* with paper money, of the East-Prussian Junkers with appointments in the army and the civil service. Thus a governing class gradually becomes less public-spirited and more parasitic. Over much of the world modern representative government has shorn power from the governing class, although by its control of party machinery, newspapers and "society" the latter has weathered democracy better than had been expected. The manning of the state by trained men recruited from all classes has been another blow to the monopoly of government by a class.

The learned class. A learned class dominating in religion, morals, education and law, may grow up owing to the prestige which learning has in ages of general ignorance. Examples are: the priests and scribes of Israel, the "philosophers" of classic Greece, the Druids, the Christian clergy of the Middle Ages, and the *literati* of China. Such a class aspires to do all the thinking for the people, exaggerates the difficulty and worth of its learning, and discredits or suppresses the unprofessional thinkers

and teachers. It rarely exploits the people, but it covets *influence* and likes to be distinguished by privileges and insignia, such as "benefit of clergy," special representation in government, monopoly of certain offices, academic degrees, cap and gown, academic professions, functions and honors. The differentiation of the learned professions, so that each is held in check by all the rest, the provision of free education culminating in the university, and the great increase in the number of callings which utilize the well-educated, now make impossible a small, unified and self-conscious learned class.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE ORGANIZATION OF EFFORT

From planless, haphazard coöperation—settlers fighting a prairie fire or rioters storming a jail—organization is approached by a number of steps. One is *the submitting of like efforts to direction*, as when planters fortify a levee against a flood or citizens come together as a sheriff's *posse*. Another is *the combining, under direction, of unlike efforts*, as in road building, barn raising, or a "round-up" of cattle. When, as in railway operation, a military envelopment movement, or a fleet manœuvre, *the several diverse efforts must be very precisely timed and adjusted to one another*, direction will be very detailed and explicit. If the work is difficult, an authority will be needed to *assign tasks according to individual aptitude or skill*, and, if the organization is permanent, to *provide that individuals are especially trained* for the performance of their special functions.

The determinants of organization. Certain factors account for the very great differences among organizations in structure and spirit.

a. *The nature of the task.* If something is to be *done*, say erect a building or move trains, an organization is called for the parts of which work smoothly together like the wheels and levers of a machine. But if the aim is the *beneficial influence* which members may exert upon one another, an organization to promote association and fellowship suffices.

Again, is the effect aimed at *physical* or *psychical*? On a plantation or in a factory, the spirit of the workers is by no means so important as in the case of a newspaper staff, a relief bureau, a propagandist society, or the soliciting force of a life-insurance company—all of them working in the realm of *mind*. Sullen men may cut sugar cane or tend machines, but no one who feels himself a slave, a drudge, or a cog-wheel can teach, persuade, or inspire. All organizations, therefore, which work on *people* rather than on *things* have to worry about *morale*. They must keep their workers content and provide motives which stir the higher faculties. Away, therefore, with the notion of some (so-called) "practical" men that the head of a college or a school system should be a glorified mill boss!

In *life-and-death matters*, responsibility must be definite, and strict obedience exacted even from an intelligent personnel. After trained nurses came into hospitals, a great quarrel broke out between nurses and doctors over the question whether the nurse should be entirely subordinate to the physician or should enjoy some discretion. The issue was settled by the complete subordination of the nurse. So is it in the handling of railroads and ships, health departments and power sources.

Still greater is the subordination required in dealing with tasks subject to *crisis*. When weal or woe hinges on what is done in a few hours or even a few minutes, mistake and failure must be eliminated at all costs. A fighting force, then—whether it is to cope with foes, mobs, fires, surf, floods, or epidemics—tends toward a *military* organization. Not only is literal and prompt obedience enforced by severe penalties but, in order that the right thing may be done in the emergency, it must be ingrained as habit. Hence, all organizations dealing with crisis make much of *drill*.

Military organization, just because it reached a high development as early as the middle of the eighteenth century, has unfortunately served as a pattern for later types of organization not subject to the strain of crisis. Hence, in government bureaus and in business administration the false idea has prevailed that the usefulness of the subordinate to his superior consists in executing orders and furnishing reports. But why repress the natural doubts, queries, or remonstrances of the intelligent and loyal subordinate in a non-fighting organization? In an industrial concern, a school system, or a government bureau there ought to be an interchange of thought between those who determine policies and those who will have to carry them out.

Does the task in hand *put a great strain on ordinary human nature*? The more it does so the stricter the discipline will have to be, the harsher the penalties for disobedience. This is the reason why military discipline is more methodical than any other, why rigid training is insisted on for a man of so little skill as the common soldier. To build a habit that shall hold him steady before cannon, cold steel and dropping bomb—this is the reason for the endless drill, the rhythmic regularity, the automatic obedience exacted by the makers of armies.

The monk like the soldier is under strain, but the end sought is utterly different. Military organization has in view physical action, monastic organization is for the sake of the spiritual. Hence, the rules of the former are clear-cut, to be carried out without hesitation; while the rules of the latter, although far more gripping than military rules, are

undefined, fluid, subtle, as one would expect when it is the *soul* that is to be controlled, not simply the *body*.

Although organization tends to reflect the nature of the task, *the principle of the dominant organization is likely to reappear in all the rest*. If in government the relation of superior to subordinate is purely authoritative, this spirit may be expected to prevail in family, school, church, business, industry, and voluntary associations. If, on the other hand, government admits a consultative element, most other organizations will do so.

b. *The controlling purpose*. Is the purpose of an organization *the doing of a worth-while work* or the *maximizing of profits*? A railroad force will be keen for mastering snowdrifts, breaking records, beating a rival road, or perfecting the service. Now, this disinterested eagerness is best developed when the president of the railroad is a railroad man, when the newspaper owner is a newspaper man, when the schools are under an educator, and when the philanthropy is in charge of a social worker. But it dies when Capital comes out in plain view, takes the reins, and drives for profits without heed to excellence. Zeal is chilled in artisans required to make sham things instead of real, in reporters when their news stories are "killed" in the interest of big advertisers, in railroad men when avaricious banker management denies their plea for safety devices, in teachers when their superintendent is an agent of property-owners to keep taxes down, and in professors when their head is not a scholar but a money-raiser, or a tory deputed to "sit on the lid."

c. *The character of the organized*. The peon, the green immigrant, the navvy, the needy working-girl, the child operative, are driven or underpaid solely because they are weak. On the other hand, those who enjoy options, the accountant, the ship's mate, the experienced salesman, the engineering expert, may not be driven. In a dramatic troupe or a symphony orchestra, the need of perfect coördination is much greater than in a factory, yet the discipline is never harsh, because actors and musicians are in a stronger position than mill hands. The more intelligent the rank and file, the less the need of prestige and severity. The head of a school system, a hospital, or a bureau, while he must, of course, have the confidence of his teachers, nurses, or agents, needs not inspire them with awe or fear.

Volunteer workers will not tolerate harshness, so can be reached only through *esprit de corps* or conscience. Unless it inflicts death, a secret revolutionary organization cannot punish without risking betrayal. A

heavy hand on boy scouts, party workers, Red Cross volunteers, or friendly visitors will in the end disrupt the organization. The member of a relief party or an exploring expedition is controlled chiefly through the pressure of opinion. In the religious order, the priesthood, the ministry, or the "foreign mission," the fulcrum for authority is the solemn vow and the acceptance of this vow by order, church, or mission board. The contrast between *exacted*, *paid*, and *volunteer* service is so broad that the successful executive of a military or industrial organization may prove a total failure when directing a body of missionaries, social workers, or researchers.

d. *The spacing between the organized.* Men fall more readily into the grades imposed by the technique of joint effort *if they are already spaced*. Thus the subordinate chafes little if his superior is *older*. The instructor bows to the head professor's twenty years' advantage in experience. Boy scouts cheerfully obey their adult leader. The snowy crown of the bishop lends a fatherly air to his authority. The "cub" reporters will run their heads off to execute the orders of the "old war horse" at the managing editor's desk.

Special knowledge and training set apart. The men on the team readily take orders from the star player who coaches them. Artisans accept as master the architect with his wealth of technical knowledge. To their lieutenant enlisted men attribute inscrutable wisdom acquired at West Point or Annapolis. Knowledge of the mysteries of navigation helps put distance between fore-castle and cabin.

The benefits of organization. 1. Things are done which cannot be accomplished otherwise. In weather forecasting, canal digging, railroad operation, or the postal service, unorganized effort gets you nowhere.

2. Something cared for intermittently by all citizens—such as fire-fighting, levee-mending, or road-making—may be turned over to the continuous efforts of a trained few.

3. The division of a work into its natural parts and the assignment of these to different individuals permit the utmost advantage to be taken of special aptitude, knowledge, or training.

4. Concentration leads to a higher expertness. Deliberative bodies organize themselves into committees, each set apart to study and become conversant with a particular class of questions.

5. Many diverse efforts are fitted into a single comprehensive, intelligent plan. We see this not only in industry and war but also in a clearing-house, an educational system, a party effort, an agitation, a

propaganda, a commercial campaign, weather observation, and scientific research.

6. Coördination avoids that needless duplication of effort often seen among agencies which are striving for the same end, such as charities, missionary undertakings, educational institutions, propagandist groups, and reform movements.

7. Reduction of the wastes of competition is possible, *e.g.*, outlay for advertising, salesmen, selling agencies, and cross-freights.

8. Serving as a cog in a great beneficent, permanent organization provides some with a large superpersonal end which appeals to their imagination and sustains them in their life work.

9. Not all do well at solitary work. Many derive from working on a team an inspiration they can find nowhere else.

The wastes of organization. 1. In a team or gang the man who directs is also a doer, but as the group becomes larger there comes a time when he drops his tools, and from that moment begins the burden of "overhead expense." In large enterprises the cost of the timekeepers, checkers, inspectors, storekeepers, overseers, bosses, foremen, and superintendents becomes serious.

2. In a small concern the manager's eye checks waste of time and material and his memory holds the records; but in the big concern there must be installed an elaborate system of record, check, and audit.

3. Not without loss is energy transmitted through a series of shafts, belts, or cogwheels; nor is it possible for the intelligent purposes of the heads of elaborate organizations to be carried out without waste through friction between the parts.

4. Formalism and red tape. A French commission on the naval budget found that in the ministry "hundreds of employees are occupied exclusively at calculating, transcribing, copying into innumerable registers, reproducing on countless fly-leaves, dividing, totalizing, or despatching to the minister figures that have no reality, that correspond to nothing in the region of facts, which would probably be nearer the truth if they were one and all invented."¹

5. There is, finally, the relative *inflexibility* of all machinery composed of numerous correlated parts. Individuals who by themselves might quickly change their activities or their methods find themselves gripped and locked, as it were, in an iron system.

The abuses of organization. 1. Nepotism may govern appointments

¹ G. Le Bon, *The Psychology of Socialism*, 1899, p. 177.

and promotions. The post-office department may be made a political machine. The railroad president may manage his road with reference to his secret stock speculations. Superior may misuse his authority over subordinate to gratify his lust of domination, to exact a tribute of flattery, to indulge a personal spite, to keep down a possible rival, or to cover up his own shortcomings.

2. When an executive insists on keeping everything "under his hat," he comes to lean too much upon his office helpers; big things may hinge on the decision of a mere office subordinate. Or the local mine manager justifies himself by showing that during the "labor war" he was continually reporting to his distant chief, while this over-burdened chief pleads ignorance of the lawless policies pursued by his subordinate. Responsibility falls between two stools.

3. Organizations become top-heavy. In China (1910) in a government school of modern languages with twenty-seven teachers I found ten administrators half of them with nothing to do. In a higher commercial school with twenty teachers there were ten officials of whom three were mere sinecurists. In a law school with eight hundred students the non-teaching officials numbered twenty-five!

4. Men in different departments of a large organization may become too specialized to get one another's viewpoint or to work smoothly together. The soldier in the field, the salesman on the road, the engineer on the line, all have their troubles with the man in the office. Overspecialization may be prevented by *rotating men through related functions*. Men in the forestry service spend half the year in the bureau and half in the forests. General managers combat overspecialization by getting the heads of departments together frequently to "talk things over," or, better yet, grouping them into committees to examine and report on particular problems.

5. The organization becomes an *end* rather than a *means*. Army officers oppose reducing the military establishment when the nation comes into a safer position. The educational system cannot be induced to consider the child and ask itself what real good it is doing him. Railroad officials develop a loyalty to the company which leads them to commit for it crimes they would not commit for themselves. In general, it is *outside* forces rather than *inside* forces which keep an organization in proper relation to its job.

The sacrifices organization requires. Human nature, adapted to survival in woods or caves, does not easily lend itself to the demands of technical efficiency. Night duty, monotonous toil, sedentary work,

are made tolerable only by habit. Still greater is the strain of being a cog in some intricate machine. Unquestioning obedience, for instance—how revolting it is at first to any intelligent person! Punctuality, schedule, method, regularity of stroke, standardized performance—how odious! What orator or poet ever struck fire on contemplating human organization?

So there ought always to be reserved a large place for those who in organization feel like squirrels in a cage. Room for the solitary worker who labors when and where and as he pleases! The artist, who waits for the moment of inspiration, will be needed to revive and freshen us as the system of group labor extends.

Preserving freedom under organization. Since discipline there must be, what is to become of freedom? How save the member from being swallowed up in his organization?

1. By securing to every member a voice and a share in determining the rules and policies by which he is bound. This is "government by the consent of the governed." Exemplified in faculty control as against president control, in lay control as against clerical control, in the determination of party nominations and policies by the "rank and file," instead of by delegate conventions. Even prisoners are allowed to form their "mutual welfare league," while school children make rules for the use of their playground!

2. By the organization confining its requirements to matters which clearly affect its legitimate work. Officers will not seek to control the political activities of enlisted men, the school board will not deny its teachers the freedom enjoyed by the ordinary citizen, the priest will not from the pulpit tell his flock how to vote, the employer will not attempt to control the life of his employees outside the workshop.

3. By protecting the right of members of an organization to have "unions of their own choosing" to look after their interests. While the impartial now acknowledge the propriety of trade unions, the right of public servants to organize themselves is called in question. But experience shows that often the bureaucrat will not pay attention to the reasonable protests of public employees unless there is behind them a union which can make him trouble. The bureaucrat's horror of unions of civil employees derives from the militarist theory that in the civil service "back talk" is as intolerable as it is in the army.

4. By preserving to the individual freedom of withdrawal from the organization. The *right to quit* is a great safeguard of other rights. Only lately has the seaman gained the right to quit ship whenever the anchor

is down. Enlisted men ought to be allowed to get out of the army in peace time without excessive difficulty. The law sees to it that the terms of withdrawal from the convent, the building and loan association, the co-operative society, or the mutual life insurance company are not too onerous.

Some internal problems of organization. 1. It is not always best that the "man in charge" should pick his helpers unaided. The master of a technique may be a poor judge of men. Not only is it costly to "try out" the unfit man, but often the man who has failed in one post would succeed in some other place in the organization. The difficulty of getting "the round peg into the round hole and the square peg into the square hole" is so great that some organizations, in adding to their personnel, call in the experimental psychologist or the character expert.

2. A vacancy to be filled raises the question: "New blood or promotion?" The shortsighted executive imports a seasoned outsider "who can do the work." This policy "deadens" the force and deters the capable from joining. To the more enterprising persons in an organization the prospect of rising is *the only thing in it which lends interest to the future*. Chance of advancement introduces that element of adventure or surprise, which attracts the ambitious young man to army, navy, public service, or corporate service.

In a well-contrived organization there will be no "blind-alley" or "dead-end" jobs. Normal promotion routes—with short cuts for the very exceptional man and cross-paths for one who changes his goal—should be worked out for every position, and posted charts showing such routes should visualize to each worker his path of possible advancement. The prick of the spur will be sharpest when selection for advancement is made on merit as revealed in carefully kept records of each man's performance.

3. *Incentive* has to be carefully considered. The appeal to *fear* is the first recourse of the dull, unimaginative manager; hence, in keying up performance, much more has been made of *punishment* than of *attraction*. Yet the low productiveness of all slave labor in comparison with free labor shows that the normal man can be *led* at a faster pace than he can be *driven*.

Graduated reward lures one to do his utmost. Pay, in addition to a fixed element, should include an element varying with one's efficiency—premium, bonus, a commission on one's sales, or on the profits of one's sales—or with one's length of service. Insurance, permanency of em-

ployment, and retiring allowance after a term of service leave good men free to do their best work.

Since *honor* is coveted as well as *money*, honor should be as carefully graduated and as punctually paid. A non-discriminating treatment of those on different rungs of the organization ladder flings away a precious means of stimulation. Something, however slight, should be used to distinguish men of each grade from those below. It may be a uniform, a stripe, a band of gold braid, a cap, or a button. It may be the right of precedence, of dining at a reserved table, entering by a special door, sitting on a higher seat, or having one's desk behind a railing or on a raised floor. Whatever be the mark of honor, it should be *patent* without being conspicuous, its value should be *symbolic* rather than intrinsic, it should be *certain* to him who is entitled to it, and it should be consistently *withheld* from all others.

Pitting a man against his record or pitting gang against gang, shop against shop, branch office against branch office, school against school, team against team, battleship against battleship, rouses the spirit of emulation. The party organizer gets his workers vying to see whose ward will roll up the biggest majority for the party ticket. The gun squads of different battleships engage in the hottest rivalry for honors in marksmanship.

4. The earliest authorities made little use of "imponderables." "Hear, tremble, and obey" was supposed to provide every incentive. But as we probe deeper into human nature more heed is given to the spirit of the rank and file. They like to think they are rendering a service valuable to society; if this value is openly recognized, each feels himself a member of a popular and honorable organization. Even street sweepers develop *esprit de corps* after the public has been taught to appreciate the work of the street-cleaning department!

If the chiefs keep all the credit that comes to the organization, the underlings have the sense of being mere tools! So, if he is wise, the commander passes the glory down to the common soldiers, the administrator ascribes his success to his zealous subordinates, and the railroad manager credits the safety on his line to the men at the throttle.

The rivalry of one organization with another quickly kindles *esprit de corps*. The competition of two neighboring cities invigorates their commercial organizations. The approach of an election sets party workers "on edge" even if there is no real issue between the parties. When competing transcontinental railroads are merged it has been found wise to

preserve their distinct organizations in order to retain the stimulus of rivalry.

Centralization. In the management of common affairs there is much to be said for the general as against the local political body. Too often local control sacrifices general and permanent interests to individual and immediate interests. Local control of education leaves its fate on the whole to smaller men than those who determine it under state control. Local care of highways means inadequate outlay on the roads. Local administration of forests or care of public health will generally be less enlightened than that of the state. In a word, removing control farther from the ordinary citizen and taxpayer is tantamount to giving the intelligent, farsighted, and public-spirited element in society a longer lever to work with!

On the other hand, matters which can be adequately appreciated by common sense, such as the providing of local conveniences, *etc.*, should be left to the local community.

Meeting the strain of organization. As organization comes to embrace more of us certain adjustments will have to be made. One is *ample provision for holiday and recreation*, to allow the bent bow to straighten. Another is *access to a variety of means of recreation*. The more closely the individual is boxed in while at work by schedule, routine, and direction, the wider should be his range of choice out of working hours and the more scrupulously should his freedom to choose be respected. The more one's work conforms to plan, or pattern, or order, *the more one's private life and one's disposal of leisure time must be relied on to nourish and to express an individuality.*

CHAPTER XXV

ORGANIZATION IN MIND

THE ORGANIZATION OF WILL

The simplest way of ascertaining group will is to "take the sense of the meeting." How faithfully the decision of the assembled members reflects their wishes depends on:

- (a) How well is the assembly protected from disturbance or intimidation?
- (b) Can it consider *any* matter; or only such matters as are mentioned in the summons or brought before it by the summoners?
- (c) Who may speak? Only chiefs or officials? Any one "called out"? Any one invited by the presiding officer? Or any one "recognized" by the presiding officer?
- (d) Is discussion complete before a vote is taken?
- (e) Is the prevalent will taken by inviting shouts, cheers, or clash of weapons—which indicate intensity of wish as well as numbers—or by registering votes?
- (f) In case voting is by voice and not by secret ballot, is the order of voting haphazard? Or according to age, rank or other mark of distinction? Important because the earlier voters may influence those who vote later.

Varieties of will organization. As the matters to be settled become numerous or technical, a board will be chosen to make minor decisions, major matters still being reserved for the general assembly. These men may be granted power for only so long as the majority of the members are satisfied, or for a stated term. If continuity of policy be vital and the superior fitness of certain members be conspicuous, the group may clothe them with full authority for a long term or for life.

In case the members of an association become numerous and scattered, periodical convening has to be given up. The local assemblies sometimes take turns in looking after the common concerns of the entire society. Next, delegates are sent by these local assemblies to sit in a deliberative body which acts for the entire group, save perhaps in cer-

tain reserved matters. When the delegate becomes member of a permanent body during a fixed term and speaks for his constituents on all matters that may come up, he is a *representative* and the group is under *representative government*.

With the officials who execute the will of the group this representative body may have various relations. It may appoint them or they may be the choice of the group membership. It may mark out their sphere or they may have a sphere independent of it. It may adopt policies which they are to carry out or it may leave them for the most part a free hand, contenting itself with granting money according to its degree of satisfaction with their conduct.

In short, the government of an organized group may be derived directly from the wills of the members, or it may be so independent of them as to be able to ignore them or form them. The members may decide everything, they may decide only certain fundamental matters, they may decide only *who shall decide*. Beyond these lies dictatorship!

Stage of development affects will organization. A young society, with only rosy prospects in sight rather than realized benefits, must be able to assure the inquirers that "the members control everything." Political democracy was extended in the United States during the period of settlement owing to the sharp competition among young Western states to attract settlers. On the other hand, a society that has accumulated property, prestige, or reputation will attract members even if it gives them no voice in its management. Hence, old and successful associations develop a government as centralized as their affairs may require, whereas young associations *must be democratic*!

Composition of the group determines will organization. Is membership in the group a matter of free will? If it is, then there is a curb on overriding the wishes of the rank and file; for high-handed action may loose a flood of withdrawals. It is because one cannot quit civil society at will that in political government persist abuses of power which would never be tolerated for long in a voluntary association. But, in case quitting the group entails a serious sacrifice, members will tolerate the concentration of power. Therefore, the greater the advantages an organization offers, the more patiently will the members submit themselves. The dogma, "No salvation outside the Church," reconciles the devout to the control of a hierarchy.

When the members of a group differ little among themselves in competency—reform associations, social clubs, professional bodies, learned societies—one never finds blind submission to the dictates of the execu-

tive council or board. But in religious bodies the great inequality among members in respect to wisdom, fervor, and vision often lodges mastery in the natural leaders. Manifest integrity will, of course, inspire a willingness to confide power. The decline of interest in local civic assemblies, which has become so marked among Americans in the course of a century, and the disposition to leave everything to the local board may reflect a growing confidence in the integrity of their fellows! On the other hand, note "the deep-rooted distrust of delegated authority or agency which is constant in every Asiatic mind."¹

The shift to a representative system may be forced by mere growth in membership. When an assembly includes more than a few hundreds, oratory and crowd feeling are likely to rule and rational deliberation is easily upset. The fate of the general assembly of Athens shows what happens in a gathering so large as to induce in both speakers and hearers the theatrical spirit. At this point the "town meeting" should give way to government by mayor and common council.

The purpose of the group determines its will organization. In an association formed for a *temporary* purpose, it seems reasonable that the majority should prevail, but in an *enduring* group the rule of the older and wiser is urged on behalf of members past and to come. A society for registering and focusing opinion will be directly controlled by its members, whereas a group formed for *action* has to confer broad powers upon its executive. In case this action is to bear directly upon the *members themselves*, they will be more careful to define and hedge the powers of their agents than if only *outsiders* are affected.

When an organization considers itself sole custodian of precious doctrines, mysteries or rites only the well-tested and fully initiated are held worthy to be intrusted with transmitting the sacred lore. In religious orders, in the Masonic Order and other hoary secret confraternities, in venerable guilds and ecclesiastical bodies, the care to hand on an uncorrupted tradition centers authority in some Supreme Chapter or Grand Lodge, composed entirely of headmen, or else confides it to a select circle of the older and more experienced. The early appearance of presbyters and elders, bishops and metropolitans, in the Christian church seems to have been due to the felt need of keeping the faith pure from the heresies being spread by unauthorized teachers and prophets.

The administering of corporate property is unfavorable to the keeping of power by the general membership. Hence, a group that acquires wealth is likely to lose its pristine democracy. A town meeting may make

¹ H. B. M. Morse, *The Gilds of China*, 1909, p. 12.

wise decisions as to roads, ferries, and common lands, for these are well understood by all; but diversified property interests requiring intelligent care if they are to remain productive, press home upon a membership the wisdom of intrusting their management to a select few.

The matter to be dealt with determines will organization. If a matter lies within the ken of all and does not call for technical knowledge, it may well be settled in general assembly. The folk-mote of the ancient village community was quite at home in considering the time of mowing the common meadow, the rights of pasturage on the waste, the re-allotment of plow land, and the upkeep of roads and irrigation canals. But when a group is obliged to deal with matters outside the experience or knowledge of its ordinary members, *power is likely to be delegated*. The running of a coöperative store, elevator, or creamery lodges decision in a manager subject to a board of directors. The proper adjustment of dues and benefits is so technical a matter that, once the insurance feature has become prominent in a fraternal order or a friendly society, power tends to concentrate.

When *external relations* are in the foreground, the members of a group, feeling themselves on thin ice, have to trust the few who appear to understand them. Hence the delicate process of *adjustment*—to church, to law, to civil authorities, to other like groups, to a central body, to antagonists, or to competitors—prompts a liberal grant of power to the headmen. When home affairs are overshadowed by foreign affairs, parliament becomes stronger against public, ministry against parliament, throne against people. The security of a sea-girt (Britain) or mountain-girt (Switzerland) people favors the growth of popular government, but the pendulum swings the other way if the national economy comes to be based on foreign trade or if wide-flung empire permanently exalts remote matters above near matters. *Imperialism is of necessity anti-democratic*.

Even if the members of a group confide to a select body the making of laws, creed, ritual, declaration of principles, or code of discipline, they will keep their hands on matters in the deciding of which their agents *may have an interest contrary to that of the general membership*. It is, therefore, in *financial affairs* that the resistance to the centralization of power is most stubborn. Recall constitutional restrictions on the size of the public debt, the requirement of a referendum on a bond issue, the rule that the vote on appropriation bills shall be recorded and be larger than on other bills.

Why fighting groups centralize decision. Frequent emergencies calling for quick decisions favor the concentrating of power in a small nucleus. When *promptitude* is clearly essential to success, the moulding of many wills into one is felt to be too time consuming; while the meeting deliberates, the golden opportunity may have passed never to return! Hence, the more recurrent the need of prompt decision, the more willing are the members to intrust large powers to a few. The need of *secrecy* has the same effect. Not many can share in making a decision if that decision has to be concealed from foes or competitors. Now, in all forms of group strife—commercial rivalry, industrial struggle, political contest, negotiation, diplomacy, and warfare—*both promptness and secrecy are necessary*. Hence, *fighting groups* finally lodge large power in the hands of the trusted few. Trade-unionists may insist on the ballot for the calling or ending of a strike; but, while the fight is on, they allow decisions of the gravest import to be made by their officials. The rank and file of political parties may pick the nominees, but the conduct of the campaign is left in the hands of a committee. Under a democratic government at war public discussion is damped, the press is curbed, the legislature becomes less responsible to the electors and the executive becomes less responsible to the legislature.

The outlook for will organization. Various modern developments are affecting the current mode of organizing will. Thanks to the rising plane of popular intelligence, the members of open groups continually gain in capacity to judge common affairs. The printing press and improved electoral methods facilitate the forming and focusing of the will of dispersed persons. On the other hand, questions once plain have become technical and simple matters have become complicated. Large-scale effort being called for, small societies merge into wider organizations, so decision is farther removed from the members. In many lines experience is no longer enough, so the expert steps into the shoes of the amateur; but he resents strict control as nagging and hampering.

One thing we can be sure of—the Fascist rejection of democracy will not captivate politically mature peoples. The Fascist régimes may survive so long as *external* affairs—war, peace, armaments, colonies, outside influences fomenting revolution, *etc.*—are in the forefront of public attention. But when *internal* questions come uppermost—as they are bound to do eventually—“What is it that most of us want?” will be seen to be the one way out of endless jangling and bitterness. And this is the principle of democracy!

THE ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT

Roman law or the *Nibelungenlied* is a team product, like the Panama Canal. No cathedral embodies the labors of so many generations of artificers as the science, let us say, of astronomy. The Common Law of England, the Yogi philosophy of India, or modern Physics, constitutes an integrated system, yet no one head, or even score of heads, can claim the credit. The process of thus articulating ideas from different minds as beams are fitted together to make a bridge span may be termed *the organization of thought*.

Common opinion, too, is usually outcome of the same process. Behind the eighteenth-century Liberal movement, the Romantic movement, the Oxford movement, behind Impressionism, Realism, Symbolism, or Anarchism, lies a complex of ideas which no one man propounded. A "school" of thought, literature, or art starts not always with master and disciples; often it begins with a band of like-minded rebels against the conventional, who stimulate and influence one another until they work out a creed, a style, or a manner which can make its way. The public clamors to be shown the "father" of the labor movement, of industrial unionism, of scientific charity, of the new penology, or of the public-recreation movement. As likely as not, "he" turns out to be a group of seminal minds groping their way to a common doctrine or program.

There is intellectual team work, too, on much smaller problems. In each group—church, college, trade union, or coöperative society—there goes on a joint working out of opinion as to the special problems and policies of that group; and, while opinion *may* but reflect the counsel of some sage member, it is usually the outcome of the coöperation of several minds.

Thought specialization begets intellectual parasitism. Early law springs from the customs of the folk, but the time comes when judges and law-givers fashion it. Poetry improvised, sung and danced, stanza by stanza, in the primitive festal crowd, ends as the handiwork of a few gifted wordsmiths. About the time of Socrates we see fruitful philosophic thinking quit street corner and market-place to hide with a circle of choice spirits in some secluded garden. In Athens, says Zimmern, "the first people to make a regular use of private gardens and to look upon them as indispensable were the philosophers."²

The reason is, *team-thinking goes on only among well-matched per-*

² A. E. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*, 1911, p. 56.

sons. Hence, as soon as there appear in any field men of special knowledge, with exceptional facilities in the way of collections, laboratories, travel, mutual access, and stimulating association, the rest of us walk henceforth in the trails such men have blazed. The rise of scientific medicine shuts out the "wise" woman with her herb garden. With the spread of agricultural experiment stations, the "bright" farmer with only his own experience to go on no longer contributes to farm practice. Just as we lean on the experts who wire our houses, so we lean on the specialized minds engaged in rearing law, morality, religion, literature, and science.

Communal origination among preliterate peoples. Until writing made it possible to identify the product of the individual artist or thinker, the organizing of thought into stable forms must have gone on mainly in an unconscious way. That greatest storehouse of thought, *language*, came into being by such a process. Every word or phrase inventors coined had to run the gauntlet of the tribe. Only those which struck their fellows as pat or fit survived, and these were trimmed to suit better the tongues or minds of the users. So was it with the making of popular proverbs, sayings and riddles. Some were struck off perfect in an inspired moment, others reached their terse and telling form only after many wits had helped point and barb them. Treasured and handed down were just those which "rang a bell" in most minds.

Primitive myth, fairy tale, legend, folksong, ballad are not to be looked upon as handiwork of the individual artist, like the modern poem or drama. Scholars assure us they were "communal" in origin, unknown numbers had a hand in their fashioning. The author of the ballad, insists Professor Gummere, is "the singing, dancing, improvising crowd." Among primitives, as among old-style European peasants, nearly every one can improvise. In the festal dance songs are built up bit by bit, one after another contributing a short improvisation in the intervals of a chorus. Handed down and gradually perfected, they become ballad and folksong.

Negro folksongs originate in the communal excitement of the religious assembly. "A happy phrase, a striking bit of imagery, flung out by some individual was taken up and repeated by the whole congregation. Naturally the most expressive phrases, the lines that most adequately voiced the deep, unconscious desires of the whole people, were remembered longest and repeated most frequently. There was, therefore, a process of natural selection by which the best, the most representative verses, those which most adequately expressed the profounder and more permanent

moods and sentiments of the Negro, were preserved and became part of the permanent tradition of the race.”³

Why the communal fount dries up. When a folk takes to reading it loses the knack of improvising, communal poesy dies out and the individual artist holds the center of the stage. Once written down or printed, a man’s work is tagged and stays as he left it. As such works accumulate specialists and schools arise, so that the people-at-large no longer bear a hand in advancing thought or art. Why then does not the individual take the bit in his teeth and bolt? Surely there will be confusion, a riot of temperament and caprice! No, most of the literary masterpieces of a period show certain common characteristics, as if the writers had been taking account of one another.

One reason is *the dependence of the creative genius on the other geniuses, living and dead*. Few minds become pregnant with a literary work until they have been fructified by close acquaintance with the best that has been said or sung. Then there is the *public*, which acts as a sieve, retaining some products of genius, letting others drop to the scrap heap. Since thinkers cannot give ethics or law a slant that will bring it into constant clash with the popular sense of right, since poets and artists cannot long run counter to the popular taste, the barren public is after all “a sleeping partner” in the culture of the time. But not in the rising structure of *science*; unlike Jurisprudence or Literature—which suit themselves to the *people*—Science has to conform to *reality*.

CONSCIOUS ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT

Oral discussion. What the Greeks knew as “dialectic” must have reached its acme in classical antiquity. We rely less upon it because it is so easy to get hold of another’s ideas in print and because the modern scientist does most of his thinking while he is closely observing the concrete in laboratory or field. But discussion in a small group of competents still has a great advantage. The solitary thinker having tackled a problem, “waits till some promising idea comes into his mind and then dwells on it till further ideas spring from it.” But, if a group is engaged upon the problem, the waits are shorter and all get the benefit of such happy thoughts as occur to any one of them. Testifies Dr. Arthur E. Morgan⁴ of the Tennessee Valley Authority:

³ R. Park, *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, vol. XIII, p. 55.

⁴ *Social Forces*, 1920, vol. 13, p. 1.

For a good many years I have sat on boards of trustees and boards of directors. . . . As a rule the process of reaching a decision which characterizes small groups of experienced administrators, while it is very informal, is nevertheless a very complex process. As discussion proceeds there is a constant weighing of what is said, as well as of the intelligence, judgment, experience, motives and interests of the speakers. Sometimes the silence of one or more of the group is more eloquent than anything which is spoken. Gradually there tends to emerge a dominant weight of opinion which is recognized by the group as a whole, becomes the consensus of judgment, and takes form as the decision is reached. Sometimes the decision grows out of the general give-and-take of discussion, sometimes it represents the opinion of a single person who is especially well-qualified to appraise the issue.

Printed discussion versus oral. Print eliminates personal factors—appearance, voice, manners, *etc.*—which in oral discussion often prove a stumbling-block to concerted thinking. On the other hand, it is less stimulating to the minds engaged, and the participants may miss a close grapple. Sophistry, insincerity, and pose are not so promptly unmasked as in oral intercourse. Contrasting the mode of organizing thought in government departments with the oral methods of Parliament, Mr. Wallas observes:

The total effect, therefore, of a modern official organization based solely on writing is the combination of great efficiency in the handling of detail on established lines, with the existence of an "official atmosphere" which may be incompatible with some of the finer intellectual requirements of government, and has, in fact, often produced a general dislike of official methods among the outside public.⁵

The decline of disputation. How formal disputation has fallen into discredit as an instrument for ascertaining truth! Recall the breathless interest in theological and metaphysical disputes in Christian Alexandria, Antioch, and Byzantium. In the Middle Ages it stood in high favor. Scholars could think of no better feat for the would-be Doctor of Philosophy than to maintain a thesis against all comers!

That we now see disputation as *futile wrangling* rather than *fruitful coöperation* is owing to the triumphs of the scientists. They have got on so wonderfully, not by wielding sharper wits than the Schoolmen had, but by resorting to *observation, experiment, measurement, and record*. When men of science meet, much time is given to presenting the results of investigation, little to discussion. Such difference of opinion as may develop touching the correct interpretation of these results is presently

⁵ G. Wallas, *The Great Society*, 1914, p. 270.

traced to some flaw or ambiguity in the data, which can be removed by ascertaining certain facts not yet brought to light. If geologists differ as to the number of glacial periods the deposits indicate, instead of wrangling they scatter to renewed study of moraine and drift. Let sociologists disagree as to whether fewer births mean declining fertility or limitation of the family, and soon the matter is settled by drawing out confidential information from some hundreds of married couples. The continual expansion of government statistical inquiries testifies to the growing demand for adequate data as a basis for the profitable discussion of proposed laws and policies.

The waning of forensic debate. Doubt is spreading as to the value of the time-honored "contentious procedure" of the courtroom. The best qualified man there, the judge, it reduces to a mere umpire; hence a rising demand that his rôle be magnified. More and more, chemists, physicians, and alienists testify *for the court*, not for one side, and some courts retain such experts on their staff. Before the great administrative boards that have been set up in some of our states—trade commissions, public utilities commissions, industrial commissions, *etc.*—a direct, matter-of-fact procedure borrowed from science leaves small scope for the battle of wits between opposing lawyers. On a question of grade crossing or factory ventilation, instead of "hearing arguments" the commission has its trusty agent get the lie of the land or analyze the factory air!

There is good reason why on public questions people are coming to hearken more to intellectuals outside of public life—university presidents, inventors, scholars, philanthropists, and captains of industry—and less to parliamentary orators. Owing to the clamor of each locality to have its own man in the legislature, the law-making body is so large that only by courtesy can it be called "deliberative." It is there *to register will*, and this function keeps it bigger than any thinking group should be. It includes too many who are inert, or who talk "buncombe" for the "folks back home." The thinking members themselves are vitiated. Before an assembly so large they fire off "speeches of the lamp," which so poorly focus upon the issues developed in discussion that opponents glide past each other like locomotives on parallel tracks. They are tempted to oratory, the foe of logic, and to partizan debate, the foe of reasonableness. Hence the "House" limits itself to ultimate decision, while the hammering of laws into shape goes on only in committees of a dozen men or less.

THE PLANNED ORGANIZATION OF THOUGHT

Intellectual coöperation within the political party. Where, as in South America, no machinery exists for eliciting judgment on public questions from numerous scattered persons, the formulas of a party emanate from a few leaders, who put forth in a "manifesto" the best compromise they can make between what they think and what they imagine will appeal to the voters. In our early history a political program would be worked out by the members of Congress belonging to the same party. In a later stage local party supporters chose delegates to a convention which considered the declaration of principles laid before it by a large and representative "committee on the platform." So the political party is moving toward a more comprehensive organization of thought.

Intellectual coöperation in government. Now that government every year touches lives at more points, there is need of a wider organization of thought respecting particular projects of law. One means of getting more thought behind a law is the public committee hearing in which the spokesmen for scientific and professional bodies and for public welfare organizations frequently contribute judgments which a great many first-class minds have helped to form. One foresees not only that legislative committees will more often sit between sessions and hold hearings in different places, so as to sample thoroughly the mind of the country, but that they will more frequently resort to the principal *thought foci* in society. Disinterested experts such as are found in the Council on Foreign Relations, the Genetic Association, the Life Extension Institute, the Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, and many like bodies, will be invited to give an opinion as to legislative proposals within their field.

In the older theory of self-government the civil servant was an inert tool, from whom the legislator could learn nothing. We now see that the trained permanent official is quite as able a man as the legislator and possesses, moreover, a fund of valuable technical knowledge and experience which the legislator lacks. In the interest of rational law-making, there should be nothing to hinder the head of an inspection service, the chief forester, the superintendent of insurance, or the chairman of the farm-loan board from appearing before a legislative committee on a matter within his ken.

Intellectual coöperation in scientific inquiry. Team work in seeking truth is very old. The "Academy" of Plato, who bequeathed to his followers his walled garden and appointments in the place in Athens

named after the hero Hekademos, became the model for all scientific bodies and universities, just as the famous Museum of Alexandria gave its name to all our collections of scientific materials. In the great research institution maintained in Alexandria by the Ptolemies, the state makes its first appearance as promoter of the arts and sciences. The brilliant contributions of the Alexandrian school were due not wholly to the observatory, library, dissecting house, laboratories, and collections provided, nor even to the endowment of productive scholars. In the Museum, as in a modern university, were gathered astronomers, geographers, mathematicians, physicists, naturalists, and historians, who not only studied and meditated, but, through converse and debate, kindled one another to a brighter incandescence, like embers laid together.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed the organization of inquirers who weighed one another's contributions to knowledge and decided which deserved to be published. Italy led the way with the *Accademia dei Lincei* ("of the lynx-eyed"), which had as one of its earliest English members the great champion of the inductive method, Lord Bacon, whose forecast of a great research institution in his "New Atlantis" was in a way realized in the founding in 1662 of the Royal Society of Great Britain. The Paris Academy of Sciences, instituted in 1666, has the most brilliant record of all for the sending out of scientific expeditions, the support of fruitful research undertakings, and the co-ordination of inquiries. The French Institute, incorporated shortly after the Revolution, has undoubtedly done more than any other single agency to focus choice minds upon the problems of pure knowledge.

The tendency to vaster and more sustained coöperation is very pronounced. Some learned societies embark on undertakings requiring well-nigh a century to complete! The investigation of natural events which recur infrequently, like earthquakes and sun-spot periods, or of very slow processes like star movements, climatic alterations, land elevations or subsidences, and the evolutionary changes in organisms, call for a volume and continuity of effort far surpassing the scope and span of life of any individual inquirer. There is even an international association of academies which has brought about world-wide coöperation in solar research and in the anatomy of the human brain.

PART V
CLASS AND CASTE

- CHAPTER
XXVI. STRATIFIED SOCIETY
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CHAPTER XXVI

STRATIFIED SOCIETY

quite aside from conquest, layers form within a people in consequence of certain processes. Let us glance at some samples of stratified society. **The later Roman Empire.** The caste system here was not built up by Roman conquests but was the product of forces within society. See Dill:

An almost Oriental system of caste has made every social grade and every occupation practically hereditary, from the senator to the waterman on the Tiber, or the sentinel at a frontier post. In a society where idleness is almost branded with infamy poverty is steadily increasing, wealth becoming more insolent and aggressive. The middle or bourgeois class was almost extinguished. Roman financial administration was paralyzed, and at its close the real victors and survivors were the great landholders, surrounded by their serfs and dependents.¹

The tendency of the later Empire was to stereotype society by compelling men to follow the occupation of their fathers, and preventing a free circulation among different callings and grades of life. The man who brought the grain of Africa to the public stores of Ostia, the baker who made it into loaves for distribution, the butchers who brought pigs from Samnium, Lucania or Bruttium, the purveyors of wine and oil, the men who fed the furnaces of the public baths, were bound to their callings from one generation to another. It was the principle of rural serfdom applied to social functions. Every avenue of escape was closed. A man was bound to his calling not only by his father's but by his mother's condition. Men were not permitted to marry out of their guild. The daughter of one of the baker caste married a man not belonging to it, her husband was bound to her father's calling. Not even a dispensation obtained by some means from the imperial chancery, not even the power of the Church could avail to break the bond of servitude.²

In a stratified society social feeling spreads only in a horizontal direction.

Society had been elaborately and deliberately stereotyped. As a rule, whatever a man's energy or ambition, he was doomed to work out his

S. Dill, *Roman Society*, 1904, p. 100.

Ibid., p. 194.

life on the precise lines which his ancestors had followed. All ideas of improvement were nipped in the bud, blasted by the stifling atmosphere of a despotism which, with whatever good intentions, received no guidance or inspiration from the thoughts or needs of the masses, and spent all its strength in maintaining unchanged the lines of an ancient system, instead of finding openings for fresh development. The same immobility reigned in the education of the privileged class. They felt no material need to stimulate invention and practical energy, and their academic training only deepened and intensified the deadening conservatism of unassailable wealth and rank.³

Contemporary India. Of the 240 millions of the Hindu faith in a population of 353 millions six per cent are Brahmans, the highest caste, and a fourth are "untouchables" quite below the caste hierarchy. Strictly speaking what counts is the sub-caste, *i.e.*, that group of families into whom you can marry, from whom you can take water and food. Of these the Census recognizes some thousands. The citadel of caste is South India where there has been the least Mohammedan control.

The practical side of caste is brought out in a personal experience. In the city of Mysore a fine-looking intelligent Brahman told off to show me about in a state automobile, regretfully declined when I invited him to lunch with me at the state guest house.

"It would be breaking caste," he said.

"Just what would that imply?" I asked.

"Should I eat with you, I would be expelled from my caste. None of the families I now associate with would call upon my family, or receive us, or marry their children with mine. We should find no fellowship at all save among the excommunicated."

The fifty-five million outcastes or "untouchables" include scavengers, garbage collectors, sweepers; only they handle dead bodies, animal or human, or dress leather. They contaminate at a distance, some defile a caste man at a distance of sixty-six feet! If a Brahman coming from his bath in the river even *sees* an untouchable he feels obliged to go back and bathe again. The untouchable realizes this so if he sees a Brahman coming he hastily hides himself. Naturally the outcastes may not visit the temples or draw water from the village wells; in some parts they are even barred from the public highways built at the expense of all!

Contemporary Iowa. Professor Earl H. Bell⁴ has described social stratification in "Shellstone," a simple Iowa agricultural community with a small trading center.

³ S. Dill, *Roman Society*, 1904, p. 176.

⁴ "Social Stratification in a Small Community," *The Scientific Monthly*, Feb., 1934.

Social position is largely determined by the function which one fulfills in the economic process and the subjective valuation placed upon that function by the community . . . modified by the concept of permanency of occupation and stability of character. . . . One must constantly guard against the erroneous idea that the individual's personality is overshadowed by the class label. . . . In Shellstone, one is first an individual, and then, because of his personality, a member of a class.

The banker stands at the top of the economic and social hierarchy. Economically he is the lord of the community. He knows everyone by name and financial standing. In time of financial stress or crisis he is appealed to for aid. The farmers ask his advice about renting a different farm, holding or selling their hogs, buying more land, or making improvements on their farms. The merchants and townspeople seek his advice concerning new ventures and are backed by him financially. In cases of disputes . . . he is usually appealed to. . . . Such human understanding and service is the secret of the popularity of benevolent despots. The authority of Shellstone's despot remains almost unchallenged by rivals or the people themselves.

Next in the hierarchy are . . . "business men." The important item is to have a regular place of business. The blacksmith and barber are considered as much business men as are the merchants. . . . As a rule the employee who works in one store for a long period enjoys the same social position and respect as his employer. . . . The doctor and dentist are included in the business group.

The next class is landowners, including either active or retired farmers. Like the business men they are subject to the general rules of permanency and stability. This group is very close to the business group in prestige.

The farm renters, as a group, rank somewhat below the landowners although here again the factor of permanency and stability complicates the picture. The individual who lives on the same rented farm for many years and is a successful farmer enjoys the same social recognition as the landowner. On the other hand, the poor farmer who moves from one farm to another at frequent intervals ranks with the occasional laborers. . . . the latter are the odd-job men. Economically they are as indispensable as any other group, but socially they do not mingle with the other classes.

The local teachers and ministers . . . reside in the community but are not of it. They are considered outsiders and treated as such. . . . Their tenure of office is short, for, regardless of the quality of their work, the people desire changes.

The bankers and their associates, the business class and successful farmers, the poorer farmers, mostly farm tenants, and the occasional laborers are the social classes based upon the economic function plus the stability and permanency of the individuals. The lines of demarcation are vague and elusive. The upper and lower limits of the classes shade into each other. They are not institutionalized and the populace

do not recognize the classes as such. Neither inheritance nor wealth are important items in determining the class to which one belongs.

The classes include only adults. Children are free from class distinction. The children of the business men, occasional laborers, farmers, and bankers, play together on equal terms except when the undesirable traits of the parent are actually present in the children. . . . The boy or girl of worthless parents is aided and encouraged to make good . . . every individual will aid them during their youth in getting an education.

The contemporary "Deep South." Dr. John Dollard has described a caste system based on race in one of our Gulf states which is as instructive as can be found anywhere. Attention is called to it not in order to pillory the Southern Whites, to suggest that we would do better were we in their place, or to imply that, since many of their rationalizations will not "hold water," the system, therefore, has no function. My only purpose is to illuminate the characteristics of a stratified society.

The Negroes are never allowed to forget that they are socially inferior to whites. The white does not address a Negro as "Mr." or "Mrs.," does not eat with him. The Negro does not announce himself at the front door of the white man's dwelling but must call at the back door. Whites do not ride in the same railway coach with Negroes and in other public conveyances they occupy distinct sections. The races have separate churches and schools, while hotels and restaurants which entertain Negro guests lose their white patrons. White males may be intimate with Negro females without loss of status but any intimacy of a Negro male with a white woman is construed as a "rape" to be punished with great severity.

Caste, which has replaced slavery as a means of maintaining the essence of the old status order in the South, defines a superior group and an inferior group and regulates the behavior of the members of each group toward those of the other.

A member of the white caste has an automatic right to demand forms of behavior from Negroes which serve to increase his own self-esteem.⁵ Subservient behavior is demanded of Negroes and, in the ultimate case, by force. Negroes who do not exhibit it are "getting out of their place," are "uppity," are "getting above themselves" . . . white people become aggressive as soon as Negro submission is withheld, and many stories are told of the "What I did to that 'uppity' nigger" type.⁶ . . . Powerful pressure is constantly exerted on Negro people to maintain their submissive attitudes.⁷ . . . Negroes have developed a definite "white-folks

⁵ John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, Yale University Press, 1937, p. 174.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

manner" which has become second nature with most of them and which is one of their defining caste characteristics . . . There is a continual flow of agreement by the Negro while a white man is talking, such as "Yes, boss." "Sho' nuff." "Well, I declare!" and the like.⁸ . . . Whites are not satisfied if Negroes are cool, reserved and self-possessed though polite; they must be actively obliging and submissive.⁹ . . . Nor is this behavior seen as a series of cases of individual meanness on the part of southern white people. It is rather that the system operates this way and by and large people conform to it, both white and Negro, because they must.¹⁰

Sex behavior is very stringently patterned by caste.

White men, by virtue of their caste position, have access to two classes of women, those of the white and Negro castes. . . . Negro women . . . have some degree of access to white men as well as men of their own caste. Negro men and white women, on the other hand, are limited to their own castes in sexual choices. . . . this preferential access to Negro women on the part of white men is experienced by Negro men as a disadvantage.¹¹ . . . The Negro man is debarred from violent expressions or threats in defending his wife, sister, or daughter; whereas within the white caste women are almost uniformly attended by energetic protectors. . . . The Negro women fall into the category of unprotected women; their men . . . are unable to shield them by virtue of the unchallengeable position of the white man, *i.e.*, caste.¹² . . . It may indeed be one of the functions of the caste situation to keep the Negro woman without a protector and therefore more accessible. . . .¹³

. . . any move toward social equality is seen on its deepest level as really a move toward sexual equality, that is, toward full sexual reciprocity between the castes. . . .¹⁴

Negro men experience constant jealousy and hatred because of the sexual affronts to their women.¹⁵ . . . the white-caste member experiences a sense of gratification in this mark of his caste mastery, his preferential access to two groups of women and immunity to the resentment of the disadvantaged Negro men.¹⁶ . . . access to Negro women is a continued testimony to white mastery and caste superiority.¹⁷ . . . The white belief . . . seems to be that Negro women invariably welcome coitus with a white man and do not feel the lack of attention surrounding legitimate love affairs.¹⁸ . . . They are supposed to be as accessible as animals in heat and always ready for sexual gratification. . . .¹⁹

It is hardly necessary to add that caste shows up in very ugly forms in economic relations. In order to justify and rationalize behavior so

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

abhorrent to American democratic ideals the white caste has developed a number of *defensive beliefs*:

1. The Negro is *a mere animal*, so to apply our democratic assumptions to him is ridiculous.

2. The Negro is *a savage*, therefore beyond the reach of our *mores*.

3. The Negro *has no personality*; he is a robot who reacts only to immediate stimuli. Not being fully human he does not have to be humanely used.

4. Negroes are unbelievably stupid and incapable of knowing when they are misused.

5. The present position of the Negro in American society is accepted as a proof of permanent inferiority and inaccessibility to a high civilization.

6. Negroes lack initiative, are shiftless, have no sense of time.

7. Negroes are emotionally unstable, irrational and unreliable.

8. Negroes are immoral, liars and thieves—"will steal anything." "You can't believe a thing a Negro says."

9. The Negro is mysterious. "The more I see of him, the less I understand him."

10. The Negro has a strong offensive body odor.

11. The Negroes are a naturally happy, carefree people; they are comical, amusing and when very small "cute." They are not supposed to be much troubled over poverty, disease, social humiliation, debauched characters and lack of opportunity for advancement.

12. Negroes "expect aggression and mastery from the white man and are not content unless they get it."

The genesis of stratified society. One cannot survey these formations without wondering from what motives and by what processes they are built up. Caste rests upon an exploded theory of heredity. That the idle should lord it over the diligent smacks of topsy-turvydom. The stigma on manual labor flies in the face of common-sense. It seems incredible that the productive should consent to go on forever feeding a race of drones. Things so preposterous need to be accounted for.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE RISE OF GROSS INEQUALITIES

We see men rising or sinking in influence, responsibility, or power on account of their personal traits, but this does not result in distinct social layers. Real strata do not appear unless there is *inheritance*—of profession, of office, of authority, of prestige, on the one hand; of lowly occupation, servitude, or disability, on the other.

Superiority founded on fighting capacity. In the predatory epoch, out of which grew the barbarian culture, the treatment of women as chattels arose from the fact that, having babies to look after, *they could not fight*. Since the core of the tribe was the body of warriors, persons and sexes were rated according to their *fighting capacity*.

God-descended families. When the intermingling of men of different kindreds had broken down the tribal system and substituted the tie of a common worship for the tie of blood, not all the members of the community could be thought of as children of its god. But since such gods were, in origin, the deities of certain old families, the members of these families might plume themselves on their descent from the gods and make such a pedigree a basis for aristocratic pretensions.¹ Royal and noble houses long continued to trace their stem back to a divine forefather.

Wealth as foundation of aristocracy. A great fortune not only

¹ Significant is the evidence of a growing passion among successful Americans for distinguished ancestry. About 20,000 practising genealogists are tracing lineage in this country and among the results of their diligence are:

The Order of the Crown of America, which admits only those "descended lineally and legitimately from the royal houses of the Old World."

The Baronial Order of Runemede, composed almost entirely of bankers, business men and manufacturers. There are two classes of "knighthood": first, one made up of the 100 Founders of the Order and, second, one composed of the "lineal male descendants of one or more of the 25 barons who were selected to be sureties for the proper observance of the statutes contained in Magna Charta."

The Imperial Order of the Yellow Rose admits only those of royal descent.

The Order of Colonial Lords of Manors in America is open only to descendants of one "who enjoyed feudal rights in any of the American Colonies prior to July 4, 1776 . . ."

The Scions of Colonial Cavaliers is composed of "Palatines" and "Landgraves," all descendants of British nobles who fought for Charles I against Cromwell.

exempts a family from work and lets it play the peacock, but usually it commands ennoblement. Birth may rank *individuals*, but it is *wealth* that ranks *families*—wealth in a big block, therefore not gained by unusual ability, character, or diligence. But, through the thousand channels it controls, the dominant class always spreads the idea that social distinctions originate in differences in personal capacity and virtue and owe nothing to crime, fraud, corruption, favoritism, or privilege.

Booty may start a privileged class. In the Dark Ages peaceful agricultural communities hired bands (*scholæ*) of "toughs" under *hirdmen*, or temporary chieftains, to protect them. But the warrior bands had more opportunities for enrichment than the peaceful tillers in the communities. Success in fighting brought them iron, slaves, droves of cattle. Says Kropotkin:

There was plenty of waste land and no lack of men ready to till it, if only they could obtain the necessary cattle and implements. . . . And if one of the *hirdmen* of the armed brotherhoods offered the peasants some cattle for a fresh start, some iron to make a plough if not the plough itself, his protection from further raids, and a number of years free from all obligations, before they should begin to repay the contracted debt, they settled upon the land. And when . . . these pioneers began to repay their debts, they fell into servile obligations toward the protector of the territory.²

Priority. In the infancy of the medieval towns, which of two fugitive serfs should be master and which servant, chiefly depended on *which ran away the earlier!* The "old burgher" families drew a line against newcomers. They ran the guilds, ruled the town, monopolized trade, and reserved for themselves the benefits from the communal lands. The city thus became divided into "burghers" and "inhabitants."

In early Australia venturesome sheepmen surged onto the public domain in advance of the government surveys, and "squatted" with their flocks on vast areas from which their shepherds drove away all settlers. Great stretches of valuable crop country lay untilled in the hands of "pastoralists," who soon became wealthy. When the state later attempted to resume its rights over these tracts the "wool kings" were too strong socially to be dispossessed.

Land grants. Since real estate has been the economic base of most nobilities, land grants play a mighty rôle. Says an ancient Indian land patent, "White parasols and elephants mad with pride are the fruits of a grant of land." When the elders of Israel importuned Samuel for

² P. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*, 1902, p. 156.

a king, the aged prophet warned them: "He will take your fields and your vineyards and your olive yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants."³

Early Egyptian kings bestowed on distinguished military officers portions of the crown domains. The absorption of the Roman public land (*ager publicus*) by senators and other power-holders started the senatorial aristocracy on its career of six centuries. William the Conqueror distributed subjugated England into about sixty thousand parcels of nearly equal value from each of which was due a "knight's service on horseback."

Throughout Latin America the tilling natives were divided among and "commended" to, the conquerors, and as the growth of a colony brought more land within reach it was always passed out in large tracts to those within the governing circle. *Not one rood of good soil went straight to the cultivator.* To-day nowhere down the west coast of South America is there a small-farmer agriculture!

After the yoke of Spain was thrown off, the public lands were still passed out in the old way. Mexico, up to the recent revolution, was owned in a few thousand holdings, most of them very large, and one of them embracing *eight million acres*, or as much as Connecticut and New Jersey combined! The deplorable recognition of huge Mexican grants to the extent of nine million acres of the choicest land by the American courts after our occupation of California gave society there a plutocratic cast from which it has not even yet fully recovered! In 1855 a Justice of the United States Supreme Court declared: "Principalities are won by an affidavit. . . ."

In Argentina there are ranches which a train takes the best part of a day to cross! The *pampa* cleared of Indians by General Roca's expedition in 1879 was promptly alienated at a price of three cents an acre, after great quantities had been presented to the officers who took part in the expedition. The government allowed one man to acquire, at an average price of three and one half cents an acre, *a hundred square leagues* of land which, after having made some scores of millionaires, was worth, in 1913 when I looked into it, *five hundred times* the purchase price. Until lately the smallest unit the government ever alienated was the square league.

In Australasia burglary of the public domain went on so freely that, about the end of the last century, in New South Wales, South Australia and New Zealand, 105,500 persons owned thirty thousand square miles

³ I Samuel, VIII: 14.

in lots of less than a thousand acres, whereas 1,255 persons owned fifty-five thousand square miles in holdings of ten thousand acres and above. No wonder the colonies lean *a bit to the left!*

Land-hogging in the English Colonies in America. In colonial Virginia manorial families got their start by huge land grants obtained through favor or bribery. Generations of wealth and pride on the one hand, of dependence and humility on the other, might hinge on a secret agreement among the members of the provincial council to carve great estates for one another out of the public lands temporarily in their custody! Thus caste, with all the sentiment that gathers round it, instead of being the inevitable outgrowth of innate differences in ability or character, may be as much an article of manufacture as a kitchen pot!

Even worse was the land grabbing in colonial New York. An Amsterdam merchant, Van Rensselaer, acquired from the Indians for a few "duffels, axes, knives, and wampum" an estate of seven hundred thousand acres, which, entailed to the eldest son for over two hundred years, gave that family a factitious political and social importance—which it still has! After New Netherlands became New York, the creation of great landed proprietors with feudal rights over the people on their estates was facilitated by a royal governor, Fletcher, who in the closing years of the seventeenth century gave princely grants in return for bribes. A Bayard received twelve hundred square miles; a Smith, a block fifty miles long; a Beekman, one estate sixteen miles long and another twenty miles by eight miles; a Schuyler was given land extending for fifty miles, while a Livingston became lord of a manor of four hundred square miles.

Voilà, the roots of our Hudson Valley lordlings!

Even after a royal order limited future grants to two thousand acres, great estates were built up by the trick of using "dummies" as co-grantees. With some of the New York patents went the hereditary right to a seat in the legislature! Thus at an early day certain scheming men were lifted to be founders of aristocratic families and the seeds were planted for a hundred and fifty years of privilege, bitterness, and strife.

The sharing of the public domain of the United States. The disposal of our public domain, undoubtedly the largest and most valuable body of land ever distributed by one government, reveals an incessant struggle between the aims of statesmen and the wiles of scoundrels. In spite of the Homestead Act of 1862 which, with the Preëmption Acts, brought about the best distribution of virgin land ever achieved, and, in a single generation, contributed more to human welfare than

any law in history, there was some hogging. In 1909 the pending cases of alleged fraud and illegality in the acquisition of public lands involved a value of one hundred and fourteen millions of dollars. Seven thousand square miles of land were granted to canal companies. A quarter of a million square miles went to railroad companies. Out of a hundred thousand square miles taken up under the Swamp Land Acts vast areas were of the richest agricultural land, acquired by means of perjury, fraud, and corruption. In 1884 thirty-two cases of illegal fencing reported by the Land Office involved the use of seven thousand square miles of the public domain. In 1903 a Land-Office report estimated that in the preceding twenty-five years more than sixty million dollars' worth of timber had been stolen from the public!

In 1885 an honest and fearless commissioner of public lands declared that he found himself "confronted with overwhelming evidence that the public domain was made the prey of unscrupulous speculation and the worst forms of land monopoly." Twenty years later the Public Land Commission reported that "perhaps in general a larger proportion of the public land is passing into the hands of speculators and corporations than into those of actual settlers." "Inquiries made as to how a number of estates, selected haphazard, were acquired," showed that "almost without exception collusion or evasion of the letter and spirit of the land laws was involved." President Theodore Roosevelt ended this dirty game by persuading Congress to convert most of the remaining valuable public domain into a quarter of a million square miles of National Forests.

Monarchy as source of privileged orders. In France in the sixth century the top layer consisted of senators, noble by ancestry and rich by hereditary wealth. A century later, under the Frankish kings, the nobles were simply the high royal functionaries, the big men of the palace. They all got rich, to be sure, but chiefly out of the high offices to which they had been lifted.

Under the feudal system for a long time the enjoyment of a fief carried with it the obligation to maintain armed forces and render military service. But the fiefs, at first granted for life, became hereditary and later all obligations which had been laid upon the feudatory were wiped out! National defense was dumped upon the shoulders of all citizens, while the lordly estates which had been granted expressly for the maintenance of this vital public service became private property, pure and simple!

The impression has been spread that in modern Europe ennoble-

ment is but royal recognition of success. It is true that since Europe beheld a king under the guillotine monarchs have been chary in shoveling out public wealth to their favorites. But go back a little and you find, not only titles and honors, but also crown lands, confiscated estates, money grants, monopolies, lucrative offices, sinecures, and hereditary pensions lavishly bestowed by kings upon their servants, supporters, and favorites. Up to the third quarter of the eighteenth century, when great fortunes began to be made in trade and manufacturing, the sovereign had immense power in determining who should constitute the leisure class.⁴

Laws and institutions as props of social hierarchy. To keep a nobility splendid you need *primogeniture and entail*. When landed property is divided equally among the children, the prolific family soon loses its splendor. If the title passes to all the sons, it loses its scarcity value. Where, as in Germany, all the sons of a baron are barons, the title becomes a joke. Italian counts and Portuguese marquises impress only those who do not know how numerous they are.

The stratum of unfree is thickest when the law allows a debtor to pawn himself for a loan, the starving man can legally contract himself into servitude, the parent can sell his child, and slavery is heritable! Had we such laws every economic depression would precipitate millions of our unemployed fellow citizens into unfreedom. Lickspittles would then insist that their hard lot was the "natural" recompense of inefficiency, just as now they insist that the monstrous private fortunes among us are the "natural" recompense of extraordinary ability!

In olden days the English colonies included great numbers of "redemptioners," so-called because these immigrants, too poor to pay their passage, on their arrival in America sold themselves to him who for the shortest term of service—usually five years—would reimburse the captain for the cost of their passage. The sole reason *we* do not have "redemptioners" among us is that American law knows no such status; and the reason of this is the advance of popular control over government!

⁴ In his scathing reply to the Duke of Bedford, who had the temerity to criticize his pension, Edmund Burke said: "The grants of the House of Russell were so enormous as not only to outrage economy, but even to stagger credibility. The Duke of Bedford is the Leviathan among all the creatures of the crown. He tumbles about his unwieldy bulk, he plays and frolics in the ocean of royal bounty. Huge as he is, and whilst 'he lies floating among the rood,' he is still a creature. His ribs, his fins, his whalebone, his blubber, the very spiracles through which he spouts a torrent of brine against his origin, and covers me all over with the spray—everything of him and about him is from the crown."

Embryos of feudalism. A bit of wealth may confer advantages which bring more wealth. The founders of the Danish aristocracy were simply peasants who fortified their houses during deadly village struggles and then used their advantage. For this reason the laws of the Frisians forbade any one to rear himself a house of stone! In old English times a hardy refugee from another community offered himself as fighter to that man in the community who appeared to be ablest to keep and protect him. Such "house carls," having no ties to the rest of the community, became tools for imposing their master's will just like the "toughs" certain of our industrial concerns employ to beat up leading labor unionists and strikers. Thus the man who had a little the start of his neighbors became able to browbeat them, override community rights, appropriate community land, and make himself lord of the district. Came then centuries of power, incense, and "swelled head"!

Before the advent of effective governmental regulation our great railroad companies, by giving or withholding special rates, rebates, and facilities, destroyed or built up industries, rewarded or punished cities and states, made or ruined business men, and nursed monopolies like the oil trust and the anthracite coal trust. The failure of the state to exact equal treatment for shippers led to the shipper (as it were) "commending" himself to the railroad company. In the same way nothing but the heroic struggle of the labor unions against company ruffians spared the laborers in some industries, *e.g.*, the coal-mining industry of Colorado, from the necessity of giving up all appeal to the laws supposed to protect them and "commending" themselves to the conscience and humanity of their employers!

Static times compared with dynamic times. In static times the social landscape alters but slowly; generally the high stay up, while the low must stay down. Wealth, unearned income, social power, sometimes even place and office, pass automatically from father to son. Disparities in natural ability bring about few interchanges between the social strata. The *family line* prevails, so one's lot depends much on one's inheriting, or failing to inherit, such advantages as wealth, place, connections, or access to education.

On the other hand, headlong economic progress, the cropping up of money-making chances in unexpected places, permits the sudden rise of new men. Social strata are bent or broken by the upthrust of new fortunes and new prestiges. The discovery of the New World no doubt caused in the end more displacement of social power than any happening in history. But on a smaller scale we see the same thing under our

noses. The "boom" of a big city means great profits to some from rising land values. A new region is a fascinating gamble, since the discovery of rare minerals or an outlet for ore, coal, or lumber owing to the advent of a new railroad or the clearance of a waterway, is sure to lift some prospectors or settlers into Millionaires' Row. Consider the furious exploitation of Colorado's and California's gold deposits.

New fields, like the electrical and the automobile industries, offer opportunities as rich as do cornucopia provinces like British Columbia or São Paulo. Inventions, such as the telephone, the motor boat, the airplane, the motion film, and radio give rise to new fortunes. The introduction of some new crop—sugar beets, hops, or citrus fruits—throws chances in the way of the foresighted and enterprising, while some bright men mount into the empyrean on the wings of a clever idea, such as teaching by correspondence, popularizing health foods, or pushing a method of curing stammering or pursuing physical culture at home. War greatly alters the wealth runnels, ruining old families while new Crésuses are made through munitions, shipping, army contracts, and the floating of war loans.

Scientific eminence cannot be entailed; but there are times when the prestige of the discoverer is, at least, a life estate, whereas in epochs of great intellectual fermentation laurels are constantly redistributed. To-day, thanks to the discovery of radioactivity, the germ origin of disease, immunity, vitamins, obsessions, mental suggestibility and psychoanalysis, a host are sharing in a glory which ordinarily would be monopolized by the retired investigators of older fields.

When army promotion goes by seniority, slow is the rise of the talented subaltern; but war gives a "leg up" to a Clive, a Bonaparte, a Skobeloff or a Kitchener. During a dull era in politics reëlection is customary and dynasties appear; but a political upheaval by disillusioned farmers or workingmen brings into public life "blatherskites," demagogues and constructive reformers who otherwise would never have been heard of.

Legitimation. Force, fraud or corruption! Think of the estates carved out of the church lands by Henry VIII after the dissolution of the monasteries; the profits from mingled crime and trade piled up by means of the Dutch East India Company; the Oriental loot brought back to England by the "nabobs"; the lucrative Indian monopolies of tea, salt, opium, and spice; the stacks of gold heaped up in the African slave trade; the infamous fortunes of the tax "farmers" under the old régime in France. Or note the American fortunes founded on cheating in the

army supplies during the Civil War, on railroad wrecking, on customs frauds, on the stealing of public lands, on proprietary medicines and food adulteration, on public franchises won by bribery, on tariff favors corruptly obtained, on prison-labor contracts, on vice catering, on tax dodging!

In order to deodorize these dungheap fortunes they are subjected to a process of *legitimation*, which makes ill-gotten wealth smell precisely like well-gotten wealth. The gatherer of tainted money may have to endure lifelong odium, but his descendants, when they get ready to retire from acquisition and devote themselves to enjoyment, may exchange it for sweet-smelling forms of property yielding less dividend but more prestige. Then, too, as the frauds, bribes, and rascalities which lie at the base of family pretensions recede into the past, they are quickly hidden under a veil of oblivion.

The present holders of ill-gotten fortunes not only have every interest in suppressing the truth, but they may be quite innocent of misleading the public as to the real character of the Founder of the House. Then the rising generation is regularly plied with fairy stories which cloak the grim realities of the social *mêlée*. Its school-teachers, moreover, are nearly as credulous as their pupils respecting the origins of private accumulations. To spare national pride, the shameful episodes and scandals, particularly those which reflect on conspicuous and influential families, have been expurgated from school history. Persons interested in institutions of social welfare, higher education, and scientific research, cherishing the hope of recovering portions of ill-gotten wealth for public uses, refrain from alluding to historical facts which might alienate possible donors.

There results a "conspiracy of silence" as to the origin of many fortunes sustaining present social pretensions. If a scholar should dig out the truth from court records, assessment rolls, reports of public officers, and findings of committees of investigation, he would hardly find a publisher. So, of all important historical matter, this is the most perishable, the soonest forgotten, the hardest to revive. Yet such oblivion leaves cesspool accumulations legitimated and millions of capable and useful people looking up to commonplace men who have no title to distinction save that conferred by the skilful expenditure of income from inherited plunder!

Secondary differentiation. Great differences in social status give rise presently to *contrasts in character* which help validate them. The personal ideal that grows up within a hereditary upper class is to be

proud, free-handed, and high-spirited. Born to wealth and power, the members of a privileged order may manifest an independence of character, a frankness of speech, a simplicity of manner, and a dignity of bearing which are interpreted as natural traits of the *aristoi* or best. Hence, it is possible to popularize the myth that the nobility had its origin in the deliberate recognition and promotion of the best.

On the other hand, by the presence above them of the privileged the commoners are warped in soul. They accept the disgracefulness of work, yet for them there is no other lot! Their enforced niggardliness is taken as proof of meanness. In so far as they lack adequate legal protection they find themselves under the necessity of combating force with deceit. In case the masses are landless, they lose the property sense and are despised for their petty thievery. Thus, when concentration of wealth and power in the upper class is marked, the resulting want of manliness and truthfulness in the common people is held to reveal a natural defect, and inferiority of social status is justified as being the inevitable recompense for inherited weakness of character!

It is thus that enduring distinctions in rank are made to appear wise, sound, and inevitable.

CHAPTER XXVIII

GRADATION

Wealth and power are coveted not only for themselves, but as bestowers of high social standing. For those who are successful struggle for status takes the place of "struggle for existence."

Occupation as basis of social rating. At the barbarian stage men are graded chiefly according to the dignity of their employments. The most honorific is *fighting*; as a rule warriors lord it over workers. The taproot of the European feudal nobilities was military prowess. One did not lead fighting men because he held a fief; he held a fief because he led fighting men! "Who would be a gentleman, let him storm a town."

Government has always been honorific. That those who govern should be "servants of the people" came up only in the late eighteenth century and even now has not got very far. Throughout Southern and Southeastern Europe, Asia, and Latin-America the head of the state regards himself and is regarded, as *master*. Generally those high in government wreak their personal wills! The reason why Britain has been able to recruit for the governing of her empire the pick of her young men is that, in the eyes of her upper caste, diplomacy and magistracy are more honorable by far than business. The type of man who in our country works to the helm of a great business, in England spends his best years in exile, with a rare visit home and a little money, rather than lose caste in "trade."

The professional offering of sacrifice and prayer is honorific. At first the petitioner approaches his god directly; but eventually it is deemed prudent to leave your case to an expert, who can sacrifice, supplicate, imprecate, or cast spells, according to a complicated ritual and who is believed to enjoy the god's favor. In Homeric Greece the priest was generally a man who had ingratiated himself with a god and had then set up an altar on his own account, or else a noble to whom his fellow-tribesmen had confided the care of a common shrine. As presumed expert in "getting results" from a sacrifice the priest commanded fat fees. To Homer all priests are rich!

Agriculture has generally stood higher than trade and *wholesale trade* higher than retail trade. "Merchants were completely barred from feudal

and ancient gentility." "The mercantile taint could, however, be removed in two generations instead of three." In England a nobleman may engage in banking or wholesale trade without loss of dignity, but he may not keep a shop. In to-day's view the wealth resulting from business success is reward of prowess rather than of work. The infatuation for business men, which reached its peak in the "Coolidge era" (1923-29), did not root in the older American past but was pumped up by a huge sycophantic newspaper propaganda.

The disgracefulness of manual labor. The age-old scorn of work with the hands stems from the distinction between planning and performing, giving orders and taking them, dealing with *persons* and dealing with *things*. Throughout most of the world the stigma on hand labor keeps the proud work-shy and steels them to offer desperate resistance to any move which threatens to cut their incomes. How disdain of manual labor overcomes one like a creeping paralysis may be seen from the observations of a United States Government agent in Hawaii.

The presence of Orientals demoralizes some white mechanics. A carpenter wants a board and tells a Japanese to get it, then he finds it convenient to have the man saw it, hold it in place, nail it, and so unconsciously he gradually begins to confine his own activity to the mental side of his trade alone, to the entire exclusion of any further muscular exertion than is necessary in order to keep out of the way of his Asiatic helpers. This flatters his race pride, he begins to associate an idea of degradation with the manual part of his craft, and he becomes morally and physically unfit to ply his trade under the conditions surrounding him.

In China and Malaysia the well-to-do wear their fingernails long in order to advertise their exemption from labor; frequently the nail is six or eight inches in length, supported by a silver case, and in some instances it reaches a growth of twenty inches! Or they will have a wife crippled by bound feet, which proclaim her unfitness for housework as did the woman's wasp waist in high favor among us two generations ago. To the Oriental mind, what offends most is *work that soils the hands*. The copyist or clerk will starve rather than turn to begriming tasks. In China the American professor of engineering has to speak sharply to his surveying students to get them actually to carry chain and to drive stakes, for they deem it "coolie work." The old-school mandarin looks upon the foreign mining engineer as a kind of coolie because he soils his hands.¹

¹ E. A. Ross, *The Changing Chinese*, 1911, Chapter X.

In South America everybody "who is anybody" is allergic to physical labor. In Argentina the American machinery expert setting up a steam thresher on a ranch has to check his impulse to doff his coat and "pitch in," lest at evening he find himself with the peons in the barn instead of sitting at the rancher's table. The observatory assistant considers it beneath his dignity to unpack a box of costly astronomical instruments just from Paris, so turns the job over to a stupid peon! In Peru, university seniors in mining engineering, who had been given the run of an up-to-date mine under an American engineer, refused to follow him in donning overalls and operating the greasy machinery.

In South Africa the presence everywhere of raw natives doing rough and dirty work for little more than their keep causes the white to shy at any job that is not highly skilled or of a supervisory nature; for to do "Kaffir work" makes one a social outcast.

Both Bolshevism and Fascism aim to lift the social stigma on manual labor. The Soviet régime was originally based on the idea of the "dictatorship" of the proletariat, or manual working class. Mussolini sets an example to the Italian people by stripping himself to the waist in the hot summer sun and helping gather in the harvest. Hitler decrees ". . . every individual German, whoever he may be, . . . shall once in his life do manual labor, in order that he may know what it is. . . ."

The ignominiousness of menial service. Outside of this country there are no colleges in the world where a student can wait on table without losing status. In missionary schools in China the pupils at first refused to bring in chairs for the seating of guests; it was "coolie work." In Cuzco, Peru, the ladies in the English mission hospital lost caste with the Peruvian ladies because they had been seen sweeping the walk and dusting the windows. "They must have been servants in their own country." The Chinese of Chêngtu inferred that the French officers they saw walking about the streets—instead of being borne in chairs—"must be coolies at home."

"Dignity of labor" does not redeem menial service. Disdain of manual labor is deepest in a caste society; aversion to menial service, on the other hand, may be strongest when the spirit of democracy makes the worker too proud to be at the beck of another. This is why native American young women will not do housework save as "help" rather than as "servant." Native-born domestics are scarce owing to the unwillingness of many housewives to forego the airs of the "mistress." The higher social position of factory girls explains why, the country over, domestics *with* board earn about the same wages as mill girls *without* board. The

latter are content with two-fifths less pay in order to be respected!

Wealth distinctions. Even after the barbarian stage, when what one *does* matters less than what one *has*, distinctions among employments reinforce wealth distinctions. The rich reserve to themselves "noble" occupations, such as warfare, government, sport, exploration, learning, the fine arts. If they cannot bar the commoner, they make access to such pursuits costly. Knighthood has been reserved for the cavalry arm, since it takes money to provide a mount; the gallant foot-soldier has *not* been knighted. In the same way the wealthy seek to monopolize the major posts in government, the motive being not so much to control the administration of government to their own advantage as to gain prestige. At Oxford and Cambridge universities, the students are obliged to live "like gentlemen" in commons or in private apartments quite as expensive!

DERIVATIVE CRITERIA OF SUPERIORITY

Even when wealth is the foundation of superiority, actual rating depends on conventional tokens of opulence such as:

Scale of living. Conspicuous lavishness wins high social repute; our splurging millionaires keep private airplanes or spend a hundred thousand dollars on a party! In dress, furnishings, equipage, and especially entertainment, good form fixes costly standards. Hence the disdain of the useful as compared with the ornamental, the value of mere rarity, the insistence on "stylishness," the esteem of material above form and the preference for the handwrought over the machine-made.²

Abundance of personal service. In India to-day the cheapness of servants results in incredible standards of being waited on. A little Anglo-Indian girl at her first tea in England wept at being expected to *stir her own tea*. In the Old South the planters kept numerous house servants to wait upon them. In Congress a Southern representative expressed amazement on learning that a Northern colleague blacked his own boots and declared that "no gentleman" could do a thing like that. Even now at Oxford an American Rhodes scholar will be "queered" by doing for himself things which the British student has done for him by his "scout."

In South America the guest who *will* be waited on is respected by the servants; if he looks after himself, he is despised and insulted. The American rector of a Peruvian university set an example of self-help in

² See Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 1900, ch. V.

order to rid his students of the idea that in their archæological excursions they must take along servants to care for the horses and prepare the meals.

Abstinence from gainful pursuits. Not to work for a living argues a fortune exempting one from the common lot. The gentleman may be very busy, but he will be busy with his pleasures, his sports, his hobbies, his philanthropies, his public services; not with gainful pursuits. In the seventeenth century in the best circles it was considered praiseworthy to write, but vulgar to publish one's writings and let them be offered for money! The gentleman got into print only through the "betrayal" of some friend or the "theft" of some printer.

Good breeding. A leisure class eventually gives great attention to the art of social intercourse. Those "to the manner born" despise *parvenus* as lacking the gracious self-effacing ways of "gentle" folk, and insist that nothing but breeding can form the soul of the gentleman or the lady. They see nobility as "bred in the bone," beautiful manners as its outward expression, not a veneer put on to impress others. When wealth shifts to new families, dignity, quietness, and refinement are the emphasized assets of the old element.

Personal rating versus social class. What is the relation of the gradations just described to the ratings men continually make of their fellows in terms of ability, character and accomplishment? The social hierarchy is little impressed by preëminent intellect or character. At best it takes some account of them, but not as if they were the natural foundation of social grades. We consider a society remarkably healthy when the man of unusual achievement, the artist, thinker, scientist, or explorer, has *entrée* to the highest social class; but when does one find such a class composed entirely of achievers?

Character counts a bit in placing one on the social scale. The folk hero or saint, the founder of a religious order or a new philanthropy, is likely to be a privileged person, above all conventional distinctions. Conversely; the aristocrat who shows himself mean or craven or asinine, will be cast out by his class. Nevertheless, be not blind to the fact that *inheritable* social gradings *never* rest on personal worth-differences, but *always* on differences in respect to employment, function, wealth, and the conventional signs of wealth.

Results of gradation. The recognition of impersonal differences affects the classes in various ways:

1. *The inferior is required to hide all signs of emotion in the presence of the superior.* In Old Japan talking in the presence of the superior, or

laughter, or curious questions, or expressions of surprise—anything revealing the slightest emotion on the part of the humbler—was considered discourtesy and punished with great rigor.

2. *Personality is very unequally developed in superior and inferior.* Says Gulick of Old Japan:

There was no redress for the peasant in case of harshness. It was always the wise policy, therefore, for him to accept whatever was given without even the appearance of dissatisfaction. This spirit was connected with the dominance of the military class. Simple trustfulness was, therefore, chiefly the spirit of the nonmilitary classes.

While, therefore, it is beyond dispute that the old social order was communal in type, and so did not give freedom to the individual nor tend to develop strong personality among the masses, it is also true that it did develop men of commanding personality among the rulers. Those who from youth were in the hereditary line of rule, sons of Shōguns, daimyos, and samurai, were forced by the very communalism of the social order to an exceptional personal development. They shot far ahead of the common man. Feudalism is favorable to the development of personality in the favored few, while it represses that of the masses. Individualism, on the contrary, giving liberty of thought and act, with all that these imply, is favorable to the development of the personality of all.^a

3. *Fines and indemnities are graded according to social status.* The code of Hammurabi (Babylon) fixed damages with reference to the social status of the injured man. With the rise of class distinctions in early Europe compensation came to be different for persons of different classes. The *wergeld* or social value of a man was the basis for fines and indemnities, and every man had a *wergeld* fixed by law. Thus in the code of the Alamans the life of a freeman is valued at 160 sous, freedman 80, slave 40. The Visigoths fix for the life of a freeman a compensation twice that for the life of a freedman. The Frisians make a long tariff of indemnities for every sort of blow, then add: "these figures are for freemen. For nobles multiply by three, for serfs take half."

4. *The inferior comes to be regarded as existing for the sake of the superior.* In a Vedic metaphor describing "the altar of the King's state," the priests and the nobles are the bricks, while the common people are "the filling between the bricks." Hence, perhaps, our homely compliment, "He's a brick!" Slavery in Greece and Rome was defended by philosophers on the ground that it provided leisure for the superior minds. In the political thought of our slave-holding South the

^a S. L. Gulick, *Social Evolution of the Japanese*, 1905, pp. 121, 375.

planter and merchant class were the people for whose benefit society existed—the “Spartans”—while the slaves and manual laborers were to the social edifice what mudsills are to a house. In the Orient woman has worth, not in her own right, but as a means to an end, namely the gratification and comfort of the male. Her lot is summed up in “the three obediences,” *viz.*, to father, then to husband, lastly to son. “A woman,” says a Japanese manual on ethics, “should never weary of yielding to her husband, must form no friendships or intimacy save as sanctioned by him, must obey her husband with fear and trembling.”

CHAPTER XXIX

SEGREGATION AND SUBORDINATION

If the sense of worth-difference goes so far that the social superior regards the inferior as of a lower order, society comes to be made up of closed hereditary classes. Saxon law of the eighth century decreed death to the man who should presume to marry a woman of rank higher than his own. The Lombards killed the serf who ventured to marry a free woman, while the Visigoths and Burgundians scourged and burned them both. Among the early Germans the descendant of a freed-man remained under the taint of ancestral servitude until the third generation, *i.e.*, until he could show four free-born ancestors.

Genesis of caste. Class turns into caste when the jealous upper class excludes eligibles. In the later Roman Empire the law did not absolutely prohibit a *curial* from rising to a higher grade in society, but it made his progress slow and difficult. Even when he had surmounted all barriers and become an imperial functionary or a senator, his children born before his elevation retained their original rank and his property remained liable for the municipal charges of his class. If a man attempted to hasten his rise or his deliverance by overleaping some of the stages of duty, he was sent back to the original starting point.¹ In the end birth counts for more than the worldly differences which raised up the original social inequalities!

Segregation. In caste society looking down on somebody comes to be a spiritual necessity. The *snob* flourishes, *i.e.*, "One who, on the ladder of life, licks the boots of the one above him and kicks the face of the one below." Aloofness hews itself first in the highest class, but soon the middle classes catch the infection and each grade shrinks from its nethers. In Victorian England the wholesale tradesman looked down upon the woman who let him lodgings, and she in turn looked down on the man who cobbled her shoes. In reverse the man who worked with his hands looked up to the petty shopkeeper, who looked up to the big tradesman, who looked up to the banker or man-

¹ Dill, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

ufacturer, who looked up to the landed gentry, who looked up to the peers, while at the apex of the whole stood the throne!

Each class avoids its inferiors as if they tainted the air. In India the outcastes are excluded from the temples, the highways, the village wells. In England there is a rule that the railway porter shall not put any one into an apartment occupied by one of the nobility. The holder of a first-class or a second-class ticket is entitled to a refund in case a passenger with a ticket of a lower class (his own compartment being full) is put into his compartment; the ticket holder has paid for exclusiveness as well as for accommodation!²

As society becomes aristocratic humane feeling becomes class bound. Thus an English newspaper gave thanks that, while six hundred persons lost their lives in a Chicago theater fire, none of them was of any distinction. Law was found for imprisoning Stead, the fearless London journalist who in his *Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon* (1885) exposed the villainies of men in high social position, but none was found for punishing the villains themselves! The worst discoveries of the commission which investigated the frauds committed by British officers in the purchase of army stores during the Boer War were never made public because of the social eminence of the persons involved.

Hereditary economic dependence. Inequality is never so hopeless as when the inferior becomes dependent for security or livelihood upon the favor of the social superior. Before the reign of law the weak had to seek the protection of the strong. In Homeric times power regularly fell to the strong hand. Amidst disorder and insecurity the submitting of one's self to the powerful constituted an insurance; for, better periodic exactions and dues than utter ruin! In Caesar's Gaul feudal relations arose out of economic inequality coupled with the state weakness. Finding no shelter in a state that was but rudimentary, the weak man became an *ambact*, i.e., he sought the support of some strong man and paid for it with service.

If the state *recruits its officials chiefly from the superior class*, the lower orders will sink into dependence. Thus under the Roman Empire justice was administered, not as with us by those "learned in the law" but by high functionaries, governors and prefects, all recruited from the senatorial nobility. Between the official and the local nobles there soon grew up such a free-masonry that it was rare indeed for a man of humble station to win a lawsuit against a noble. Accordingly the weak man seeking justice had to provide himself with a powerful patron.

² I am not sure how much of this is entitled to the present tense.

Economic calamity involving the smaller property-holders will crush them into permanent dependence in case the law tolerates such a relation. The loss of freedom by the petty landowners of the Roman Empire was due to wars and disasters in the third century, which brought many farmers into debt to the great proprietors. This plight, together with the advantage of the big man in all legal contests, compelled great numbers to part with their land by pretended sale or gift and to occupy it under *precarium* tenure. The small peasant transferred his holding to his protector, receiving in return a gracious permission to live out his days upon it. The proprietor might impose on the precarist any conditions he pleased. He might exact an annual rental, or require manifestations of gratitude and deference, the *obsequium*. Since no formal contract defined the dependent's obligations, he might be lawfully dispossessed at any moment. Hence he must gain and constantly keep the good will of the great man. He had to be always in the posture of a suppliant. Under the later Empire freemen and small property-owners, were continually turning over their holdings to neighboring great proprietors, in order to receive them again under "precarious" tenure! The Church bitterly denounced the practice, but was powerless to check it.

Modern peonage. When in 1898 the Philippine Islands came under American rule, the mass of the agricultural Filipinos were tenants on large estates. The owner was the *amo* or master; most of his *dependientes* were hereditary bonded debtors of the *amo*. The debtor himself might not know the origin of the obligation which came down to him from his father, he was ignorant of its amount nor did he understand how it increased or might be decreased. He had nothing laid by for the future nor any means of storing food to carry him from one harvest to the next. In crisis or trouble he appealed to his *amo*, thus adding new links to his chain.

Throughout the western part of South America the institution of peonage binds the rural masses to the *hacienda*. In Southern Colombia four days in each week the agricultural laborer is bound to work at a wage of from five to ten cents a day in return for the use of a plot for his house and truck patch. Such pitiful earnings do not suffice for the needs of his family, so he is obliged to run into debt to his *amo* for money or supplies. Since he can never work off this debt and the law does not permit him to leave the estate until it has been liquidated, the peon becomes virtually a serf bound to work all his life for a nominal wage. In gen-

eral, the rural population of tropical Latin America is in this state of dependence and subserviency.

Fruits of peonage. The Mexican revolution 1913-20 abolished peonage but it is still possible to observe the type of character it produced. In 1923 I spent a few days upon San Gabriel, a 23,000-acre estate in Mexico. Here are my impressions³:

You might think yourself on one of the *latifundia* of Roman Africa in the time of the Emperor Augustus. Of modern democracy not a trace. Don Manuel is young and contemporary, a product of the oldest of English schools and an Oxford graduate, but he has to play the patriarch with his people. If matters are at odds between husband and wife, he is expected to straighten things out. If a son is incorrigible, Don Manuel gives the scamp a serious talking to. If a peon gets drunk and beats his family, they bring the matter to Don Manuel. It is he who builds the church and paves the streets. He provides what passes for schools as well as medicines, and in dire cases a doctor. He puts up houses for his folk, and three-fourths of his three hundred cabins huddle near the huge mansion where the *amo* lives when he is not in his town house. The rest are on outlying *ranchos*. Half a regiment of men work on the *hacienda* and its population can hardly be less than two thousand souls.

Corn is grown on shares. The *amo*, who furnishes seed, implements, oxen, and supplies for the peon's family, gets half. Rare is the peon who saves his half and prospers. When Juan has sold his sacks of corn he pays for the seed and supplies which have been advanced to him, buys new clothes, and goes on a spree. Soon his pockets are empty and he calls upon his *amo* to let him have provisions on credit.

Since all live in his houses and on his land, Don Manuel is master of the situation. No one to whom he objects can come upon his principality. He owns six million mescal plants and his huge distillery is not a stone's throw from his house; but if any one on the place is caught supplying liquor to his peons, off he goes. Don Manuel is not above sowing wild oats himself, but when one of his peons makes his cabin a bawdy house or a gambling-den the man is evicted at once.

The system is fitter to produce human vegetables than to make men. Hence the typical peon is afraid to stand alone and look out for himself. An American told me how, some years ago, he acquired a *hacienda* on which were about four hundred peons. With the place, of course, he bought the accounts against the peons, which amounted to twelve thousand pesos. Upon taking charge he called the peons together and told them that the work would go on as usual, but that in order to start right with them he forgave all debts from them to him. Henceforth they were legally free to leave the *hacienda*.

The next day to his surprise no peons appeared for work—nor the

³ E. A. Ross, *The Social Revolution in Mexico*, 1923, chapter VI.

next. On inquiry he found that the peons felt that with the wiping out of their accounts they could no longer look to the master for help in trouble; so that sorrowfully they contemplated departing from the *hacienda* on which their forefathers had lived and died. The forgiving of their debts released them from the *hacienda*, it is true, but at the same time it released the *hacendado* from them. The master whose peons owe him nothing will the sooner rid himself of those who displease him. Hence, they were going away to seek a master who, by staking them, would restore to them their lost sense of *security*. When the American learned this he called his people together and announced that their accounts would be recognized as still binding. At once their forebodings left them and the life of the place resumed its wonted course.

Subordination and fixity. When the inferiors are severally in a state of dependence upon their superiors, social circulation practically ceases. Generation after generation high families stay up while lowly families stay down. In western South America no field laborer rises through tenancy to ownership as he does at times in Argentina and far oftener in the United States. With the whole machinery of law and state in their hands, the proprietors see to it that the clever lads from the people shall not elbow aside their own sons.

Effects of subordination on character. Constant immediate dependence upon the favor of another blights. The "tip" fosters obsequiousness in the servant, a patronizing spirit in the served. The dependence of professors of the social sciences upon governing boards, composed of wealthy men or reflecting the wishes of donors, jeopardizes their candor of utterance. The dependence of the clergyman upon the financial "pillars" of his church leaves him hesitant to apply the touchstone of Christian principles to current business practice.

Dependence "gets you where you live." However stiff the native backbone of a race, three generations under the yoke will make them worms. The cringing, "slippery" character we stigmatize as "Asiatic" comes not from any weakness in the races of Asia, but from their long subjection to arbitrary power. In born dependents, servility, sycophancy, lying, ruse and petty thievery are as natural as it is natural for a starving crop to be yellow; yet these normal by-products of relentless economic pressure are pointed to as proofs of a poor moral endowment!

Social inferiors cannot prove their mettle until they have freedom and opportunity, and hardly can they win these so long as they have no "say" in government. Since beings so benighted are clearly unfit to have a voice in governing, *social inferiority tends to perpetuate itself*. The "low-born" stay low until some historic upheaval, such as the Crusades,

the Black Death, the invention of gunpowder or of printing, the discovery of the New World, overseas migration, the rise of cities, or the coming in of the capitalistic method of production, gives able and ambitious commoners their chance to break into the master circle.

The fate of a closed upper class. An upper class foresighted enough to admit to its ranks rising energetic and talented plebeians may stay long in the saddle; but those who control a good thing eventually "hog" it for themselves and their children. The greater the luster of a nobility, the loather are its members to let in outsiders. Hence, unless the iron hand of a monarch holds open the door, an upper class *closes itself to upstarts and becomes a hereditary caste.*

Thenceforth it moves slowly but fatally toward its doom. As the capable founders recede into the past the patricians more and more owe their high position to inheritance of privilege rather than to personal worth. With the aid of the props which an aristocracy well knows how to provide, its highborn weakling stays up, while the capable lowborn are shut away from the chief sources of wealth and honor. Shielded from that natural elimination of the unfit to which commoners are exposed, a closed upper class loses in time the virility of its achieving ancestors and becomes an imposture. Nevertheless, thanks to mating continually with the most beautiful women, it is never so patrician in feature as in its decline.

Begetting zanies does not, however, cause an aristocracy to abate by one jot its pretensions to better clay. It nurses its prestige and spares nothing in pose, manner, and surroundings that will keep up the illusion of its superiority. It not only parades its ancestral glories but, whenever a new source of prestige appears, it promptly gets close to it. Aristocrats take under their patronage such dispensers of glory as minstrels, troubadours, poets, artists, orators, priests, and clerics. If hardihood is admired, their young men will be sportsmen and explorers; if letters are honored, they will play Maecenas; if learning is prized, they will varnish themselves with a thin coating of scholarship. Aristocrats of long lineage dare not let themselves be outshone. They must be the best groomed, the best mannered, the most splendid, must be seen against the richest background or in the brightest limelight. They must be among the first to fly, to navigate under water, to scale a peak, to cross a desert, or to visit a closed land.

Thus an effete upper caste contrives to keep itself at the apex until in some crisis its hollowness is dramatized and seen by all. Then its privileges are wiped out and it collapses like an empty sack.

CHAPTER XXX

EQUALIZATION¹ OF OPPORTUNITY

Social inequalities become stereotyped because the topmen conspire to block the upsurge of merit. The holder of a title or a high office keeps it in his family line if he can. The man proud of being "self-made" leaves his money to his son even if it spoils his son's chance to "make" himself!

Historic rôle of the middle class. Now, who block this endeavor of the well-placed to "freeze" the class structure? Certainly not the unlettered masses; on the whole they are quite too short-sighted to make the sacrifices that will open gangways for the ascent of their posterity. They crave some *immediate* benefit—"bread and circuses"—rather than "elbow-room" for their children. So it is the *middle class*, which has both the wit to prize open the doors of opportunity and the brains to fill the posts to which they admit, that leads in fighting for the restoration of competition.

The civic state supplants the class state. The feudal state knew subjects, not citizens, and these subjects were under magnates rather than under the state itself. The owner of a fief was "the sovereign of all that dwell therein." The civic state, on the other hand, lets no fealty to persons limit allegiance to it, bears upon the individual directly instead of leaving him in the power of his social superior. It suppresses the superior's rights to judge and to punish, to coin money, to keep armed men, to wage private war. Public offices are intrusted to those loyal to the state rather than to their order. Law-making is wrested from the nobles and shared among the rising elements. Then begin the razing of privilege and the recognition in the erstwhile inferior of rights which let him show what there is in him.

The widening of personal freedom. Is the husband at liberty to chastise, let, or sell his wife? Can the parent lease or sell his child, or control its marriage? Is the son bound to follow his father's calling? Do debts or dues descend automatically to one's children? Can the creditor seize the delinquent debtor, cast him into prison, hold him to labor, sell him?

¹ By "equalization" I mean not *making equal*, but *making less unequal*.

In the heyday of ancient slavery the slave had, in the eye of the law, no rights. He could not attend the gymnasium or the public assembly, nor follow certain arts. He could not atone for an offense with a fine; he must "pay with his body," *i.e.*, be whipped. He could not testify save under torture, *i.e.*, he "spoke with his body." But in time the law gave the slave the right to support, the right to hold property and to dispose of it by will.

The serf, who, being attached to a farm, could not be sold from home and family was better off than the chattel slave. Fixed dues in work or money might be substituted for his unlimited obligation to serve his lord. Then doors of escape opened—manumission, purchase of one's freedom, military service, living for a year and a day in a borough. Yet on even into the nineteenth century traces of serfdom survived in the system of agricultural labor under year contract, with imprisonment for breach of contract. On the Continent the rootage of domestic service in serfdom was long manifest in the custom of employing servants by the year, with imprisonment or holding back wages as a means of enforcement. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when annually 75,000 persons were imprisoned for debt in the United States, the new legal principle that failure to pay a debt cannot impair one's personal freedom cut the nerve of the practice. The refusal of American law to require "specific performance" of the contract to labor saves men from being shackled by a promise made in a moment of rashness or distress. The recognition (1915) of the seaman's right to quit his ship any time the anchor is down wiped out the last vestige of involuntary servitude under American law.

Every such enlargement of personal freedom has been denounced as "a blow at the foundations of order." To free the serf from the glebe would result, it was said, "in weed-grown fields and tramp-infested roads." To take away the creditor's power to jail his insolvent debtor would leave the poor unable to borrow. To cut the debt lariat by which the planter holds the peon would let the peon run away and lead a half-wild life in the jungle. To abolish the master's power to flog or jail the quitting worker would kill enterprise by legalizing strikes. Yet in each case a better type of relation evolved. When, in 1898, Hawaii became a part of the United States, the Hawaiian sugar planters foresaw ruin because American law would not punish their Japanese laborers for striking in the critical cane-cutting season and exacting thereby an exorbitant wage. What happened, however, was that groups of Japanese entered into agreements to raise cane on shares under the planter's di-

rection, so that adjustment, instead of being made *via coercion*, was brought about on a higher plane—that of *partnership*.

The recognition of “inalienable” rights. In early law freedom to bind one’s self was the badge of a free man, since any fetter on this freedom assimilated him to the slave, who is below the plane of contract. It was only after centuries of ghastly experience with debt slavery that the Greek law-givers, recognizing that *free will is not the equivalent of a will to freedom*, denied a man the power to bind himself into thralldom or to pledge his person for the repayment of a loan.

Under feudal law by the “oath of commendation” men could wipe out at a stroke *their own freedom and that of their descendants*. The giving of such far-reaching effect to a promise was freedom-of-contract gone mad. The famous doctrine “men are born free and equal” is not assertion of natal equality (sheer nonsense!) but rejection of the principle that *owing to the act of an ancestor one may be born unfree*.

Gradually certain essentials were recognized which one cannot legally surrender, *i.e.*, “inalienable rights.” Our law ignores a contract which without due equivalent cripples one’s future freedom to act or to contract, *e.g.*, to live in a certain place or outside a certain place, to marry or not to marry a certain person, not to carry on one’s trade or business, not to exercise the right of franchise or to exercise it in a certain way, or to forego one’s legal rights, as *e.g.*, the passenger’s right to damages for injury through the fault of a common carrier. In some of our states the debtor cannot waive the statutory exemptions in his favor nor the mortgagor his equity of redemption. Legal standard insurance policies have virtually removed insurance from the domain of contract. Personal safety is not to be contracted away; you cannot bind yourself to engage in dangerous work or to stay in a dangerous place. Statutes clothing the worker with the right to be paid his wages in cash and the right to indemnity for injuries received in the course of his work will not allow him to “contract out” of these rights. An agreement to assign to one’s employer the patents of all one’s future inventions is invalid unless restricted to inventions of a particular character. The courts throw out an unlimited contract of a technical employee not to set himself up in business, not to use in the service of another knowledge of secret processes which he may have acquired in the course of his employment.

So the electrifying assertion “Men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights” is no “glittering generality,” as our slaveholders sneered, but *the summing up of a great historic movement!*

The right to organize. “History,” said Carlyle, “is red with the

blood of the unorganized." Only show of strength wins the lowly consideration from social superiors, officials, lawmakers, political parties, or public opinion. Uniting to formulate grievances, frame demands, foil foes, reward friends, or put forward candidates may give political weight to a class hitherto a cipher. Then organization opens the way to boycott, strike, concerted restriction of output—by which the numerous weak may make their oppressors blench. *Any useful class, if it hangs together, can hold back something its superiors want.*

So the money-strong plot to keep this resource out of their hands. They crush all lower-class organization as "conspiracy." A century since, in England, the combining of workmen to raise wages or shorten hours was punished without mercy; over all the Continent anti-trade-union laws were in force sixty years ago. Even yet, in many countries a strike is dealt with exactly as if it were an armed rising!

If they dare not crush labor's organization at a time when capitalists are organizing just as far as they please, the money-strong wrest from it all its weapons. They suppress picketing, outlaw the sympathetic strike, ban the strike to force out non-union men, and seize trade-union funds to pay damages to employers caused by acts ordered by the agents of trade unions. Our railroad companies refused to allow farmers to build a coöperative elevator beside their tracks!

Another recourse of the money-strong is to *blacken the character* of the unions formed by the weak. They picture them as lawless and revolutionary, set the police on them under the pretext that they mask a "political" movement. Among us farmers' coöperatives were declared to be tainted with "agrarianism," workingmen's unions with "socialism." The secrecy of such organizations—only that of the ordinary business concern—is pictured as a cloak for sinister purposes and seditious plotting. Every unguarded utterance of an organizer is eagerly caught up and circulated as proof of their subversive aims. The leaders of the movement are portrayed as unprincipled self-seekers. This campaign of calumny is the dirtiest thing one finds in the last fifty years of our social history.

The diffusion of economic opportunity. Doors to opportunity are opened by the abolition of the caste requirement that the son shall follow the calling of his father, the breaking down of guild restrictions upon entrance to the skilled occupations, the abandonment of the policy asserted under the old régime in France that "the right to labor is a royal right which the prince may sell and subjects must buy." Equalizing, too, are the abolition of primogeniture and entail, the limiting of the right

of testation, and the adoption of the principle that the estates of persons who leave no will shall be divided equally among the heirs. Co-operative credit and consumers' coöperation have a like tendency, as well as the extension of government credit to farmers and the appointment of an expert ("county agent") to advise them how best to farm.

Much depends upon the shifting ratio that "poor men's opportunities" bear to opportunities for possessors of capital and technical knowledge. The gratuitous distribution to actual settlers of some two hundred million acres of the American public domain raised the plane of millions of horny-handed. Alluvial gold deposits have yielded small fortunes to tens of thousands of "placer" miners, whereas gold occurring in ore, since it can be extracted only with the aid of elaborate machinery, has largely gone to capitalists. The growing requirement of large initial capital for most lines of productive enterprise has greatly lessened the ratio of "poor men's opportunities." At the same time credit institutions enable the man of proved capacity to gain earlier control of the requisite capital and thwart many endeavors to make business enterprises hereditary. Besides this, *entrepreneur* ability is in the way of being made a bit more plentiful by schools which teach the technique of business success. But will these corrective measures, taken together, countervail the patent tendency of wealth to collect in fewer hands? Very doubtful!

The downward percolation of culture. The strong sentiment of equality among the Chinese comes from the wide diffusion among them of Confucian ideas. Among the ancient Jews the proud Sadducees stressed worship in the Temple at Jerusalem; but the Pharisees set up in every village a synagogue, the earliest example of congregational worship without priest or ritual! The Reformers' translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular broke the Church's monopoly of knowledge of the means of salvation and laid a foundation for modern democracy. The great growth of democratic feeling among the French since their Revolution reflects the permeation of the lower social levels with the national culture, so that in urbanity, self-possession, and household decencies the masses are much like the classes.

The spread of leisure. In the words of Jesus ben Sirach:

The wisdom of the scribe cometh by opportunity of leisure;
And he that hath little business shall become wise.
How shall he become wise that holdeth the plow,
That glorieth in the shaft of the goad,
That driveth oxen, and is occupied with their labors,
And whose discourse is of the stock of bulls?

He will set his heart upon turning his furrows;
 And his wakefulness is to give his heifers their fodder.
 So is every artificer and workmaster . . .
 So is the smith sitting by the anvil . . .
 So is the potter sitting at his work . . .
 They shall not be sought for in the council of the people. . . .²

But the plain people are gaining time to look up from their work and eye the common weal. Probably the foremost hundred million wage-earners in the world now have twelve more hours of weekly leisure than they had in 1900. These grant the workers time to read, to think, to confer together, to organize; whereby they gain ability to conquer and to wield for themselves political power.

The multiplying of educational opportunities. Ignorance is the darkness in which thrive the fungi of superstition and prejudice. So social superiors try to keep their hands on the control levers of education. The medieval Church taught the people's children the plan of salvation, but not how to rise in life. The State at first sets up universities to provide it with trained servants; only as it gains social purpose does it push general education. In fact, the spirit of a government may be gauged from its educational policy. If, as I found in Egypt in 1929, the child requires two years of private instruction before it can enter even the lowest grade of the public primary school, one may be sure the intent is to bar the children of the *fellahin*. Only when there is a path open to the educational summit for every able youth is the state in the way of democratizing knowledge!

Of 100 young Americans in school 75 are in elementary school, 21 in high school, while 4 attend college. Of 100 children entering the first grade 25 never reach the eighth grade. Of the remaining 75 not more than 62 enter the high school and of these only 26 finish. Of these 26 high-school graduates 9 may be expected to enter college³ but no more than 4 will graduate. Beyond the sixth grade low family income is increasingly responsible for dropping out. So free instruction goes only *a part of the way* toward putting the children of the poor on an equal footing with the children of the well-to-do in vying for the better posts in industry, business and government. *A society bent on really equaliz-*

² *Ecclesiasticus*, ch. xxxviii. The passage is too long to quote here in full.

³ "Taking the ratio of students (of the University of Washington) in 1937 to total wage-earners in the state (Washington), we find that a child of the business or professional class is approximately seven times as likely to be in college as a child of the agricultural or labor class." S. C. Menefee in *Sociology and Social Research*, Nov.-Dec., 1937, p. 126.

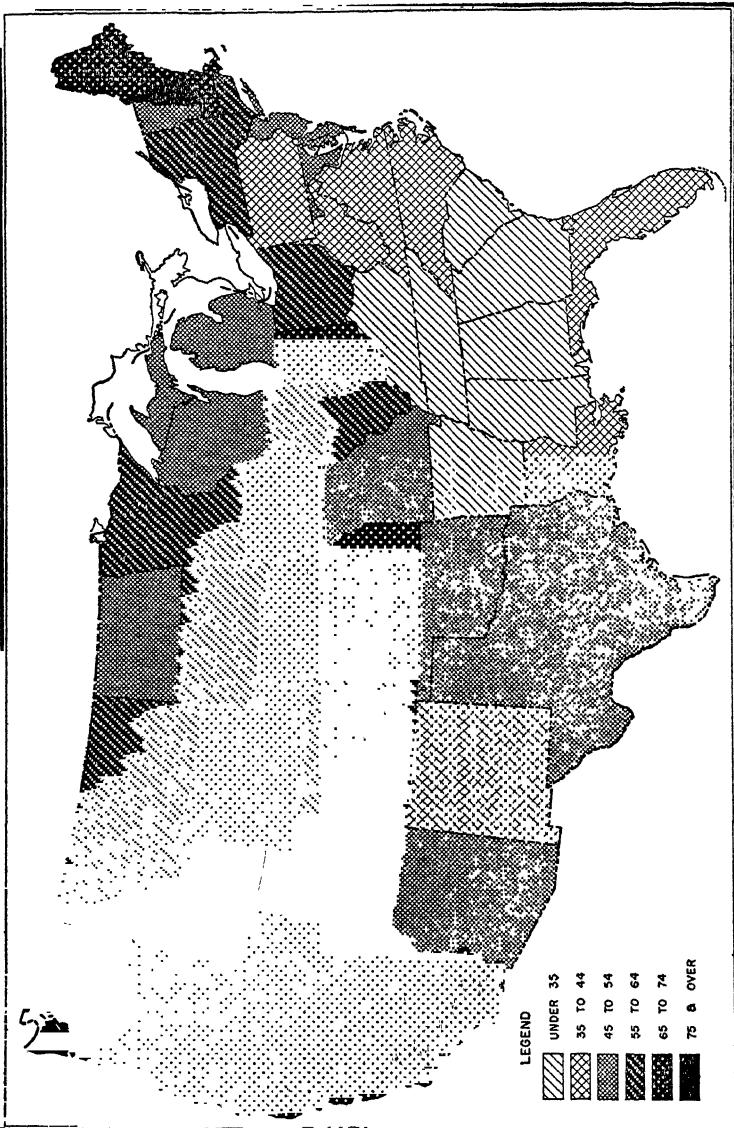


FIGURE 29
PERSONS IN HIGH SCHOOL PER 100 PERSONS AGED 14-17 YEARS, BY STATES, 1930

Prepared in Office of the National Resources Committee

ing educational opportunities will let no capable child quit school because its parents cannot support it or spare its earnings.

The democratization of government. Possession of a vote does not endow an ignoramus with the wit to use it. The diffusion of political power does not, therefore, automatically and at once bring government

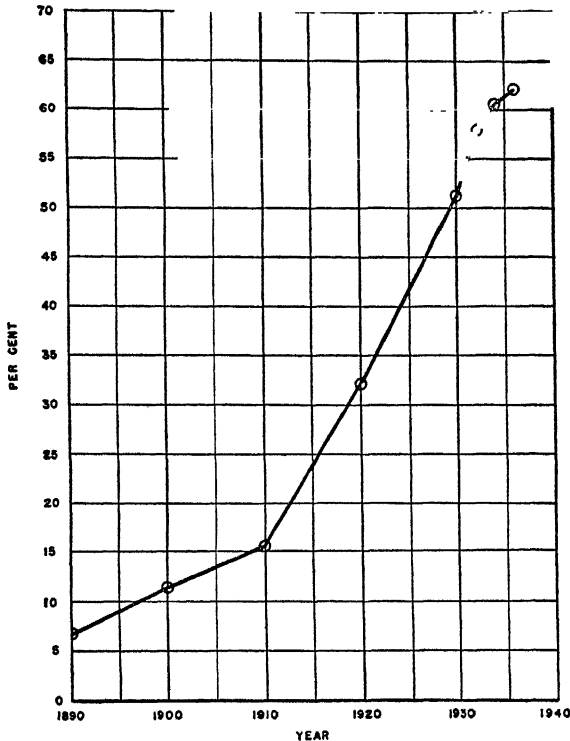


FIGURE 30

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN OF HIGH SCHOOL AGE (14-17)
ENROLLED IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE HIGH SCHOOLS, 1890-1936

under the control of the broader layers of the people. But when it *does* respond to the will of the masses there are many things it may do to reduce inequalities.

It may realize the equality of all before the law, neither riches nor poverty, neither intelligence nor ignorance to receive special consideration in bureaus or courts. It may also offer equal opportunity for citizens to serve the public according to their ability. Banishing inheritance of

offices, property qualifications for office holding, nepotism and favoritism in the award of office, it may make all appointive offices accessible to competence as ascertained by impartial tests.

It is no small matter whence a government derives its revenues. By heavy levying on luxuries and on the "unearned increment," as well as by a progressive taxation of property or incomes, the peaks are made less towering. The anti-social haughtiness that, after two or three generations of exemption from real work, grows on a family like a toad stool may be forestalled by inheritance taxes so steeply graded as to thwart Croesus's endeavor to endow his line for all time.

There will be fewer unearned fortunes, too, if nuggets of public wealth, such as forests, minerals and water power, are not carelessly left lying about. The curbing of monopoly in its protean forms by government regulation or ownership means fewer centers to poison the social body with the virus of competitive extravagance and contempt for labor.

The state may protect the *little* properties—so precious in fostering family independence and self-respect—against their enemies. "Blue sky" laws, wise usury laws, the suppression of "loan sharks," the regulation of pawnbroking, public pawnshops, in some backward countries the inalienability of the cultivator's holding, have this tendency. American law limits the power of the creditor over the debtor by *homestead exemptions*, *personalty exemptions*, which reserve the tools of the artisan, the library and instruments of the professional man, and the stock and implements of the farmer from seizure by the creditor, and *wage exemptions*, which put sixty days' wages of the head of the family beyond the reach of legal process.

Finally, the state encourages the formation of small properties—by mechanics' lien laws, the regulation of insurance companies and savings banks, postal savings banks, the fostering of savings and loan associations and other forms of coöperative endeavor, the protection of the small investors in big companies, and, in some countries suffering from landlordism, the disintegration of large estates by special taxation, or the state purchase of such estates in order to create small proprietors.

Of course not all *social* legislation is anti-class. The provision of parks, playgrounds and forest reserves, public health measures, health centers, factory inspection, legal minimum wage, legal dismissal wage, public employment offices, workmen's compensation, social insurance, old-age pensions, *etc.*, diffuse welfare but leave intact those inequalities which underlie the class hierarchy.

The coming up of social science. Wealthy neverworks will be envied so long as people rate them in terms of *private* aims, for they possess what each most covets. But, considered in relation to *social* well-being, the idle rich appear as the drones of a hive, the stowaways of a ship. The hale man who all his life does nothing to balance his account with his fellowmen is a leech. That he lives on the income from property he has inherited does not redeem his position. After all, a man's account is with his own generation rather than with his forebears. What he consumes costs the toil and sweat of his contemporaries; so that they may well say to him, "This is what *we* are doing for *you*; now what are *you* doing for *us*?"

Private capital is truly a social-welfare institution because the hope of acquiring productive property powerfully stimulates economic activities. But when accumulations are so handed on as to create endless generations of drones and butterflies, they are not blower but damper. Hence, just as inheritable functions, offices, and privileges have been abolished with good results, inheritable great fortunes will some day be made impossible.⁴

Diffusion of opportunity is not enough. The hopes of the great liberals—Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau, Adam Smith, Franklin, Condorcet, Thomas Jefferson, Bentham, John Stuart Mill—to achieve the happiest social results by recognizing in all citizens the greatest possible number of rights and the binding of the state to non-intervention in the struggles among contending interests (*laissez-faire*) have been by no means fully realized owing to the increasing domination of economic life by the Machine. It looks as if the near future holds in store a socially controlled capitalism, such as is evolving in Sweden, and continuous redistribution of purchasing power by taxation of the swollen incomes.

⁴ The Italian sociologist Rignano proposes that a fortune be subject to an inheritance tax which shall be heavier with increase in distance from the ancestor who accumulated it.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE SOCIAL CIRCULATION OF INDIVIDUALS

Change of social position may be either *horizontal* or *vertical*.

HORIZONTAL MOBILITY

Migrancy. Suppose we knew the distance between christening place and burial spot of all the inhabitants of Britain for the last five centuries. No doubt in the earlier centuries for nine-tenths of the people it would be no greater than that between the inside and the outside of the parish church! Then come the Elizabethan expeditions, the overseas wanderings from 1583 on, the great townward drift beginning in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the rise of the Empire with redcoats leaving their bones over half the globe, and lastly, the great internal movement of the railway era. It may well be that nowadays the average Briton is buried *twenty times* as far from the spot of his birth as he was in Sir Walter Raleigh's day.

In 1911 all but 3 per cent of the natives of India lived in the district in which they were born or in an adjoining district. The chief cause of this immobility is the caste system.

The restrictions which that system involves make a man's life very uncomfortable when he is separated from the members of his own social circle. Not only is he unable to marry beyond its limits; he may not even eat or drink with members of other groups, nor may he smoke from their *huqqa*. He often finds it difficult to find any one to cook his food; and if he dies, there will be no one to perform his obsequies, and his body may have to be removed by scavengers. Nor is it only a question of the inconveniences to which a Hindu is exposed during his absence. A man who is long away from home is often looked at askance on his return; he is suspected of having broken the rules of his caste and he may find it hard to regain his old position.¹

In Sweden in 1860 the proportion of people living in a department other than that in which they were born was 7.0 per cent; in 1890, 13.5; in 1910, 17.4. For Switzerland the corresponding figures are: 1850, 7.3;

¹ *Census of India*, 1911, vol. I, Part I, p. 91.

1900, 13.9; 1920, 18.5. In the interval between 1880 and 1910 the foreign-born in England increased from 0.3 per cent to 0.7; in Germany from 0.6 to 1.9; in Austria from 1.6 to 2.1; in Sweden from 0.4 to 0.9; in Switzerland from 7.4 to 14.7. As for the United States her turnstiles registered *thirty-six million* immigrants 1820-1924! Within the memory of living men steam has made far travel swift and safe and cheap, while the long-distance carriage of human beings has been organized as never before.

Labor turnover. The drift from job to job and factory to factory has become startling. One hundred per cent a year is considered a normal turnover. Some concerns will hire in a year three or four times as many hands as they employ. In England of 1,000 entrants in war time there remained among the factory workers after one month of service, 917; after two months, 868; after four months, 791; after six months, 730.

Divorce. The marriage partnership used to last "till death us do part"; but all over the civilized world (save in the Irish Free State where Catholic canons govern and in Japan where the former excessive rate has been brought down by change in the law) the divorce rate shows an upward tendency.

Inter-group circulation. As never before men quit their natal church and join another, leave their political party and support its rival. Less and less can the voting future of a precinct, a county, a city or a state be foretold from the figures of the last election. In all countries with representative government the proportion of "loose" voters is rising.

Causes of greater horizontal mobility. Aside from such obvious causes as improvement in the means of transportation and communication and the growth of education in two dimensions one should note:

The emergence of huge political units. Gone are the innumerable petty tribes ready to treat the stranger as an enemy. To-day with sixty passports you gain the right to look in the face nineteen-twentieths of humanity!

The newspaper habit. The rise of a public that reads newspapers but not books is recent. As a rule books have exalted the social heritage; sacred books have been the most read and they purport to be a revelation of God's will made ages ago. But *newspapers*, playing up what happened yesterday or will happen to-morrow, make us vain of our own time.

VERTICAL MOBILITY

No society or time is without vertical circulation. Even in rigidly stratified societies a few stalwarts rise. Conversely, in mobile societies many hold through inheritance positions for which they are by no means the best fitted.

Inheritance of occupation. In India the son of a smith is a smith, the son of a barber is a barber. So was it in many ancient societies. But in Western societies to-day the handing on of occupation rarely exceeds 70 per cent; in general it ranges 20-60 per cent. Moreover, it appears to be decreasing. Sorokin found that in Minneapolis 72 per cent of the grandfathers of the respondents had the same occupation as the great grandfathers; 39 per cent of the fathers had the same occupation as the grandfathers; and only 10.6 per cent of the respondents followed the calling of their fathers.

Conversely, the sons of fathers in a given occupation are found at all levels. In Rome in 1908 of 880 persons whose fathers were unskilled laborers 458 were skilled, 104 were in the middle class (business and the professions), and 55 were in the upper class; of 1,159 whose fathers were skilled workmen 78 were unskilled laborers, 158 were in the middle class and 151 in the upper class; of 357 whose fathers were in business and the professions, 19 were unskilled; 125 skilled and 116 in the upper class; of 731 whose fathers were of the upper class 17 were unskilled, 138 skilled and 84 in the middle class.

Vertical occupational ascent. Of 885 leading American men of science, a fifth are sons of farmers. Of a thousand men of letters, a seventh come from the farm, a twentieth are sons of men in mechanical, clerical or unskilled occupations. Of our presidents, half came from farmer, laborer and humble professional families. Of 45 state governors in 1909, 41 were sons of farmers or other plain people. Of members of Congress at that time, 69 per cent were country-bred. Of 56 cabinet members 1869-1903, 47 were from the farms. Of 47 railway presidents, more than a half have been country boys. Of 18,356 notables in *Who's Who in America*, 23.4 per cent were sons of farmers, 6.3 per cent sons of skilled workers and 0.4 per cent sons of common laborers.

On the other hand, Taussig and Joslyn² find that 70 per cent of American business leaders have been drawn from 10 per cent of the population. Comparing the social origin of different age groups of the

² *American Business Leaders, A Study in Social Origins and Social Stratification*, 1932.

business leaders, it appears that the proportion of farmers' sons has decreased while the proportion of business men's sons has increased. In England of 63 managers and employers in cotton manufacture, three-fourths had started as mill operatives; of 88 employers in the building trade, 63 per cent; among directors of spinning companies, 73 per cent. Among German leaders born since 1860, an eighth came from the working class. Of 2,186 members of university faculties in Germany and Austria, 90 were sons of petty officials, 74 sons of teachers, 52 sons of artisans.

The post-war rush to the universities in all countries grows out of youth's realization that the choice posts go to those prepared by a higher education to fill them. Because the universities of Central and Eastern Europe are now frequented largely by the sons and daughters of social classes that did not attend them before the World War, the doctor's degree is sought more as passport to a position. This clashes with the old view that the university is primarily a place of research and gives deep concern to the friends of scholarship.

Ladders of vertical ascent. There is the *army*. The penalty for letting titled donkeys lead armies is so dire that in the course of a long war men of any origin rise to command provided they win battles. Thus of 92 Roman Emperors, at least 36 mounted *via* the army ladder. Of 65 Emperors of Byzantium, 12 were upstarts who had risen to high military command. Napoleon and his new nobility came to the top by the army ladder.

On its up-curve the *religious organization* gives openings. In the stratified Roman Empire the Christian Church was the main channel by which able sons of serfs rose to influence and power. Clerical celibacy made necessary a constant recruitment of outsiders. As the Church approached its zenith its dignities were monopolized by the nobility, so that it was less of a ladder. Judaism, Mohammedanism, Hinduism and Buddhism likewise gave the gifted lowly means of rising to lofty places.

Service of the ruler or the state is a ladder. Nowadays the gifted stump orator, tribune of the people, conciliator and vote winner, party organizer, or practical statesman rises to power whatever his social origin.

In Western society the *school* is more and more a means of rising; hence, the endeavor to make it costless and the flooding of ambitious youth into our high schools and universities. Dependent on the school are the *learned professions*. Their high entrance qualifications exclude

favoritism and inheritance, and the growing accessibility of learning enables gifted youths from poor families to rise to fame and fortune by some profession.

Historically the ladder most used has been *money making*. In England after the Wars of the Roses had thinned the feudal nobility the new rich largely superseded the old families. From the Crown they bought such titles and privileges as they wanted. In the reign of James I "merciers, grocers, customs comptrollers, goldsmiths, merchants, and mayors of provincial towns appear as country gentlemen with their coats of arms." About the same time "money began to rule France; everything could now be bought: power and honors, civil and military positions and even nobility itself." "From Louis XIII up to the Revolution every rich man became a noble. . . . In this period money meant everything and was everything."

The British aristocracy, according to Mrs. Sidney Webb, an insider, owes its vitality "to a perpetual process of casting out and renewal, younger sons and daughters falling out of social rank to sink or swim among their fellow commoners, whilst the new rich of the British Empire and the United States were assimilated by marriage, or by the sale of honors . . . in order to replenish the electoral funds of the 'ins' and 'outs.'" "Any family of outstanding riches, assuming that its members were not actually mentally deficient or legally disreputable, could rise to the top, marry its daughters to cabinet ministers and noblemen, and become in time ennobled itself."⁸

Vertical occupational descent. Certain American tables show that 6.4 per cent of the sons of the professional men; 7.6 per cent of those of the businessmen; 10.3 per cent of those of the executives; and 7.4 per cent of those of the officials became unskilled laborers. Among 2,943 factory operatives in Berlin one-ninth were sons of professional men, entrepreneurs, businessmen and officials. Among 4,374 employees and operatives in a German printing concern 4 per cent were sons of fathers of high social standing. Among 886 operatives of a big German jewelry factory 5 per cent of the men and 7.3 per cent of the women came from the business, professional and official classes.

Whatever occupational groups we take we come upon this undertow. Family influence or inherited money for a while buoys up incompetence; but eventually many of them sink to their due level. Under normal conditions these ups and downs are slow, being controlled by the social mechanism of testing and distribution. The would-be climber must

⁸ *My Apprenticeship*, 1926, p. 45.

evinced specific ability and years of training are necessary to acquire it, years of work to demonstrate it. Hence rise is slow and so, too, sinking is slow. Thanks to education, money and connections, a son inherits his father's high place; with only average ability and application he can keep it.

The rate of vertical movement. Mark the destinies of immigrants from the country into the German city of Karlsruhe. Their distribution among lower, middle and professional classes was 82 per cent, 14 per cent and 4 per cent; that of their sons was 41 per cent, 49 per cent and 10 per cent; that of their grandsons was 40 per cent, 35 per cent and 25 per cent. The series 82, 41, and 40 in the lower classes, 4, 10, and 25 in the professional classes, picture the gradualness of social rise. Then men in the higher posts *run older* than those in the lower. The manual and clerical occupations swarm with the youthful but not the professions or officialdom; which means that climbing takes time and many in the lower ranks are "on their way." The sons of prosperous American farmers came into farm ownership at the average age of 26½ years; but those who started as hired men came into ownership at the average age of 36 years. For the same reason popes are older than cardinals, cardinals than bishops, generals than colonels, colonels than captains.

Mobility not equalitarian. Americans imagine that *social mobility makes for social equality*. But is this true? When for generations social ascent has been greatly hampered, many thwarted talents rust in the huts, many nincompoop "sons of their fathers" occupy high posts. But, after there have long been wide staircases leading up, the children of the high-placed will generally show superiority in native talent to the children of the nether strata. So in the long run democracy as *opportunity* says "no" to democracy as *equality*!

SOCIAL MOBILITY AFFECTS CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY

Versatility. The man who stays in the same niche may become a creature of habit; but he who goes on from rôle to rôle, from rank to rank, cannot build up rigid habits, for continually he has been obliged to alter his behavior. In a mobile society one who is not versatile and adaptable will not rise far.

Breadth. In a frozen society the bulk are so indelibly stamped by their life rôle that they are dwarfed or warped. Having beheld the human scene from one point only; they have a narrow outlook. But the member of a mobile society, who in his time may have been both

servant and master, hand-worker and brain worker, underling and chief, has seen life from various angles. He realizes what "social atmosphere" does to one, perceives the relativity of group standards and codes, knows "from inside" the soul of the farm hand, the clerk, the executive. Hence, he is open-minded and tolerant.

Mental strain. Once adjusted to his task and niche the member of an immobile society carries on largely by routine; he can "get by" even if his higher faculties atrophy. In a mobile society, however, from time to time one is called upon to adopt a new idea, tackle a fresh job, learn another technique, cope with a novel situation, gain footing in a strange social circle. This keeps one alert and supple, to be sure, but it adds to mental strain and may have something to do with the rising volume of mental wreckage in modern society.

Disintegration of conventional morals. Life in face-to-face groups makes for steady and consistent morals. Cooley is right in saying:

We are dependent for moral health upon intimate association with a group of some sort, usually consisting of our family, neighbors and other friends. It is the interchange of ideas and feelings with this group that makes standards of right and wrong seem real to us. When we move to town or go to another country or get into a different social class, a common result is a partial moral isolation and atrophy of the moral sense.⁴

The right person in the right place. In the ideal mobile society all children enjoy equal chances and the tests do really separate the "sheep" from the "goats." The round peg gets into the round hole and the square peg into the square hole. The strong win the directive posts while the weak gravitate toward order-taking. Society is still a skyscraper, but on its broad staircases brogans are mounting and "patent leather" shoes are descending!

Social stability. The mobile society should be the more stable. A gifted and ambitious youth is not going to assail a social order that will let him rise to something worth while. Vigorous spirits of humble origin, who would stir up sedition if they saw no paths up, champion the existing system when they have found how many doors are swing doors! In a frozen society the time comes when, as in late eighteenth-century France, the exalted doubt their superiority and make but a half-hearted defense of their privileges. But in a mobile society the power holders, who have been recruited from every social level owing to their demonstration of personal capacity, remain perfectly convinced of their right to be where they are and will defend their posts to the last ditch.

⁴ *Social Process*, 1918, p. 180.

PART VI
SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

- CHAPTER
XXXII. SOCIALIZATION
XXXIII. ESTRANGEMENT
XXXIV. SOCIAL CONTROL
XXXV. ANTICIPATION
XXXVI. INDIVIDUALIZATION

CHAPTER XXXII

SOCIALIZATION

Let "socialization" mean *the development of the we-feeling in associates and their growth in capacity and will to act together*. Socialization with respect to *one* group does not imply, of course, socialization with respect to human beings generally.

CONDITIONS OF SOCIALIZATION

Common background. *Sons of the same land* have a bond in the identity of their early impressions. The recurrent unheeded impressions from climate, nature and scene constitute, as it were, the stable background of individual experience. When strangers discover that they have a common background they are pleased and draw together. Here you have the first strand of nationality.

A common speech. In itself this does not socialize but it gives certain socializing factors their chance.

The primitive dance. The dances of the hunting peoples are important. Warmed up by the dance the participants are, as it were, *fused*, so completely socialized that the dancing group feels and behaves as one being. The American Indians do not allow one to continue a feud with any tribesman with whom one has danced. Furthermore, the dance is consciously used to clinch a peace pact among hostile groups.

Common emotional experiences. From the reminiscences exchanged on "old settlers' day" it is evident that what knit the hearts of the pioneers was the vivid experiences they passed through together, intense social pleasure at merry makings and celebrations, as well as suffering and anxiety caused by floods, drouths, blizzards, prairie fires, and Indian outbreaks. If foreign-born are among the native settlers such experiences bring them all "into tune," then interchange of ideas gradually assimilates them.

Expansive emotions enlarge the heart more than do depressive emotions. Golden moments, when one spurns confining walls and faces wide horizons, when one has a delicious sense of free and onward life, beget

the we-feeling. During the early days of the first Russian revolution people were exalted out of themselves. Total strangers met and suddenly talked like old friends. In a milk shop people would help themselves and leave the right pay. The worst-looking specimen of a man would step off the path into the wet snow to make room for a woman or child. "A boundless bright good will flowed like waves from all the streets up into every room in the town. It was one of those vast miracles that come to a nation only at moments."

Common hardships, perils, and maltreatment, common deliverance, success, and triumph, socialize those who react to them in the same way. But *unlike* reaction in a given situation sunders men, as we see in the antipathy of martyrs to apostates, of fighters to skulkers, of rebels to cringers.

A *master experience* sets apart. The converted keep to themselves, for the unregenerate cannot understand them. Revolutionaries with incompatible principles are brothers while persecuted, but not for long after they have come on top; look at the "liquidation" of deviants that has taken place in Soviet Russia! Motherhood may inspire a sisterly feeling among women. A free-masonry unites lovers of outdoors, wilderness hunters, or bird wooers. Those who have been "up against it" or "down to the bottom dollar" are of a fraternity to which the darlings of fortune can never belong.

Enjoyable eating together. The ancient village community set such store by eating together that every available opportunity, such as the commemoration of the ancestors, the religious solemnities, the beginning and the end of field work, the births, the marriages, and the funerals, was seized upon to bring the community to a common meal.

In the medieval guild "the common meal, like the festival at the old tribal folk mote—the *mahl* or *malum*—or the Buryate *aba*, the parish feast, and the harvest supper, was simply an affirmation of brotherhood. It symbolized the times when everything was kept in common by the clan. This day, at least, all belonged to all; all sat at the same table and partook of the same meal. Even at a much later time the inmate of the almshouse of a London guild sat this day by the side of the rich alderman."¹

Even among ourselves "breaking bread together" has a mystic significance, and we will not eat with those against whom we intend to draw a color line or a social line!

The festival. In olden time societies provided for periodical assem-

¹ P. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*, 1902, p. 175.

blage in order not to disintegrate into bickering local groups or social classes. Its socializing value lies in this: that in one another's presence people are deeply moved in the same way at the same time and are conscious of their community of emotion. "The most important functions of ancient worship," says W. Robertson Smith,² "were reserved for public occasions, when the whole community was stirred by a common emotion. . . . Universal hilarity prevailed; men ate, drank, and were merry, together, rejoicing before their god. Feasting, dancing, songs and music were present." A people without letters, fine arts, or trade, living in scattered rural settlements, has little to keep alive mutual interest; but at the periodical religious feast a common emotion lifts the people to a consciousness of their oneness.

Group life as a socializer. The members of a large well-ordered family are socialized by constant adjusting to others for the common good. Hence, it is found that those apt in winning and leading men—politicians, labor organizers, evangelists, and promoters—usually grew up with several brothers and sisters.

Participation in an enduring and exclusive organization takes one "out of himself." The common name, war cry, or flag, symbolizing the identity of the group, becomes in time an independent center of emotion, a charged Leyden jar. With its distinctive banner, colors, slogans, songs, festivals, and commemoration day, the group takes on personality and attracts a love which is not the same thing as love for its present members. Not only state and church gather such stimuli to feeling but colleges, guilds, political parties, and religious and fraternal orders as well.

To be hated and set upon by a common enemy generates the we-feeling. The boys' gang can survive the persecution of other gangs only if the members are loyal to one another; in the gang, therefore, is born that spirit of loyalty which lies at the foundation of most social relations.

This gang loyalty, however, is by no means a loyalty to individuals only; it is a loyalty also to ideals. The boy refuses to "squeal" under pressure, partly to shield his fellows, but still more because squealing is contrary to the boys' moral code. He joins the tribal wars, partly because, like the good barbarian he is, he loves his neighbor and hates his enemy, but quite as much because certain fightings are demanded by the gang's standard of honor.³

Disloyalty is the one unforgivable offense in boyish eyes, the one crime

² *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 1885, p. 24.

³ J. A. Puffer, *The Boy and His Gang*, 1912, p. 144.

which inevitably leads to expulsion from the gang. . . . Among twenty-one boys who had been expelled from their gangs eleven were put out for disloyalty, three for fighting in bad causes, and but one each for all other reasons. There is no other institution on earth that can take its place beside the boys' gang for the cultivation of unswerving loyalty to the group.

Close beside loyalty and fidelity come the related virtues of obedience, self-sacrifice, and coöperation. The boy who will not obey the captain cannot play with the group. Baseball and football are impossible without coöperation, and they demand constant self-sacrifice of the individual to the team. The gang fight, brutal and useless as it commonly is, also calls for the highest devotion. It is fought not for personal ends but for the honor of the gang.⁴

The boys' club, under wise supervision, may have a magical effect in socializing even the little Ishmaelites of the street—the newsboys and bootblacks. With growing interest in the club comes eagerness for its success, *i.e.*, the corporate spirit. The joint ownership and management of the club and its common property is a most effective check upon the thievish propensities of its members. "When a boy has so far conquered the covetousness his hard lot of deprivation has bred into him that he can, night after night, use tools and games which all boys desire to possess, and at the closing hour put them in their places and leave them behind him, he has taken his first lesson, probably, in that social conduct which makes of the individual a good citizen of his community."⁵

Common prized possessions socialize. Fitfulness in we-feeling may be overcome by attachment to common group possessions. The medieval guilds insured their future when they reared their beautiful guild halls. A religious society strikes root when it builds its own church and parish house. A college fraternity is quite justified in desiring a chapter house of its own, a literary society in fitting up a hall for itself. Noble municipal buildings—schools, libraries, museums, art galleries, and parks—fan the fading embers of civic feeling. The splendid town halls of Ghent and Bruges were inspirers as well as achievements of city patriotism. The "old homestead," the ancient roof-tree, the entailed estate play a great rôle in keeping alive family feeling.

Sport as a socializer. In congested urban quarters the passion for play which springs up after the opening of a recreation center levels moldering barriers between nationalities and confessions, Americanizes the foreign-born, and begets a neighborhood consciousness. With access

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 152.

⁵ M. W. Law, "Our Ishmael," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. VIII, p. 844.

to wholesome pleasures the laborer no longer drinks and beats his wife in sheer reaction from his grinding existence. The community becomes humanized. Children who hurt themselves at play cease to inquire anxiously, "Will it cost much and will my mother whip me?" The young people drop their rough manners, and foreign-born mothers no longer shrink from allowing their sick to go to the hospital.

At American colleges in the Orient athletic sports teach democracy. Youths of diverse races, religions and castes find their level on the football field, where a prince may be tackled by a peasant, and on the baseball diamond, where the son of a pasha may be "caught out" at first base by the son of a licorice grower. At first the haughty, slow-moving scions of the ruling race—Turks, Druses of Lebanon, or Manchus—stand idly by watching the "madness" of the Americans and wondering why they do not *spare themselves exertion by hiring servants to play for them!* But presently the game "gets" them, and they forget their rank in novel thrills and pleasures.

Furthermore, antagonistic team games teach the players *to be good losers*. In the earlier football matches between the teams of the mission colleges in China a team would retire from the field with great dignity when the game was going against it and it was about to "lose face"! The ready resort to revolution in Latin America comes from the inability of the losers of a political contest to accept defeat. In Peruvian universities one is struck by the dearth of associations among the students—no fraternities, no athletic teams, no social, literary, debating, press, dramatic, musical, or scientific societies such as flourish in our universities. No class feeling, no university spirit, no love of Alma Mater, no heart-warming reunions of alumni, in a word, nothing to loosen the hard soil of natural egoism and prepare it to admit later the spreading roots of public spirit and good citizenship.

The cause is not indifference. The students want societies, but fail in their endeavors to coöperate because individually they *will not compromise*. Valuable organizations break up because those outvoted on some question leave in a huff. This exaggerated sense of personal dignity is a heritage from the old aristocratic Hispano-American social order, which intensified self-feeling to such a degree that it became a bar to organization and team work.⁶

⁶ See E. A. Ross, *South of Panama*, 1914, pp. 235-37.

THE GENESIS OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND IDEALS

It is one thing to become socialized with reference to those with whom we have enjoyable experience; it is another thing to gain social attitudes toward human beings generally. Various agencies "socialize" us in this latter sense.

The primary group as birthplace of social ideals. Cooley has shown that social ideals spring up out of experience in "primary" groups, *i.e.*, groups characterized by intimate face-to-face relations and coöperation. "Where," he asks, "do we get our notions of love, freedom, justice and the like which we are ever applying to social institutions? Not from abstract philosophy, surely, but from the actual life of simple and widespread forms of society, like the family or the play group."⁷ Such behavior patterns as kindness, loyalty, good faith, service, lawfulness develop from living in primary groups and then are carried out into the life of larger (secondary) groups wherein relations are rarely face-to-face. In Cooley's view the chief organized social influences in the life of Western peoples to-day are Christianity and democracy—the one spreading the behavior patterns begotten in the family, the other spreading the behavior patterns begotten in the neighborhood. Advance in socialization manifests itself by our readiness to treat *more* of our fellowmen as brothers or neighbors.

Scouting as a socializer. In the Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls movements we see a deft interweaving of social ideals with the gratification of youth's instincts by means of woodcraft, nature lore, hunting, stalking, tracking, fire-building, signaling, and watching outdoor life. The scout must learn to build a fire with two matches; to rescue a companion in the water; to handle canoe, boat, or horse; to find his way across country and through woods to a designated spot and back within a specified time; to track a companion by his foot marks; and to spy upon a (constructively) hostile camp without being discovered. There is, of course, no necessary connection between scout law and outdoor life. Many a skilful hunter or backwoodsman is "yellow" clear through; while many a high-minded gentleman cannot build a fire or pitch a tent. But the tremendous appeal of scout activities and stunts "sells" the boys the scout ideals.

The school as a socializer. As a small, intimate, durable, supervised society the school may prepare for later social responsibilities. There is the *socialized play hour* in which supervised team games may induct

⁷ *Social Organization*, 1912, p. 32.

playmates into the arts of coöperation and self-control. There is the *socialized curriculum* which emphasizes humanistic subjects such as literature and the social studies and makes much of the social application of truths learned. There is the *socialized recitation* which organizes the members of the class into committees, each committee investigating the topic assigned it and fusing the findings of the individual members into a committee report.

Finally there is *pupil self-government*. In the "school state" or "school city" popularity is won not, as in the autocratic school, by slyly or defiantly breaking rules, but by loyally living up to them, for they embody the wishes and sense of right of the pupils. Then, too, the apprentice-citizen is nipped by the inexorable logic of obeying yourself the laws which you expect the others to obey. A boy elected to the presidency of the George Junior Republic by unanimous vote of his fellow citizens felt impelled to call them together the next day, confess a theft committed some months before, surrender himself to their police, and go to jail!

Religion as a socializer. A traveler in India saw at a great center of popular religion so many pitiable child widows and outcastes for whom nothing was being done that he raised the question with a Hindu holy man and spiritual seer. He received the answer: "It is the glory of Hinduism that it concerns itself not with incidental things but with the relation of the individual soul to God." Religion so conceived may not socialize. On the other hand, the Japanese Christian leader Kagawa declares:

I stand against all learning, all institutions, all governments, all arts, all religions which reject love. I protest against any so-called church which preaches faith and fails to love. . . . If any one desires me to revere him let him offer me love. To the loving I shall grudge no word of reverent praise. Even if his love be but imperfect, for me it is a revelation and a way leading me toward God. Where Love is, there is God.

INTEREST AS JOINER OR DIVIDER

Community of interest. When intensely concerned about something we regard gratefully those who help us. Whiting Williams^{*} tells of the factory superintendent and gang of men who worked two nights and a day to save their shop from a flood and ever after greeted one another as "pals." Agitated by strong fear, anxiety, grief, and elation, those who

^{*} *Mainsprings of Men*, 1925, pp. 190-91.

have long striven shoulder to shoulder against the same foe become dear to one another; hence, "comrade" is a word to conjure with!

Even when blood kinship was *the* social bond, kinsmen became strangers unless they had a common interest. Says W. Robertson Smith: "A subgroup or horde which habitually lived apart from its brethren was very likely to form covenants with aliens, and this often led to a conflict of obligations in case of war and loosened the old tribal bond. In the long run, then, the strict bond of kinship could not maintain itself except within the limits of a local group habitually moving together."⁹ On the other hand, if two groups had a vital common interest they "made believe" they were brothers "by a sacramental ceremony, the meaning of which was that the parties had commingled their blood."¹⁰

Meeting a crisis saps dividing prejudices, so that different classes, races, and faiths willingly work side by side. During the World War American white women of the higher classes worked cheerfully with the lower class of Negro women though previously they would not tolerate a Negress even in the same elevator with them. Athletic and debating contests between colleges generate "college spirit"; matches between town ball teams and hose companies foster "local spirit." As a city grows its people split into occupation groups and social classes; but the we-feeling revives if fresh common interests are discovered as, for example, public sanitation, the extermination of the malarial mosquito, or protection against impure food.

Collision of interests. Finding others constantly in our way engenders hostility. Observes Hornell Hart:

If we have to take orange juice with castor oil, we come to hate the orange juice, not for its own sake, but because it has become associated with a distasteful experience. How much more are we likely to become angry and bitter with people who block us off from achievement, who cause us to be disgraced, who take power from us, who despise and reject us! Such people become parts of one's antipathies and antagonisms. . . .¹¹

This is why brotherhoods have always been solicitous lest their unity be shattered by feuds. In the ancient village community every quarrel between individual members was treated as a community affair. The medieval guild took measures that no quarrel between guild brothers should fester into a feud or breed a lawsuit before any other court than

⁹ *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 1885, p. 24.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹¹ Unpublished manuscript quoted in *Community Conflict*, 1929.

that of the guild itself. The sects which take primitive Christianity as their model aim to settle by brotherly counsel or by friendly arbitration every dispute between the brethren, and even cast out the member who incontinently hales another into the law court.

Another precaution is to *set up rules* which make clear what each is entitled to in every case in which the interests of fellow members may be opposed. Forewarned, the brothers accommodate their expectations to what the established rule awards them and thus glide by ticklish situations which would certainly breed trouble were there no accepted formula of right. There is a noteworthy lessening of bad blood between employers and employees after they have joined in setting up machinery in which both parties have confidence for hearing and correcting grievances which previously had remained without redress and poisoned the feelings of each party toward the other. Sitting with conciliation committees charged with adjusting industrial disputes in New South Wales, I found that three-fourths of their decisions are accepted; the losing side does not appeal.

OBSTACLES TO SOCIALIZATION

Perception of difference in aspect, ways, beliefs and sentiments checks the outflow of sympathy. With the rude, personal appearance and dietary habits count for much. One stigmatizes the objects of his antipathy as "niggers," "greasers," "round heads," "fuzzy-wuzzies," "red necks," "high brows," "red-haired foreign devils," "silk stockings," "hard collars," or taunts them as "rat-eaters," or "frog eaters." Somewhat higher is the type who thinks of the alien as "mick," "parley-voo," "goddam," "wop," "sheeny," "heathen," "papist," "heretic," or "infidel." Higher yet is the man who recoils only from those who are "savage," "barbarous," or "benighted." The most alienating differences are those in diet, manners, and religious exercises; socializers, therefore, by means of education, agitation, organization, change of custom, *etc.*, strive to bring about resemblance along these lines, or else to belittle unlikeness.

Prejudice. A trifling unpleasant childish experience may become the basis of an adverse lump-judgment. Mother's dislike of a Swedish cook or an Italian vegetable huckster "may mean a long-enduring hostility on the part of the child toward all Swedes and all Italians." A college student had acquired in childhood the concept of a Catholic as one who "hoped to wade knee-deep in Protestant blood in a religious war." The figures of Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice* and of Fagin in *Oliver Twist* have begotten myriads of anti-Semitic attitudes. A man who as a

twelve-year-old boy had been chased by an irate Mexican whose dog he had "canned" still feels "a natural repugnance whenever I see or hear the word 'Mexican.'" Let the teacher extirpate these childish prejudices as the surgeon removes juvenile adenoids!

Arbitrary discrimination raises a barrier. Discrimination on some relevant basis excites little protest; no one demands that weaklings be put on the football team, ignoramuses matriculated, bunglers allowed to practise medicine. But those are embittered who on account of color, race, origin, or religion are shut out from some good they feel entitled to. The detached immigrant into the United States is readily assimilated because America has drawn no line against the foreign-born. But any unreasonable discrimination against him, would check the process. Hence, no one should be admitted to this country whom we are not willing to treat soon as "one of the family."

Of course, not all discriminations are written into law. If the native-born nincompoop is elected to office or promoted to the head of a bank or a business just because he is of "good old American stock," the capable foreign-born and his friends will feel themselves "outsiders," and will be confirmed in their hyphenism.

One reason why athletic games between white men and the races they rule so contribute to good feeling is that they imply equality. The governing race comes down from its "high horse" and takes its chance of being beaten. The Malays of inner Borneo do not resent being governed by the British after these British have met them as equals on the football field. Once they have scored off the whites they do not mind conceding their superiority in the matter of government.

Traditionalism hinders the socialization of diverse elements when otherwise conditions are favorable. It may be that Irish Catholics and Orangemen, Transcaucasian Armenians and Tartars, Lithuanian coal miners and Polish coal miners, are alike oppressed and ought to feel and act together; but if they are swayed by the past they will stay apart on account of prejudices, hatreds, and memories of ancient wrongs, coming down to them from their forefathers.

THE SOCIALIZING PROCESS IN OUR TIME

Thanks to the recent wonderful improvements in the means of communication sundered peoples have ever broader contacts, learn more of one another and therewith come to think better of one another. Once they were alienated by hearing only of those strange traits and prac-

tices travelers told of to amaze the home folks; but as they are brought into closer touch each discovers how sound and normal the other is.

Slowly but unmistakably people are *growing together*. In France a millennium-and-a-half ago province fought against province as only nations do now. How divided England was in the days of the Heptarchy! The global China of to-day is the outcome of ages of assimilation of settled tribes and peoples. In the U. S. S. R. unification is going on at a rate never approached under the Tsars. Twelve centuries ago all Europe had a settled population, but not one of the twenty clear-cut self-conscious nationalities in modern Europe had yet come into existence.

By interpreting with sympathy the culture of backward peoples and explaining *just why* the savage does this or that queer thing which stands between him and us, the cultural anthropologists create a little understanding and good will among peoples outwardly very unlike. We come to see that there are no scalawag peoples although every people has scalawags; no people is without a sense of responsibility and a feeling for justice. From tribe to tribe, from people to people, mothers differ little in their readiness to sacrifice themselves in order to rear their tots. Watching the ways of mothers with their children, one marvels at how much peoples at different culture levels have in common.

That unrelated peoples are steadily being knit together by ties faintly reminiscent of family bonds is more evident if you take a generation than if you limit yourself to a decade, if you take a century than if you limit yourself to a generation. Not that men are better but that *their social horizon is changing!*

War and vast preparation therefor do not prove these gossamer filaments to be merely a figment of the imagination. Bellicose gestures spring from the push of "hungry peoples" for more territory rather than from the culture of our time. Governments about to fight systematically pump up popular hostility as you pump up an inner tube; but our wars do not germinate in the spontaneous antipathies of peoples.

Imperialistic governments and capitalist groups marshal their platoons of hired speakers and writers to blacken artfully the character of any weak people that stands in their way; but, more and more, there is among us a chivalrous element which scoffs at malign official propaganda and resolutely lays bare the "inwardness" of what is going on.

The puncturing of the falsehoods and myths making for bad blood between class and class, region and region, section and section within the nation is hailed as a fine patriotic service. But the puncturing of falsehoods and myths employed to make bad blood between peoples,

far from being widely applauded, is often stigmatized as "traitorous" because it thwarts an official hate propaganda preparing the public mind for some aggressive move. High-hearted "internationalists" are persecuted, sometimes even executed!

In any society the *élite* are the first to feel sympathy with those on the other side of the frontier, the continent, the ocean, or the globe; and, being gifted in the arts of expression, they infect others with their sympathy. This goes far to explain why 53,000 missionaries are maintained in the foreign field by Christian bodies, even if they are actuated not solely by altruism, but also by hope of heavenly reward.

The more intelligent and imaginative become concerned over commonwealth interests while yet the bulk of their neighbors do not look beyond the parish pump. This same element will be thinking in terms of nation while the others have no horizon wider than their province or state. The time comes when on many matters this *élite* arrives at an international point of view while the rest, by cunning propaganda, are kept to a narrow nationalistic outlook. In other words, at one time it is the *élite* that perceives and stands up for national interests, centuries later it is only the baser sort that sees nothing beyond national interests.

Owing to recent screen, radio and airplane developments, and other wonders still below the horizon, the growing of mankind into something like one big family is likely to go on at such a quickened rate that in two centuries a sense of oneness should pervade eighty per cent of humanity to perhaps as great an extent as it now pervades the heterogeneous one-fifteenth comprised within the American people.

CHAPTER XXXIII

ESTRANGEMENT

No final socialization. However unified the group it *may* hit a rock that will split it. A sudden cross current pulls one part away from the other. Families are rent by quarrels, neighborhoods by feuds, churches by doctrinal controversies. This process, called *estrangement*, will not desocialize individuals but it *does* break up groups. For all that culture identity, common experiences, and intimate communication may be making a people "one big family," some sharp turn in industrial development or new doctrine will set them "at loggerheads."

ESTRANGEMENT WITHIN PRIMARY GROUPS

The family. Thomas and Znaniecki show that in Poland the old peasant social system is shattered owing to its loss of isolation. Emigrating to work for a time on Prussian farms or in the neighboring industrial towns, the young people return with new wants begotten from acquaintance with previously unknown values. The new kinds of food, drinks, tobacco "develop a tendency, a search for sensual pleasure for its own sake, which in matters of consumption makes the individual dissociate his own interests from those of his family." Then the young worker who brings with him from the city new clothes, jewels, etc., wins for himself a community recognition which is quite independent of the status of his family. Outside his community the standing of his family avails him nothing; where his family is not known he wins recognition solely by the "front" he is able to put up. "Thus interest in personal appearance takes more and more the place of the interest in the social rating of the family."

The real cause of all phenomena of family disorganization is to be sought in the influence of certain new values—new for the subject—such as: new sources of hedonistic satisfaction, new vanity values, new individualistic types of economic organization, new forms of sexual appeal. . . . The specific phenomenon of family disorganization con-

sists in a definite modification of preëxisting attitudes under the influence of the new values . . . while the attitudes which existed under the family system were essentially "we"-attitudes (the individual did not dissociate his hedonistic tendencies, his desires for recognition or economic security, his sexual needs from the tendencies and aspirations of his family group), the new attitudes, produced by the new values acting upon those old attitudes, are essentially "I"-attitudes—the individual's wishes are separated in his consciousness from those of other members of his family. Such an evolution implies that the new values with which the individual gets in touch are individualistic in their meaning, appeal to the individual, not to the group as a whole; and this is precisely the character of most modern hedonistic, sexual, economic, vanity-values.¹

This family disorganization shows in greater reluctance to marry "for family reasons"; sharpening of personal cupidity; less interest in building up the family property; more quarrels over the division of family property made by the father; going to law over family disagreements; and treatment of the aged parent as a burden.

The community. The Polish peasant community is likewise disorganized by the return of young people from work elsewhere with a taste for good clothes, trinkets, smoking, fancy foods and drinks, so that the local standards they were reared in seem to them mean or "queer." Conscious of the disapproval of the old folks the young people with new and socially non-sanctioned attitudes form associations of their own, try to win over the rest of the young people, and "cut" or persecute those who fail to respond. The outcome of the spread of new outside values among the young generation is *a dissolution of social opinion*.

The community begins by losing the uniformity of social attitudes which made common appreciation and common action possible; the introduction of new values breaks it into two or more camps with different centers of interest, different standards of appreciation and divergent tendencies of action. If the process continues, social opinion degenerates into gossip; public interest centers on matters of curiosity instead of those of social importance, and, except in the condemnation of the most radical crimes, no unanimity can be reached on any point. . . . Unless a new basis of unity is reached, there comes a more or less marked decay of social solidarity, both because divergence of appreciation and action breeds hostility and because most of the forms in which solidarity used to manifest itself are no longer adequately enforced by social opinion. . . .²

¹ W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 1927, vol. II, p. 1167.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1206.

Among ourselves the local community is riven not only by the return of young people with outside standards, but also by the coming in of strangers with whom mental contact is difficult, *e.g.*, raw European immigrants; by the flooding of a remote fishing settlement with summer visitors; by the introduction of factory industry with its contrasted types and classes; by the bringing in of a clergyman or school superintendent, who by criticism cracks the community's shell of self-complacency; by a highly cultivated few coming to look with frank contempt upon the Philistine leanings of the majority; by visits of evangelists, experts, labor agitators or Ku Klux Klan organizers, who make the community realize shortcomings or contradictions it has been unconscious of; by diversity of response to injected issues, *e.g.*, the "wet-dry" fight, the "color line," the "divorce question."

ESTRANGEMENT WITHIN SECONDARY GROUPS

In regional or national groups the great-scale estranging processes have often been traced for us by the historian.

Rise of opposition of economic interests. The growth of North-South sectionalism during the half-century before the American Civil War illustrates how a new economic tendency may thrust people apart. After the invention of the cotton gin the South more and more went over to the growing of cotton, a slave-made crop, so that African slavery became the corner stone of its prosperity. In the North slave labor was less productive than free labor, so slavery died out. "King Cotton" kindled the bloody strife between North and South.

Extracting gold by washing down low-pay dirt with a jet of water under high pressure so clogged certain California river beds as to cause the rivers to overflow and smother rich bottom lands under a mantle of silt. The feeling between the ranchers of the valley and the mining companies of the mountain became very bitter before the state legislature put a curb on hydraulic mining.

Early Australia was torn over the penal transportation of convicts from England. The big landowners favored a system which automatically provided them with cheap labor. The artisans and small farmers opposed this flood, both in their own interest and for the sake of the future of the colony. Another source of bad blood was the opposition between the sugar-planters of North Queensland, who manned their cane fields with kidnapped South Sea Islanders held in virtual slavery, and the people of South Queensland who, living outside the sugar belt,

foresaw the evils which "black-birding" would fasten upon the country.

Much of the early political history of certain Australian colonies is made up of the struggles between "squatters" and "selectors." The former without law had seized upon great tracts of public land and held them for sheep-grazing, although thousands of landless men ("selectors") were clamoring to settle on this land and farm it.

A pastoral people splits because the men of the plain take to the plow and the men of the shore to shipbuilding and trade, while the hill folk continue to tend their flocks. In republican Rome slaves, the booty of foreign conquest, thrust a wedge between the larger landowners and the small cultivators. The English Black Death of 1349 fired a train which led to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. In the eighteenth century the enclosure movement brought on a conflict between rural interests in England and an even sharper one in Spain. The issuance of paper money, a natural makeshift in a young community, long vexed the peace of the American colonies.

Government action against a popular vice may exasperate a district devoted to breeding race horses or to growing the vine or the poppy. A new industry or a chance to build up an export trade may make one region restive under a tax or a trade policy acceptable to all the rest. The people of our Atlantic Coast may resent the obstacles to trade with the Orient raised by a national immigration policy demanded by the people of the Pacific Coast. In California, with the rise of fruit-growing, there broke out a great agitation by orchardists against the general property tax, under which they had to pay taxes on their fruit trees for years before they came into bearing.

Loss of likemindedness. Soul moulds change so that discords develop. Commercial regions become critical and progressive, while the countryside clings to old traditions and dynastic loyalties. The town artisans turn freethinkers but the peasants remain devout. Mining the precious metals begets a speculative spirit that grates on the home-loving get-rich-slow spirit bred by agriculture. Machine industry gathers myriads into its tentacular grasp and stamps them. Mixing of bloods brings race strife nearer by multiplying the number of mulattoes and near-whites who resent the drawing of the "color line."

Unequal appropriation of culture alienates. The residents of the littoral become cosmopolitan, while the "back country" sticks to "the good old ways." From the Book of Maccabees one sees what strifes were produced by the percolation of Hellenism about the Eastern Mediterranean. After Peter the Great Russia swung like a pendulum between

the party standing for imitation of Europe and the party standing for Muscovite tradition. The Chinese in contact with foreigners wanted to introduce railroads, sanitation, and girls' schools, which the back country regarded as impious. Stalled in the eighteenth-century stage, our Appalachian highlanders imagine our cities to be sinks of wickedness, while our cities look upon those old-fashioned mountain-dwellers as "degenerates."³

Religious schisms. Likemindedness is ruptured also by movements in the sphere of ideas. In the eighteenth dynasty ancient Egypt was rent by the conflict between the priesthood and the new worship of Aton, the sun god, led by the Pharaohs. The ancient Jews were torn by the discord between Pharisees and Sadducees. After Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire schisms and heresies gave trouble. Africa was convulsed by the Donatist movement; Egypt was dissatisfied owing to Monophysitism and for this gave herself the more readily to her Arab conquerors. The persecuted Montanist sectaries of Phrygia revolted in the sixth century. In the eighth century the Christians of the East were rent by the quarrel over the use of images, and the migration of fifty thousand Greek image-worshippers to Southern Italy gave that region a Hellenic stamp which it has never lost. Later, Latin and Greek Christianity followed diverging paths. The rise of Protestantism in the sixteenth century, coupled with the repressive policy of the Church brought on the bloody "wars of religion." Since Galileo the contradictions between Dogma and Science have produced countless estrangements. Under our eyes the Protestant bodies are riven by the strife between modernism and fundamentalism; in Egypt and Turkey the Mohammedans are rent by precisely the same issue. Note the disturbances which in our time have followed the rise of such sects as the Mormons, the Babists, the Taipings, the Boxers, the Mahdists, the Senussites.

From time to time *we* have been torn by disputes over dress reform, vaccination, "woman's rights," faith healing, "higher" Biblical criticism, evolution, land-value taxation, censorship and prohibition. Of late such ideas as workers' share in the control of industry, "direct action," the single standard of morals for both sexes, the "socialization of medicine," "companionate" marriage, birth control, and the sterilization of the unfit range people into hostile camps. By the time these controversies are by, new "burning questions" will have drifted into the spotlight.

³ E. A. Ross, *World Drift*, 1928, Chapter IV, "Pocketed Americans."

THE PREVENTING OF ESTRANGEMENT

When controversies reach the point of embroiling fellow countrymen migration, secession, or civil war is possible. National defense may be fatally weakened, government thwarted in carrying out essential policies, the will for civic and social coöperation lost. Hence, the true statesman studies how to arrest estranging tendencies.

Oppositions of interest. Clashes growing out of economic developments are easy to deal with. Sometimes you have only to extend government authority into a neglected field. The bloody struggle in frontier society between "moderators" and "regulators," after the latter have become infested by rogues who take private vengeance under the guise of lynch law, ceases with the setting up of regular courts. If cowboys and shepherds shoot each other over the use of the natural pastures in the public domain, adopt a leasing system. The conflicts between cattlemen, who without warrant had fenced great tracts of government land, and settlers asserting their rights under the Homestead Law ceased when President Theodore Roosevelt made the fences come down. "Gun law" among the salmon-canners on Alaskan rivers was ended by devising wise rules enforced by government agents on the spot. Hostilities between workingmen and "mine guards" should cease with the advent of a well-managed state police. Sniping among the oyster tongers of Chesapeake Bay calls for a system of leasing of bay bottom for oyster-growing.

A stubborn festering indicates "Something wrong!" The worthy elements do not riot "for fun," so ready resort to bayonets confesses bankruptcy of statesmanship. Of course, not every aggrieved interest can be given just the redress it demands; but ordinarily a persistent outcry is a symptom of serious maladjustment. Change has gone on unheeded until some law or institution intolerably chafes. Finer adjustment, greater elasticity, or special treatment is called for. The complaint of timber-owners that the annual taxation of their trees compels premature cutting points to a tax to be collected when the timber is harvested. Labor's protest against the importation of shiploads of aliens for strike-breaking purposes justifies the exclusion of "alien contract laborers." Such legal distinctions as those between Quakers and others in respect to bearing arms and taking oaths, between "slackers" and "conscientious objectors," between "labor" and "commodity," between ordinary businesses and those "affected with a public interest," between "reasonable" and "unreasonable"

restraint of trade, illustrate how the law discriminates for the sake of doing justice and preserving good feeling.

Whenever laws and policies cannot be made flexible enough to suit growing regional and local peculiarities, "devolution" is called for. The unitary state should become federal. Colonies and "regions" should be conceded "home rule," while local preferences respecting schools, poor relief, taxing system, and liquor regulation may justify the grant of "county option" or "local option." The centralized state, by affording a leverage for the *élite* and the expert, may speed up social advance; but for a motley people decentralized government is more conducive to the preserving of the social peace.

No "section" should be denied representation in the legislature according to population; be overlooked in appointing judges, diplomats, army and navy officers, civil officials; miss its due share of internal improvements, tariff protection for its special industries, public institutions, public buildings, postal facilities, experiment stations, aviation fields, national forests and "relief money." Statesmanship should foresee that the Burlingame treaty with China will rouse the Pacific Coast; that national prohibition will pit East against West; that Federal interference with lynching will solidify the South in opposition.

Speculative oppositions. Statesmen have sought to conserve like-mindedness by certain policies which no longer look good. *Withdrawal from foreign influence* by excluding the alien and avoiding foreign intercourse succeeded for a time in ancient Sparta and in Japan, but much good was missed and the inevitable adjustment, when it came, was the more violent from having been delayed. *The suppression of free inquiry* preserves religious unity only by chaining the mind and impeding intellectual progress. *The relentless persecution of heresy* weakens the race by extirpating the more daring and original minds!

It seems a paradox to urge total separation of church and state, religious liberty, and full freedom of communication as means to social good feeling. But, in truth, the diversity of opinion sure to spring up under freedom begets a minimum of hostility. Disagreements irritate little so long as your adversary is not allowed to climb into the saddle. No privileged orthodox may glower upon another as "heretic." None is embittered by being discriminated against or persecuted. No one is galled by being forced to contribute as taxpayer to the propagation of a creed he does not believe. After all, cultural heterogeneity proves to be a nettle that stings least the hand that grasps it brusquely!

A self-conscious society will seek to avoid splits by providing for the *widest possible diffusion of secular knowledge*. An ignorant people, if it breaks away from the guidance of ancestral churches and trained ministers, is likely to be endlessly divided and redivided by futile variations of creed and worship. On the other hand, the general enlightenment resulting from a system of universal education cramps the power of the fanatic or the false prophet to gain a following. The public university, moreover, rears leaders who will draw men together with unifying thoughts, instead of dividing them, as does the sect founder, with his private imaginings and personal notions.

CHAPTER XXXIV

SOCIAL CONTROL¹

In any community the far-sighted perceive that a better order and a smoother team-work may be had if troublesome varieties of conduct are suppressed. Often the means for such suppression are at hand in the shape of central organs which may have been created for military purposes, but which can be used for instituting a régime of law. Then, too, religious ideas may be present which lend themselves to the building of a system of control backed by supernatural rewards and punishments. Thus, under the guidance of its *élite*, society develops an apparatus of control designed to repress harmful conduct and to encourage desired conduct.

The need of social control. *Coöperation in vital matters* for the benefit of the group as a whole gives occasion for the exercise of social control. On the American frontier the earliest sign of it is community pressure to make shirkers do their part in holding off the Indians, fighting prairie fires, or rearing levees to protect the river "bottoms." When coöperation is complex, even willing coöperators need over them an authority which will prescribe the times, places, and amounts of their individual performances. This is why *warfare*, in which team work may be a matter of life or death, is the mother of obedience. Even headstrong, turbulent barbarians have gumption enough to submit themselves to iron discipline while they are on the war path.

High organization implies a regulative system. Without it the leakage and waste on the one hand, the friction from the checks and safeguards required to prevent such loss on the other hand, make it unprofitable to set up any kind of complicated social machinery.

The institutions of *private property* and *inheritance* consecrate inequalities of possession which affront the we-feeling and which mere good will will not protect. Such can survive only in a rather artificial social order. It is *property institutions* which call into being detailed codes of law, strong courts and an elaborate penal system.

¹ Seeing that in 1901 I put forth a sizable book entitled *Social Control* I shall here do no more than bring out the fundamentals and certain new points.

As capital gains in mass and importance, it calls into being agencies strong enough to insure "order." In the Tropics, for example, the ease of rearing a shelter is such that the common people are in no great dread of civil strife; in a political contest they are by no means slow to take up arms. But the creation of costly forms of capital which can be destroyed in a few hours by bullet or axe or torch—herds of fine stock, cane fields, sugar mills, orange groves, cacao orchards, rubber plantations—puts an immense financial interest against the time-honored practice of "fighting it out" and behind a government strong enough to insure "order" although it may deprive the masses of their accustomed political rights. No wonder it is so hard nowadays to maintain in the Tropics genuine popular government.

In countries which have to reckon seriously with *winter*, the rural buildings are so substantial and costly that the tillers of the soil are at one with the large capitalists in desiring "order" at all hazards. In the temperate zone, therefore, the capitalists do not distrust popular government as they do in the Tropics.

In *capitalistic mining* interruption of operations may cause irreparable damage from flooding of the mines, while a single lawless hour may sweep away costly surface properties. Hence, in our mountain states the mine operators make common cause with the farmers in maintaining *strong* government, or by means of secret control of nominating machinery and elections make local self-government a mockery. To avoid shut-downs, intruding labor agitators and organizers are brutally maltreated, while occupants of the company "camps" are denied free speech, free press and free assemblage.

The extending of social control. Thanks to the constant intensification of capitalism the invested capital per worker over most of the field of American industry is to-day at least *ten times* what it was in 1860. Hence capitalists have more at stake in an industrial dispute; strike or tie-up loses them money ten times as fast. Now, the faster a man is losing money the more tempted he is to resort to desperate measures. So the contemporary capitalist goes further than the capitalist of two generations ago in hiring labor spies and gunmen, in secretly controlling local or state officials in order to be able quickly to inject police or militia into the situation.

Such a situation calls for control by society. About 1890 the court injunction began to be used to defeat strikes; between 1898 and 1908 not less than one thousand injunctions of this type were granted, some of them going so far as to restrain the distribution of food to strikers! Prob-

ably no such expansion of judicial power would have taken place but for the fact that the mass of capital affected by the strikes had become so great that the strike could be represented as sterilizing property of great public importance. But for the check imposed by the ballot the strike by now would have been utterly outlawed by the courts.

Another line of endeavor has been to compel correction of certain evils out of which industrial disputes arise. Legal remedy for the long working day, child labor, the sweat-shop, unsanitary conditions, preventable work accidents, truck payment, "yellow dog" contracts, *etc.*, has lessened the number of things to be fought over.

In other quarters we see the scope of social control broadened continually *as a result of more knowledge*. From the germ theory of disease spring hundreds of requirements. New light on heredity causes us to be blamed for having children if our stock is bad, for *not* having children if our stock is superior. Knowledge of the "law" of population begets the feeling that the father of fifteen children ought to justify himself. New views of natural resources condemn certain wasteful methods of mining, lumbering and tillage and oblige us to treat any forest tract we own from the standpoint of the social future.

The curtailment of social control. Not that the individual is being bound more tightly. There has occurred in various parts of the world a relaxation of many restraints which, pretending to safeguard social interests, were really imposed in the interest of a dominant class. Such were the old game laws, restrictions on working-class freedom of movement and of settlement, the "press gang," the old, inhumane discipline of army and fleet, restraints on speech, teaching, the press, assemblage and organization. So binding and loosing *are going on at the same time!*

The motives behind social control. The instincts make themselves felt in society's reaction to offenses against nature—such as incest and abortion. The social frown is bent on senseless luxury and wilful waste because they outrage our sentiments of thrift. Pity prompts the punishment of cruelty to children and animals. Sympathy with the affronted divinity leads to social repression of profanity, blasphemy and sacrilege. Compassion for the victim of wrong yields that "moral indignation" which stirs the community to block aggressions which do not directly concern it. However, not *collective sentiment* but *corporate self-interest* is the chief motive behind social control. Society frowns on conduct believed to hurt it, smiles on conduct which appears to help it. This is why laws and social imperatives—instead of being universal and immutable as they would be if they reflected certain moral sentiments

human nature spontaneously arrives at—are as various as the situations in which a group may find itself.

The radiant points of social control. Whether social power will be diffuse or wielded from a center depends on *whether or not men feel themselves dependent*. In early society the seat of authority is the Elders. In a disorderly, insecure time the Soldier strikes the dominant note. To the degree that men connect their fate with the attitude of unseen beings they rely on the Priesthood. Since men depend economically upon those who buy their wares or their labor, the Wealthy have always enjoyed great influence. The State is a *channel*, rather than a *source*, of control; but the State may render its citizens so many vital services that it acquires glamor and becomes a center of social power.

Another radiant point of control is the Learned, such as the *literati* of China, the *pundits* of India, the *Gelehrte* of Germany, the clergy of nonsacerdotal bodies, the rabbis of the Jews. Finally, there are the *élite*, who are the natural leaders of society in virtue of their intellectual and moral superiority. The Greek philosophers, the Stoics, the Christian Fathers, the Schoolmen, the Humanists, the Pietists, the Liberals, are examples of a small active element leavening the whole lump.

The means of social control. They all develop out of *public opinion*. Out of mobbing by the enraged public develop on the one side the graduated physical penalties of *law* and *legal religion*; on the other, the guidance of the individual by such refined means as *education*, *personal ideals*, and *social valuations*. All hit the mark better than public opinion, which reflects the shortsightedness and impulsiveness of the mass. It strikes furiously at vivisection but ignores threats to the vitals of society. The thoughtful penalize speculation, ballot-frauds and the neglect of fires in forests while the foolish public is gnashing its teeth at vaccinators and body-snatchers.

The religious and legal codes are far more intelligent than public opinion. Religion mounts guard over the fundamentals which do not appeal immediately to the feelings of the public, such as chastity, marriage, filial obedience, and property. The law is the least sentimental of controls because it is shaped by picked men, *i.e.*, judges and law-makers. It is so progressive that it strikes at conduct not yet generally condemned; makes using a bakery for sleeping purposes or soliciting divorce business by advertisement a crime before public opinion deems it a "wrong" or the Church brands it a "sin"!

Economy and efficiency in social control. In protecting its interests society wants greatest result for least effort; so through hundreds

of generations sages have looked for means of painlessly moulding the individual to social requirements. One of these is *education*. You teach the young what conduct to admire and what to despise; or else build into the plastic mind some such moral cornerstone as the fear of God, reverence for the law, respect for magistrates, belief in the coincidence of virtue and happiness, or in the harmony of private and public interests.

Another refined means of restraint is *personal ideals*. We try to be like the type we admire, otherwise we cannot respect ourselves. The wise see to it that the type we admire shall be *social*. Mark how the "knight" ideal was transmuted into the "gentlemen" ideal. In the tenth century the admired knight was an armed bull-necked fighter on horseback. Gradually the troubadours and the women got these mounted fighters to incorporate into their ideal, courtesy, loyalty, self-control, consideration for the weak, and faith-keeping. Then this ideal was separated, first from the profession of arms, then from hereditary leisure. The type was popularized by drama, poetry and novel until now the ordinary quiet American will hit you if you tell him he is "no gentleman"!

Again, society endorses *social valuation*, i.e., the rating of the objects of desire from the *collective* point of view rather than from the *individual* point of view. Such traits as courage, honesty, and justice become "moral values" "more precious than rubies." Pleasures which are exclusive or collision-provoking, such as those of the palate or of sex, are constantly depreciated. Then society "appreciates" the *safe* pleasures—those like companionship or sport, which are *coöperative*; those, like the enjoyment of nature, music or art, which are *inexclusive*; those, like health or beauty or humor or knowledge, which can be *expanded without clash with others*.

Super-social control. What if the society that controls is itself controlled? In the stage we are in we have to load more responsibilities on the State and entrust it with more authority. Where else shall we look for protection against "racketeers," "patent-medicine" crooks, food adulterators, false advertisers, price fixers, "high finance" sharks, forest wreckers and soil wasters? But as the State enrolls more servants, claims more of our income, touches our lives at more points, more than ever it needs to be effectively controlled. How can we assure this?

If government is not to control its people but be controlled by them, *it should have no hand in the processes whereby the people make up their minds about it*. It should not manufacture sentiment for itself nor meddle with the incubation of public opinion. It should not warp young minds by a tendentious education, nor distort the judgment of

its citizens by veiled propaganda, nor secretly manipulate the guides and oracles of public opinion, nor gag critics on the ground that criticism obstructs its operations. The people will be managed without their knowing it unless there are many founts of authoritative opinion *independent of one another and of any single powerful organization*. Up with towers from which trusty watchmen may cry to the people a warning which no official or mob may hush!

The government should not maintain a "reptile press," such as Bismarck used, nor should it censor the newspapers save in war time and then only by a board on which private citizens preponderate. Neither editors nor owners should be appointed to high posts in the public service lest newspapers fall into the habit of truckling to politicians. No periodical should be denied news service or forced off the news stands on account of its politics.

The school, as mother or moulder of opinion, should be independent of government. By means of a non-partisan board the public schools as well as the state university should be kept out of politics. If appointed by mayor or governor, the members should enjoy security of tenure. But it is more logical that the board of education should be chosen at a separate election under a system of proportional representation. Instead of having to beg funds from a political body like the city council or the state legislature, it should be clothed with the power to levy a tax to support the schools. Now that the state is gathering mass and momentum, the school should stand wholly on its own feet.

As we expand government in order to save ourselves from the clutches of the money-strong, freedom of speech and of assemblage should more than ever be jealously upheld. We should no more allow an organization to rent all the halls in town during a critical time in order to prevent public meetings than we would allow a spiteful man to keep a street car empty by paying fares for all the seats in it. Open-air places should be provided at public expense in all municipalities for free public discussion on condition only that speakers shall not utter obscenity, slanderously attack individuals, or incite to definite offenses. The evening use, under such reservations, of public school buildings by an open association of citizens of the school district should be welcomed. The time will come when every community will have its "forum," available for any discussion for which 5 per cent of its citizens stand sponsor.

CLASS CONTROL MASQUERADES AS SOCIAL CONTROL

The studies by the Lynds, in 1925 and again in 1935, of an Indiana industrial city of about 50,000 inhabitants called "Middletown" reveal that control tightened up in the decade. The Daughters of the American Revolution is more active "in its militant safeguarding of local patriotic sentiment." It maintains "close and continuous dictatorship over the local Girl Scouts. The American Legion likewise appears to be more active." Incessantly, the newspapers circulate whole-cloth lies about Soviet Russia and maintain a constant drum-fire upon what is called "Radicalism." "Radical" young men have been warned by employment managers, "We will see to it that you never get a job in this town." The clergymen "have been warned by their financial supporters to 'stick to religion' and keep out of practical issues." At a moment when the schools are educating for "individual differences" "the local culture" is putting renewed stress on elements that make for solidarity and unanimity. "Never before . . . has Middletown's business life been so centrally controlled as at present, and never before has this control system been in a mood to tolerate so little dissent."²

The community pressure forces are mobilizing against dissent. Business knows what it wants. The patriotic groups know what they want. The D. A. R., always on a hair-trigger of watchfulness for "disloyalty," is reported to feel that both the high school and the college have "some pretty pink teachers"; and it is reported as characteristic of its activity that sons and daughters in the classrooms of suspected teachers have been enlisted to check up on the latter's teachings. When a social-science teacher in one of the high schools spoke favorably of joining the World Court, a local editorial warned that teachers ought to remember that the schools are supported by taxes.³

With so much cracking of the whip

one frequently gets a sense of people's being afraid to let their opinions become sharp. They believe in "peace, but—" They believe in "fairness to labor, but—" In "freedom of speech, but—" In "democracy, but—" In "freedom of the press, but—" This is in part related to the increased apprehensiveness that one feels everywhere in Middletown: fear on the part of teachers of the D. A. R. and the Chamber of Commerce; fear by business men of high taxes and public ownership of utilities and of the Roosevelt administration; fear by laborers of joining unions lest they lose their jobs; fear by office-holders wanting honest government of being framed by the politicians; fear by everyone to show one's hand, or to speak out.⁴

² *Middletown in Transition*, 1937, p. 225.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 492.

There are no doubts as to who controls. The

ceiling over Middletown is largely set and defined for the city nowadays by its business class. The chance for the mass of the population to "go up in the world" to affluence and independence appears to be shrinking noticeably. It so happens, however, that those who still retain the best chance to rise in the world, to skim the cream from the economy, also control the press, the radio, the movie. . . . They are thus in a position . . . to tell the cityful of people largely living off the skimmed milk of the economy what to believe.⁵

All this controlling has a very practical purpose.

. . . these service agencies are heavily dependent upon the volume of local industrial activity, and their resulting stake in helping General Motors, Borg-Warner, Owens-Illinois, and other national corporations with branches in Middletown to maintain the low-wage, open-shop conditions that brought them to Middletown is too patent to most local businessmen to require arguing. The resulting interlocking of arms by producers, trading and service people, and city officials to "keep down labor trouble" looks toward government-reinforced-strikebreaking; which is precisely what Middletown is today doing on a small scale.⁶

This dollars-and-cents concern is reflected

in the sudden increase of the city police force in 1935 from the usual thirty-nine to upwards of sixty, despite the greater mobility of the force afforded by radio cars . . . the alleged pledge of the city administration to local industry in 1935 that "There will be no labor trouble in Middletown." This assurance synchronized with the removal of the Toledo General Motors plant to Middletown following the Toledo strike in the spring of 1935. It also synchronized with the 50 per cent increase in Middletown policemen.⁷

The investigator arrives at the impression⁸:

That the lines of leadership and the related controls are highly concentrated to-day in Middletown.

That this control net has tightened decidedly since 1925 and notably with the depression.

That the control is at very many points unconscious and, where conscious, well-meaning and "public-spirited," as businessmen interpret that concept.

That the control system operates at many points to identify public welfare with business-class welfare.

That there is little deliberate effort from above to organize local

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 471.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

bankers, businessmen, and leaders of opinion into a self-conscious "we" pressure group; but that this sharply centripetal tendency of Middle-town's businessmen is normal behavior in a capitalist, credit-controlled culture where there is a potential control-center in the form of vast personal resources of demonstrated willingness to lend a friendly hand.

That, so long as the owners of such vast personal resources exhibit a public-spirited willingness to help with local problems, leadership and control tend to be forced upon them by circumstances, and their patterns tend to become the official guiding patterns.

That, viewed at any given time as a going concern, this centrally-hubbed control agency both may and does operate in many subtle and even ordinarily unintended ways to "welcome little fishes in with gently smiling jaws," with an accompanying loss to the latter of independent leadership. Those who try to be independent tend to be regarded, as the local phrase puts it, as "gumming the works."

This régime poses as "Americanism"; but what would the first three-score who made the American Revolution have called it?

CHAPTER XXXV

ANTICIPATION

One means people employ in adapting themselves to the institutions and policies of their society is *anticipation*, in consequence of which things often turn out quite otherwise than had been expected. One of the sociologist's jobs is to *anticipate these anticipations*.

Anticipation in the treatment of wrongdoing. Authorities object to one's paying a reward for the return of an abducted child "no questions asked" because such a policy lays a financial foundation for the following of abduction as a business. There is a plain conflict of interest here between the wealthy parent, concerned only to recover his child, and society, intent on discouraging the practice of kidnapping. "Compounding a felony" illustrates a like conflict of interest.

The authorities go to great expense to ferret out, pursue, or extradite the individual lawbreaker for the reason that, if frequently the lawbreaker comes off scatheless, dread of the law will be weakened in the hearts of the ill-disposed and crime will increase. A show of relentlessness fills the hearts of bad men with a deterring dread.

The use of money to control a legislature proves a boomerang. Once word runs through the political underworld that there is "easy money going" grafters scheme to get themselves elected to the legislature. The quality of the legislators declines, "strike" bills multiply, the need of using money in order to protect the legitimate interests of the company grows, so that in the end the company is harder hit than if from the first it had taken its chances with the uncorrupted representatives of the people.

An employer who hires spies to worm their way into the labor unions and warn him of their plans is shortsighted. To prolong their employment his spies incite outrage and thus stir up much of the mischief they are paid for reporting. Likewise for the employer to hire "watchmen" supplied by private detective agencies is to plunge into a quicksand. These agencies live off the dread of industrial violence; hence they see to it that there shall be no lack of violence.

A repressive government is gulled in the same way. Its dependence

upon reptilian characters who can deceive their employers because they work in the dark is discounted to the extent of their organizing anarchist groups and devising the very deeds which cause the government to lean more upon them. Azeff, who for sixteen years was a paid agent of the Russian police, was himself the chief organizer of acts of "revolutionary" terrorism!

The pardoning of convicted persons is much more likely to be discounted and to lead to crime than the forgiving of injuries. If the wronged person forgives the offender who is in his power—"heaps coals of fire upon his head"—the latter is not likely to discount such forgiveness by repeating the offense. The state, however, cannot safely pardon unless there is clear evidence of sincere repentance and a desire for amendment.

Anticipation in the sphere of government. Taxes laid on voluntary actions or on the results of such actions *have the same effect as fines*. Heavy taxes on windows have led to shutting the light out of dwellings; on date trees to chopping down the trees; on wine to causing the vines to be pulled up; on produce to throwing land out of cultivation! Inheritance taxes lead to gifts between the living; customs duties, to smuggling. So a tax will deform economic life unless it is light, or is broad and presses uniformly.

Despotic governments sometimes catch the principle of anticipation. The thoughtful perceive that where wealth is seized rapaciously without rule or right, there presently no wealth is produced. If the tax-gatherer leaves nothing the cultivator can count on for his family, soon the land is empty of taxpayers. Hence, long before the advent of popular control, the revenue system was rationalized so as to guarantee to the wealth-producer a fixed and fore-knowable share of what he may produce.

Anticipation in inter-individual relations. "The end justifies the means" has fallen into merited odium because, the moment you learn that people are acting on such a principle, you dare not count on them. Since the veriest saint may lie, steal, cheat, forge, defraud, or forswear himself for the sake of some larger good, *to you unknown*, you've got to be on your guard against the good man as well as the bad man!

Which is just too much.

"Honesty is the best policy" for one conducting a business or following a profession *in one place*, because in time his customers or patrons anticipate the treatment he will give them. The merchant who overreaches his customers in ways they finally detect presently has no customers. The wild American Indians did not plunder the lone fur-trader who ven-

tured among them, because their chiefs foresaw that if they robbed him no other fur-traders would come. So that the best way to get possession of his knives and guns was not to take them from him by force, but to buy them with pelts!

Lord Bacon remarks how a reputation for veracity inspires confidence. "The ablest men that ever were have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity; . . . when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad, of their good faith and clearness of dealing, made them almost invisible."

The lawyer known to refuse every case he does not whole-heartedly believe in may have but a slender practice for a while; but in time his reputation for championing only righteous causes gives his pleadings special weight with a jury. The writer, speaker, or expert witness who yields to the temptation to produce conviction by exaggeration and emphasis finds, unless he keeps on the move, that his influence diminishes. The mercenary "spellbinder," after shifting twice or thrice to the side which offers him the more money, finds himself in a few years without a retainer, because the public is "wise" to him. We are wary of itinerant peddlers, doctors, and promoters just because we realize that, unlike the local merchant or practitioner, they do not have to consider their repute.

Anticipation in the sphere of charity. If the beggar's whine opens the purse, mendicancy will be followed as a trade. If the moving "hard-luck" story draws forth alms, imposture will be developed into a fine art. If the maimed and twisted capture the coin from the passer-by, artificial deformations and mutilations will be forthcoming. In the Middle Ages the profuse and indiscriminate almsgiving of monasteries, hospitals, guilds, and magnates made it easy for the shiftless to live without work. There sprang up a horde of parasites who wandered from place to place making the rounds of monastery, hospital, and religious festival, and ever increasing in numbers and boldness. "Around the gates of St. Bartholomew and other great foundations," says Ashley,¹ "gathered swarms of the miserably shiftless and idle, decrepit, halt, and maimed, covered with rags and filth, like those still to be seen around the entrance to many a Continental cathedral."

In England up to 1834 the pauper was often better off than the poor laborer, who was disheartened thereby in his struggle to maintain his independence; hence, the proportion of paupers grew. In some parishes

¹ W. J. Ashley, *English Economic History*, 1892, vol. II, p. 324.

rents were so generally paid by the vestry that the poor made no effort to provide their rent. Landowners have been known to tear down cottages so as to keep out pauper settlers and to draw their labor from surrounding parishes which made up the deficit in wages by an allowance. When farmers were allowed to have the labor of the idle at a shilling a day, the deficit being made up by the overseers of the poor, they turned away their laborers, thus creating an idle class, in order later to hire them back at the cheap rate. Where employers were required to hire paupers rather than the self-supporting, saving was seen to be a bar to employment, so that thriftlessness was encouraged. The policy of a regular allowance for the out-of-work prompted some laborers to be as lawless and useless at work as possible, in order that they might be discharged and supported in idleness. The readier relief of the married than of the unmarried encouraged reckless marriage. Not only did laborers marry earlier but it was noticed that they married younger in "liberal" parishes than in "strict" parishes. The prospect of additional money for every child born into a pauper family removed the check which anxiety naturally places upon the size of the family. The granting of 2s. a week for a bastard child, but only 1s. 3d. for a legitimate child, on the ground that the former had no father to support it, probably encouraged illegitimacy. Since the mothers of such children were better off than married women, many, we are told, considered it the best way to provide for themselves. Because of their incomes from the parish loose women with children were preferred as wives to modest women.

After 1834 the poorhouse became a "workhouse"; but its practice of giving lodging to destitute wayfarers encouraged professional vagrancy. The freedom to go and come called into being a class of loafers who availed themselves of the hospitality and the mixed company of the workhouse, but, when they craved a change, left it and lived as they pleased.

A critic of the English workhouse writes:

It was a curious experience in visiting a large number of workhouses to find, as one went from one place to another, that what one had to look for was the most spacious and prosperous-looking institution in the place, set in the best-kept grounds, surrounded with expensive walls and handsome gates. . . . "Indoor-relief" has bred a class of lazy parasites, willing to submit to any conditions so long as they are well fed and relieved from all responsibilities. They are not even precluded from injuring the outside community, inasmuch as the law permits them to go in and out at their pleasure, using the workhouse as a convenient resort

and a protection to their noxious lives from the discipline of hunger and cold.²

Nothing is so anticipated as *endowed* outdoor relief, which is much publicized and which works blindly, in good years as in bad years. In English cathedral towns with endowments for the poor pauperism is far greater than in other towns. Fixed doles always attract to a place more than enough paupers to absorb them all.

In strange ways anticipation spoils the effect of the best-intentioned acts. The tender-hearted who habitually turn aside to buy the wares of the *smallest* newsboy or peddler are unwittingly drawing children out of school and into industry. The giving of tips to waiters, after it has become general and customary, is of no benefit to them. The poor wage received by porters in "standard" sleeping-cars in comparison with those in "tourist" sleeping-cars proves that the generosity of the traveling public has been capitalized by their employer, the sleeping-car company.

The granting of a subsidy of public money to a private charity is often the beginning of a process of shifting gradually the entire burden of supporting the institution upon the taxpayers without giving their representatives any control. "Those institutions that have received public aid the longest most commonly receive least from private contributors." Such aid "tends to dry up the springs of private benevolence."

Subsidies which vary with the number of dependents maintained constitute "a standing premium to the institution to keep the inmates longer than is necessary and to develop the work in magnitude." Thus there is a "strong tendency on the part of subsidies to increase the problem with which the subsidized institutions have to deal."

Anticipation in the university field. The policy of hounding university professors uttering economic opinions distasteful to the men of wealth who constitute the governing board works out badly. Once it is understood that a professor is subject to supervision as to his utterances on questions of public interest and liable to dismissal when these displease the governing powers, men of virile character and independent mind avoid the calling. Again, unless radical professors are safe, the utterances of conservative professors lose weight with the public. For the one thing which makes it worth while to cite the judgment of university professors in opposition to wild and crude proposals is the freedom with which, in our universities generally, opinions of a different tendency can be expressed.

² Helen Bosanquet, *The Poor Law Report of 1909*, p. 186.

Anticipation in the realm of law. In the history of courts one is struck by the fierce insistence that judges apply *law* and not their private notions. In the absence of statute judges are to apply *customary* or *common law* and, wanting even this guidance, they are to follow the trend of earlier decisions. The point is not mistrust of the individual judge so much as the need of *knowing in advance* what is lawful. At times the people have sprung to arms because judges did the will of their royal master, or administered "strange law" instead of the ancient well-known laws of the realm.

It is because a censor's decisions are unpredictable that censorship has such a paralyzing effect. Thus Tolstoi once wrote:

You would not believe how, from the very commencement of my activity, that horrible censor question has tormented me. I wanted to write what I felt, but at the same time it occurred to me that what I wrote would not be permitted, and involuntarily I had to abandon the work. I abandoned, and went on abandoning, and meanwhile the years passed away.

In tropical South America I heard peonage justified on the ground that the peons are so destitute that they need the right to pledge their labor after a bad season in order to procure from the planter the food necessary to keep them from starving. The true policy is to outlaw the contract of peonage and let the laborer develop the capacity to look out for his future himself as our farm workers long have done.

Thanks to the principle of anticipation wise laws may do wonders for economic life. Let the law provide adequate protection for some kind of property that does not exist—say artificial oyster beds on the bottom of Chesapeake Bay—and, if the state of the oyster market justifies it, capital will be invested. Since capitalists are likely to have both foresight and farsight, nothing is so shrewdly discounted as laws and conditions affecting invested capital. A general attack upon the institution of property will discourage saving and investment; but a discriminating agitation to curb a certain kind of property or to convert it to public uses need have no such effect. After a reform movement affecting some species of property has been worked up by radicals, it will succeed better if carried out by a conservative statesman who is not suspected of having other anti-property reforms "up his sleeve."

It is not well always to give property the benefit of the doubt. The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the historic case of *Fletcher vs. Peck*, validating a huge grant of public land so fraudulent that every member but one of the legislative majority which voted

it was interested and a party to the transaction, was virtually a wide-open invitation to capitalists to engage in the corruption of legislatures!

Anticipation in the sphere of religion. The endowment of a religious order should promote the cause of true religion. The monks are observed to be devoting their spare time to the propagation of religion. If they were free from the burden of self-support and there were more of them, surely the cause of religion would be advanced. But after the order controls rich endowments the spirit among the brothers changes. A different type crowds in, the ideal of service fades out. In time, instead of a brotherhood of apostles you have a nest of dissolute parasites!

Heresy hunting seems reasonable until one considers how the practice will affect the composition of the clergy. No matter how fixed in the doctrines of his church a man may feel himself to be on entering the ministry, he recognizes there is a possibility of change. The greater his intellectual vigor and the more independent his mind, the more this possibility becomes a probability. Hence, the prospect of being unfrocked for heresy after one is well on in life will repel from the ministry virile young men likely to make the pulpit a power; but not the weaker!

Deductions and conclusions. The emotionalist says: "Why not let this unhappy couple go their separate ways?" The intellectual replies: "Make divorce quick, easy and socially harmless and instead of having fewer unhappy couples you will have more. For some form risky unions just because they can count on divorce!" The emotionalist says: "What is the good of hanging this murderer? Have pity and let him go." The intellectual replies: "Such use of the pardoning power encourages the evil-disposed to yield to their homicidal impulses." An emotionalist in the Post-Office Department once directed postmasters to turn over "Santa Claus" letters to local philanthropic societies. Soon the number of apparently naïve petitions to Santa Claus from artful children for sleds, skates, and other objects of juvenile desire greatly multiplied! The order was rescinded. The emotionalist set up a revolving cradle in front of the foundling asylum so that foundlings might be deposited secretly thereby doing away with the murder of undesired infants. It did result in an alarming growth of illegitimacy and an irresponsible dumping of children.

The principle of anticipation is no pocket-buttoner; it does not tell against the relieving of distress *which has not been brought about nor could have been averted by any act of the sufferer*. Widowhood, orphanhood, loss of health, and distress arising from such unforeseeable calam-

ities as fire, flood, war, earthquake, or epidemic may be relieved without fear of pauperizing the unfortunates.

Again, *if only the lesser part of distress can be relieved*, the prospect of relief will not tend to augment the volume of such distress. Thus well-guarded accident or sickness insurance need not increase the number of cases of accident or sickness. Free medical clinics or hospitals or dispensaries will not cause people to neglect their health.

The more that relief and pardon *are based on merit in the individual case*, the less will it encourage the unworthy. Carried away by their discovery that help and mercy, by being reckoned on, encourage idleness and crime, the early social scientists challenged all charity and pity beyond one's own circle. We now deem it safe to give rein to these nobler impulses provided that their action waits on thorough investigation. Wise relief or leniency implies not only discrimination, but discrimination based on a sound principle. This principle is that *anti-social types of conduct and character should not be encouraged*. In the administration of an old-age pension system the problem must be faced whether pensions shall be granted to habitual drinkers and persons who have gained their livelihood by vice.

Good things made gratuitous do not pauperize. Getting "something for nothing" does not pauperize. Only those gifts pauperize *which, being anticipated, encourage undesirable types of behavior and character*. Free schools and universities, free lectures and libraries, free museums and art galleries, free social centers and churches, free entertainments and band concerts, free playgrounds, athletic fields, swimming-pools, and baths do not pauperize, seeing that they make people stronger and better and wiser, not more lazy, self-indulgent, or vicious.

The eighteenth-century pioneers in social science also went too far in condemning *mercy*. The probation of first offenders holds no cheer for the professional criminal. The parole of convicts who have "made good" does not encourage lawbreaking. Substituting reformatory for penal institution does not lower the hedge against crime; for if there is one thing the ill-disposed hate it is reformation!

We should shun publicity for things we do not wish people to anticipate. Pardon, save of those exonerated, should be kept quiet, mercy should work under cover, charity should be furtive. "When thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." The secret help that passes between kinsfolk, friends, comrades, neighbors, fellow-workers, and fellow-members of the same church or lodge or union does little or no harm.

We should court publicity for things we wish people to anticipate— rewards or benefits held out for desirable kinds of conduct or character. There cannot well be too much publicity for security of life and property, protection of contracts, low taxes, bounties, tax exemptions, military or civil pensions, thrift agencies, government aid to industry, honorary titles, scholarships, hero medals, and monuments or honors to public men.

Thanks to anticipation *social reform* is much superior to *charity* in dealing with widespread or chronic misery. Think of the competition which determines the distribution of income in society as a race in which those who run receive, according to their speed and endurance, prizes varying in value from a trifle to a fortune. *Charity* now comes in to relieve the distress of those who from lameness, or having stumbled, or being tripped, are unable to win even the trifle. But, since running is not easy, many resort to the trick of stumbling or giving up; so, the more that *charity* does, the more malingerers there are.

Altogether different are the methods of *social reform*. It removes from the course the stones and pitfalls by which runners are thrown down. It punishes tricky runners who trip up or "spike" those just ahead of them. By forethought it greatly lessens the number of halt and ailing who cannot even enter the race. By providing all with a little instruction and training in the art of breathing, running, taking hurdles, *etc.*, the number of those who can manage their feet well is greatly increased. Then, since there is much that is arbitrary in the relative magnitude of the prizes for swiftness, *social reform* aims to cut down the big prizes and add to the size of the prizes for ordinary running. Since it notices among the great throng of competitors some who without exertion are able to capture fine prizes in motorcycles or automobiles won in some previous race or left them by their fathers, it endeavors to handicap these contestants in the interest of those who have nothing but their legs to rely on.

This image is faulty in that the running does not create the prize, while in the real world there would be no prizes were there no running. But for the purpose of contrasting the methods of *charity* and *social reform* the image is fair enough.

CHAPTER XXXVI

INDIVIDUALIZATION

As organization proceeds, *individuality is cramped*. More and more, human beings are *lumped*. Tasks, manners, morals, laws, policies are fitted not to the *individual*, but to the *average*. Since most of us are *un-average* we feel discomfort under the social régime; as if all had to wear clothes of the same cut!

The factory lock-steps the workers. In handicraft industry the artisan works in his own shop at his own pace; when he feels like it, he can knock off a bit to stretch himself or smoke a pipe. To-day he may be up with the lark in order to quit early; to-morrow he may sleep late and make up for it by working into the night. Factory industry, however, subjects its workers to an *impersonal* régime. The speed of the machine regulates the pace of work. Length of the working day, time of beginning and ending, rests, holidays—all are accommodated to the average workman or else to the stronger. Labor under such circumstances will be more irksome than an equal amount of go-as-you-please labor. Hence, the machine tender's workday should be short.

The army machine. The military régime ignores personal *differentiæ*; for in modern warfare joint action triumphs over individual action. Little consideration is given to the exceptional man, to the flow and ebb of energy and feeling in the individual. Barracks and camp are the places of sacrifice of myriads of innocent personal desires. Compare strolling through beauty with marching in a platoon over the same route! The chief points in the soldier's day are fixed, his chief activities standardized. His golden moments are when "on leave" he can slip off his irksome harness and indulge in self-prompted actions.

The governmental machine. The present government of India, although, on the whole, conscientious and well-intentioned, is felt by the more sensitive natives to be alien and soulless. Eloquently the Indian poet Tagore characterizes it as "untouched by human hand" and likens it to "a hydraulic press whose pressure is impersonal and on that account effective." It is "a mere abstract force in which the whole population of a distant country has lost its human personality." The subjects

feel bound by "iron chains of organization which are the most relentless and unbreakable that have ever been manufactured in the whole history of man." The perfection of its espionage service appals one. Its "tireless vigilance, being the vigilance of a machine, has not the human power to overlook or to discriminate. At the least pressing of its button the monster organization becomes all eyes whose ugly stare of inquisitiveness cannot be avoided by a single person among the immense multitude of the ruled. At the least turn of its screw, by the fraction of an inch, the grip is tightened to the point of suffocation around every man, woman, and child of a vast population."

The educational machine. You would suppose that from the beginning teachers adapted mental pabulum to immature minds; yet for thousands of years the first thing children were put to was the religious and literary classics! The idea of starting with stuff suited to the childish mind (Comenius) is scarcely three centuries old! In *religious instruction* the idea of graded material has hardly even yet won the day. The rigid *curriculum of study* has been a Moloch to which millions of personal tastes and needs have been sacrificed. Another idol is the *examination system*. Some brilliant intellects cannot "deliver" under this system. In excusing his little daughter to her teacher the philosopher William James remarked, "No James ever could pass an examination."

In the little ungraded school the child progresses according to its capacity. Then a system grows up which impounds the child with thirty-four others in a class the pace of which is adapted to the powers of the quarter, third from the top. All move in lock-step. The bright children are bored and demoralized; the dull learn next to nothing. No one would insist that they should all wear clothes of the same size; yet we lace them in an educational strait-jacket because our eyes fail to tell us of the grotesque misfits which result!

The machine of charitable relief. In dealing with the poor the besetting vice is *lumping them*. One social philosopher looks upon them simply as "the unfit." Another sees them as "the unadapted." To a third they are "by-products of our industrial system." To a fourth they are "victims of social injustice." Thrift, temperance, godliness, hygiene, education, single tax on land values, communism—each has been put forward as a sure cure for poverty! A hundred schemes have been broached for wholesale treatment of the poor; but close acquaintance with them discloses a great variety of types and causes. No social worker expects poverty to disappear save by the co-working of many agencies and poli-

cies. The only method followed to-day is "the case method." Just as no physician thinks of treating disease save after study and diagnosis of the individual patient, so the social worker insists on full knowledge of the case and adapts his form of help to that particular family.

The machine of criminal justice. At one time impersonal treatment of the wrong-doer seems very splendid. Officials to act "without fear or favor." The bandage over the eyes of Justice symbolizes that Justice knows not whether the suitor is lord or hind. Out of this horror of partiality comes, however, "the classical school of criminology" which insists offenders be dealt with *impersonally*.

The eighteenth-century reformers rated each law breaker as 100 per cent responsible; hence, all who have committed the same wrong should receive like treatment. Punishment is to be meted out according to the nature of the *offense*. The legislator attaches a fitting penalty to each type of crime and the sole duty of the court is to ascertain whether or not the accused has broken the law. Thus is created a machine which grinds up alike the young and the hardened, the simple and the cunning, the chance offender and the professional. Lumping survives also in the "jail bird" stigma on the discharged prisoner, in the confusion of "political" with "common" offenders, in the treatment of "conscientious objectors" as if they were vulgar recalcitrants, in uniform treatment of types so distinct as the "born" criminal, the "habitual" criminal, and the "occasional" criminal.

ADAPTATION OF TREATMENT TO THE INDIVIDUAL

On the exceptional lumping imposes misfit. Too much of it produces a chronic distress like that of wearing clothes that "bind," sleeping on a slope, walking on soles of differing thickness or rowing with oars of unequal lengths. In those brought up under the lumping system, *e.g.*, the inmates of the old-fashioned orphan asylum, personality is stunted, etiolated. All through life they will show themselves less eager and reactive than they should be.

Most lumping can be dispensed with. In military empires there is tender consideration for the interests and feelings of the members of the privileged class but ruthless iron uniformity for the despised masses. In green democracies uniform treatment prevails, not from heartlessness but because the past has made every form of discrimination hateful. In time, however, it is seen that equal treatment of unequals is crying

injustice. As the odious old classifications recede men dare to make new rational classifications. The finer and fitter these classifications, the slighter is the sacrifice of the individual to the average.

Individualizing education. School children are grouped according to gifts and the teacher's class comprises those of about the same natural mental gait. Class work is individualized by encouraging the child to do on each topic taken up an amount of work corresponding to its powers; or classes may disappear and all instruction become individual. Promotion, instead of being confined to certain times, occurs whenever the child is ready for it. Passive absorption by the pupils contents no teacher; they are stimulated to *react*. In the high school no single text is swallowed whole, the pupil does outside reading and compares viewpoints. In college the rigid imposed curriculum gives place to the free choice of studies under advice.

Individualizing social work. In the care of dependents, the orphanage gives way to the placing-out system. The indiscriminate doling out of supplies to needy people becomes anathema. The maxim "not alms but a friend" strikes the true note. Promiscuous almsgiving is frowned on. Each poor family is held to present a problem. For certain kinds of dependents guarded outdoor relief is more individualizing and humane than institutional care. By sorting out from it the children, the sick, the feeble-minded, the insane and the vagrant, the almshouse from being a dumping ground for the refuse of humanity becomes a home for the aged and respectable poor. The hazards lying in wait along the path of the worker are met not by "sweet charity," but by contributory social insurance against accident, ill health, disability and old age. Thus the bulk of the distressed can be provided for without wounding their independence and self-respect.

Individualizing criminal justice. Little by little the administration of Justice has been humanized by making discriminations. Is the offender of sound mind? Was he in full possession of his faculties? Were there extenuating circumstances? Was there great provocation? Is it his first offense or is he a repeater? Finally the idea that what is being punished is not a *deed* but a *man* triumphs and we have the modern school of criminology, which likens sentencing an offender to prison for a fixed term to prescribing so many weeks in the hospital for a sick man! Either should be released when, in the judgment of experts, he can be at large without harming either himself or others. This does *not* imply coddling or sentimentalizing over the professional offender.

Individualization calls for the recognition of nervous disorders, pas-

sion, suggestion, and obsession as limiting responsibility in the sane; for the suspended sentence with probation, and the indeterminate sentence; for the juvenile court and the detention home for juvenile offenders; for the differentiation of workhouse from jail and prison; for less use of the prison stripe; and for treating convicts as so many human individuals.

Individualizing government. Government passes from arbitrary discriminations turning on birth, sex, income, creed, nationality, or race, through a period of "democratic," non-discriminating treatment to fresh discriminations based on significant differences. "One man one vote" looks good until it is discovered that 2½ per cent of our draft registrants are weak-minded; if not "up to" soldiering, they are surely not "up to" voting! After local Negro domination has done its worst Negro suffrage is qualified by a literacy requirement. After the "open door" has let in millions who look upon this country as a "polyglot boarding house" we test immigrants. We cease to lump children with adults; we bar them from factory and send them to school. Working women are given special protection. If a class is not able to protect itself against another class and there is a public interest involved, the courts deem a law on its behalf not "class legislation" but "reasonable classification." By this means that stiff plane, "freedom of contract," has been bent in a dozen places.

Instead of multiplying laws the detailed regulation of industry is effected by means of the flexible orders of a state industrial commission. Exemptions are granted that a statute would never allow and special orders issue to take care of peculiar cases. Marriage, once an indefeasible right of the unwedded adult, is denied to certain classes of defectives. Instead of the old assumption that any citizen is fit for any post, the law creating a board provides that the members shall be engineers, physicians, psychiatrists, economists, social workers, accountants, employers, merchant or practical farmers, according to the work to be done.

Individualizing industry. The wiser employers are not lumping their workfolk; individuals are studied in order to land them in the jobs they are best fitted for. Physical examination at hiring helps to a more intelligent dealing with the employee. A watchful nurse and a doctor look after the ailing. A well-handled "suggestion box" draws out a surprising number of valuable ideas. The prompt and fitting recognition of unusual individual service or merit improves morale. A brass plate bearing the engine-driver's name is affixed to the locomotive. The highway commission puts up a sign on each stretch of state road showing

who patrols it. In a business house the name of the man at the wicket is shown by a bronze marker. In some establishments each man's performance is studied and if it falls off unaccountably investigation is set afoot to locate the source of the trouble. Employees are not poisoned trying to digest their grievances, for a bureau will look into every man's complaint and get him justice. Instead of "firing" a workman at the instance of a single foreman, he is tried out in other departments until he fits in or proves hopeless.

Individualization makes for freedom and happiness. A sociologist of long experience in Hawaii visited a certain rural district in Japan from which many of the Hawaiian Japanese had come. After meeting the uncles and aunts of those he had known in Hawaii he observes:

The mannerisms of the old country villagers seemed to an American to show a constraint not characteristic of the Hawaiian Japanese. There was less self-assertiveness, less expression of individuality. Their faces, especially those of girls, were less expressive. It seemed that the numerous little muscles about the eyes and the mouth that have to do with facial expression were relatively undeveloped from lack of use. These were the impressions one had from people in the mass and they were confirmed by a comparison of cousins. Under the freer conditions of Hawaiian life where personal incentives are more adequate and where there is a decided tendency toward a more individualistic outlook on life there has been a modification of mannerisms and facial expression in a direction that may be called American.¹

From a certain district in Japan about six thousand people or one tenth of the population came to Hawaii. Including their Hawaiian-born children a third as many have returned to their old home villages. . . . Most of the returned men who were interviewed seemed to be more or less disappointed and they expressed regret that they were not living in Hawaii. . . . Some spoke of their preference for the freer life of Hawaii. To them the Japanese forms of social intercourse had become burdensome. The returned Filipinos have had a similar experience. . . . For the most part they were disappointed with their old home villages.²

¹ Romanzo Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii*, The Macmillan Company, 1937, p. 256.

² *Ibid.*, p. 259.

PART VII
OCCUPATION AND SOCIAL FUNCTION

- CHAPTER
XXXVII. SOCIETY AND THE OCCUPATIONS
XXXVIII. COMMERCIALIZATION
XXXIX. PROFESSIONALIZATION

CHAPTER XXXVII

SOCIETY AND THE OCCUPATIONS¹

The sociologist considers an occupation from the social-welfare point of view. A century ago, Comte, the founder of sociology, set up the sound principle:

Every person who lives by any useful work should be habituated to regard himself not as an individual working for his own private benefit, but as a public functionary working for the benefit of society; and to regard his wages of whatever sort as a provision made by society to enable him to carry on his labor.

The gratifying spread of this view in the last seventy years kindles the hope that in time it will be generally accepted.

Occupations from the social point of view.² In offering something for sale the motive is gain and the welfare of society may be little heeded; but in the degree that a social consciousness develops the public frowns on dubious callings. The sociologist points out effects which injure consumers, mar the future, or sap the foundations of the social edifice. Those who look at a business from the *private* viewpoint uphold the right of vice-addicts to buy whatever ministers to their vice; those who take the *public* view point out that vice caterers are always scheming and conspiring to draw the innocent into the coils of vice in order to keep their business brisk!

¹ Not all of us carry on an occupation. Deducting youth, the aged, and the infirm, three-fifths of us remain as employable and of these one-third are housewives, who are not pursuing a gainful occupation. So two-fifths earn livelihoods and maintain social status for themselves and the remaining three-fifths!

² Before there were sociologists some wise religious leaders took the position that occupations ought to be regarded critically, and their effects upon one's own character and upon the welfare and character of others taken into account. The words "calling" and "vocation" originated in the doctrine that God "calls" one to this or that "sphere of usefulness."

"Recent studies of Protestantism as a force in the evolution of Capitalism show that it invested lay economic activity with new spiritual values; in providing the secular striving for monetary return with a substratum of meaning and dignity, it released human beings from the oppressive isolation into which they were sinking when the old guild system was being replaced by competitive Capitalism." *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. XI, p. 425.

With every advance in the community's endeavor to wipe out preventable incapacity and misery the case becomes stronger against tolerating occupations or businesses known to undermine health, efficiency, or character, discourage diligence, dissipate savings, or impair the will and power to safeguard the future. Stupid, indeed, would society be not to suppress lotteries, gambling resorts, betting rings, houses of prostitution, opium dens and the vending of narcotics and obscene matter; for each of these, by its wiles and traps to attract customers, becomes an active center of infection and adds to society's burdens.

For the sake of *the future* the socially-minded strike at the premature employment of children in industry, the sacrifice of the child's school opportunities for a pittance, the enticement of the young with habit-forming drugs, the traffic in children for immoral purposes, the mutilating of waif or stolen children for begging purposes, the employment of young women at work which impairs their maternal function, the cultivating of slopes too steep for permanent agriculture, devastative timber-cutting, the ruthless taking of fish and game, the wanton extirpation of birds. For in such matters a *laissez-faire* attitude on the part of society is suicidal. The progress made in the last forty years in winning Americans to these ideas constitutes a veritable social revolution. Nevertheless, as a result of business commanding the chief avenues to the public mind, the feeling is still widespread that to disturb a businessman making money is as senseless as to disturb bees making wax. We have not yet got far in shielding children from the inflaming picture show, in saving the reading matter in periodicals from being streaked with "publicity," in protecting our privacy from the "cheeky" intrusions of "go-getters" and "super-salesmen," in hushing the ear-splitting din of ten thousand advertisers, or in puncturing capitalist propaganda that it is folly for a community to provide itself with a public utility rather than let itself in for perpetual tribute (in the form of profits) to some business group.

The rating of occupations. The current estimate of an occupation depends on: money reward; grade of intelligence and education called for; characteristics, whether clean or dirty, manual or mental, directing or obeying; health conditions; opportunity for advancement; and services to society. No doubt money reward has been over-emphasized. Our young people have been subjected to an elaborate many-sided propaganda designed to exalt and glorify big profit-makers. In tests of the social status of forty-five occupations³ American children ranked

³ Jerome Davis, "Testing the Social Attitudes of Children in the Government Schools of Russia," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XXXII, pp. 947-52.

"banker" first and "ditch-digger" last. Similar tests on 72 Russian children from twelve to seventeen years of age ranked "peasant" first and "banker" among the lowest. The clergyman ranked fourth with the young Americans (306 high school seniors and 62 college freshmen) but last with the young Russians. The "prosperous business man" stood sixth in the American list and forty-fourth in the Russian list. Both lists reflect organized propaganda.

A study ⁴ of the pre-vocational attitudes of 861 students in six colleges of the University of Southern California shows that most are willing to accept *teacher*, *doctor*, and *lawyer* into their church or club, even into the family. The greatest aversion is toward *dope seller*, *bootlegger*, *hobo*, and *fortune teller*. Nearly all are willing to accept *day laborer*, *factory worker*, *servant* and *waiter* as fellow citizens but few stand ready to accept them into one's club or family. Towards the *farmer* there is little sense of social distance. The feeling toward *dance-hall keeper*, *jazz musician*, *vaudeville dancer*, and *player* varies with the student group, suggesting that the place of these is not settled in the *mores* or is undergoing rapid change.

A recent survey of a Wisconsin county, in which 2,123 schedules were filled out by rural young people, is revealing.

Indications on a "desired occupation" check list show that 17 per cent of the young people prefer farming; 12 per cent teaching and homemaking; 11 per cent trucking; 10 per cent mechanics; 9 per cent each forestry, stenography, and clerical work; 7 per cent nursing; 6 per cent beauty culture; 5 per cent aviation; and less than 5 per cent each of all other occupations. The girls' preferences run to teaching, homemaking, stenography, clerical work, nursing, and beauty culture. The choices of young people in villages run to mechanics, stenography, forest service, clerical work, and nursing. Only a few village young people prefer to farm.⁵

Occupational pride. Tolstoi uttered the profound truth ⁶:

Every person, to act, must consider his or her activity to be important and good. Consequently, whatever the position of a man may be, he cannot help but form such a view of human life in general as will make his activity appear important and good.

⁴ F. Wilkinson, "Social Distance between Occupations," *Sociology and Social Research*, January-February, 1929.

⁵ E. L. Kirkpatrick and Agnes M. Boynton, "Rural Young People Face Their Own Situation," in *Rural Sociology*, vol. I, No. 2, June, 1936, p. 161.

⁶ *Resurrection*, chap. XLIV.

This is why the farmer consoles himself for his meager rewards by reflecting that but for him the cities would starve. The patrolman flatters himself that no one could sleep soundly but for him. Coal miners see the limits of their job "up there where factories would stop and children would freeze unless we sent 'em coal." The secretary of a Hoboes' Union exclaims, "The country can't get along without us! If we don't hop from the Northwest timber camp in the winter to the Oklahoma wheat fields in the summer—and get there on time, mind you—w'y crops go to waste and millions of dollars are lost."⁷ The clergyman assumes the rôle of "God's ambassador." Unappreciated school-teachers find comfort in the proverb, "Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined." Even the "madam" finds solace in the thought that, but for houses of prostitution, such as the one she keeps, "nice women" would hardly dare venture out of doors!

Warping by occupation. Many occupations leave an enduring stamp. Accustomed to make sweeping claims which their hearers are not in a position to challenge, clergymen develop an authoritative, "ordering-forbidding" manner. Teachers of the young betray themselves by the naïve finality of their statements. The professional charity-worker, usually of middle-class origin and without first-hand acquaintance with the mental processes of the working classes, slips easily into the attitude that most applicants for relief are frauds and should be made to "run the gauntlet" of her chilling manner and rough questioning.

The attorney lauds the costly contentious procedure of the law court as the ideal way of arriving at the truth. Among doctors there is an element which distrusts public-health promotion and socialized medicine lest not enough disease survive to afford doctors a livelihood! Medical ethics, and particularly medical etiquette, strikes shrewd outsiders as cloaks to hide the doctor's blindness from the public and protect his fees.

The training of army and navy officers, like that of theological students, seems designed to *tie* the mind. Only rarely does the thought of either the soldier or the priest travel much beyond the prescribed range. The typical military man shows small respect for human dignity, troubles himself little over the hardships and cruelties heaped upon recruits, and exacts of those under him the same unquestioning obedience he mechanically yields his superiors.

Such biases lessen the effectiveness of specialists and blind them to the social meaning of their work. In craftsmen and tradesmen the warping by occupation may be forestalled by a good general education. For the

⁷ Whiting Williams, *Mainsprings of Men*, 1925, p. 67.

practitioners of the professions the remedy is the requirement of a broad liberal education before one embarks upon the training for his profession; also a steady fire of competent outside criticism of their practices.

Heroes of success. The business man is engaged in organizing the production of goods and services and getting them to the public. His recompense naturally comes in the form of money and his money is "clean" if he makes it in compliance with the rules and expectations pertaining to his kind of business. Since more ability is presumed to be required to build up a large-scale business than to build up a small-scale business, there is no great harm in making the size of his fortune a large factor in rating socially the business man.

But how ridiculous it is to apply this measuring rod to other types of achievement! The glory of the surgeon is in establishing a new, difficult, needed operation; of the bacteriologist in finding the serum that stays a malignant disease; of the plant-breeder in creating more luscious varieties of fruits; of the architect in planning the Adelante Building, or the Church of the Ascension; of the engineer in creating a Niagara of power by capturing and harnessing the mountain waters up among the clouds; of the aviator in a new record non-stop flight; of the philanthropist in founding a great social settlement or inventing a better way of teaching the deaf; of the missionary in making the spirit of the Gospel to prevail in new places. Who now asks how much money Homer made out of the *Iliad*? Shakespeare out of *Midsummer Night's Dream*? Shelley out of *Queen Mab*? Harvey out of his discovery of the circulation of the blood? Jenner out of his vaccination against small-pox? Pasteur out of his proof of the germ origin of infectious diseases?

There is no surer sign that current American civilization is still relatively green than our habit of applying business touchstones of success *in situations where they ought not to be applied*. Only time will tell whether our big outstanding tone-giving business men can be persuaded to turn their backs on Mammonistic yardsticks and to apply to themselves and to their brethren more worthy, social, and satisfying standards of success.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

COMMERCIALIZATION

Commercialization is the subjecting of an occupation to the sheer profits motive, *i.e.*, the overriding of such motives as

1. Pleasure in creative activity
2. Pride in the perfection of one's product
3. Accepted standards of technical excellence which forbid the putting forth of an inferior ware or service
4. Abhorrence of sham or humbug in one's work. Desire to render loyal service, to furnish genuine goods
5. Reluctance to furnish the customer or patron that which will in the end disappoint, defraud, or harm him
6. Conceiving one's work as a form of service to society.

Causes of commercialization. Now, the notable encroachment of the profits motive on these other motives in our time is due not to the weakening of these motives so much as to certain changes which have occurred in our economic relations.

The greater social distance between producer and consumer. Less often is the user of one's ware a known person to whom one feels a sense of responsibility. One's product passes out into that vague mass, the "public," and is lost to view. Hence, the baker who kneads "chalk and alum and plaster" into his loaf may be no miscreant, after all, for he cannot know just who will eat that loaf or what gripe it will give him. Only a villain would fit out a customer with a life preserver filled with sawdust instead of cork; but the manufacturers who were found to be equipping excursion steamers with these spurious "life preservers" may have been far from moral monsters. They were supplying their treacherous wares not to concrete men and women, but to "the market."

The corporate form of business organization thrusts apart producers and consumers. The stockholders on whose behalf iniquity is done do not consciously will it. It is not their wish that children should be worn out for them, or workmen maimed in avoidable industrial accidents, or consumers defrauded, or the public taste corrupted; but they *do* clamor for dividends. The conduct of the business reflects this rather than their

conscience or good will. Not only does incorporation take personal responsibility out of business relations, but every year sees more savings banks, trust companies and insurance companies come between industrial concerns and those who provide the capital.

The growing differentiation between principals and subordinates. In large concerns the men at the top may adopt quick-profits policies which they well know cannot be carried out without deceit or corruption. They would not stoop to such dirty work themselves, but they require their helpers to get "results." Safe behind their cordon of underlings they incite to crimes which they lack the hardihood to commit in the open!

The increasing prominence of capital in the practice of an art or profession subordinates artistic or professional conscience to profit. For example, as the theater-going public becomes accustomed to more sumptuous and costly stage effects, the actor-manager gives way to the capitalist-manager. The actor-manager is dominated by the idea of "elevating the stage," of making the drama a great and uplifting social force. His master-dream is to present Shakespeare, yet "Shakespeare spells ruin." Great actors pass their lives as "stars" accumulating a fortune, or as managers squandering it in giving the public drama finer than it is willing to pay for. But, with the greater costliness of theatrical production, the capitalist-manager comes to the fore. Generally this type tries to see not how *high* one dare go, but how *low* one dare go. Ideals and social aims are contemptuously kicked aside. The only question is, "What will the Public like?" This is answered frequently by a vulgar avaricious man who has no comprehension of what the public will like *in the long run* and no idea that the taste of the public admits of being educated *upward* as well as *downward*.

The "corporation collar." When cases are brought to a lawyer he can choose which he will undertake. But a large business, finding itself in need of a continuous supply of legal services, retains a lawyer to look after *all* its cases. Even if his client's cause is unjust, he is obliged to stand for it under penalty of losing his employment. He may be required to defend all suits brought by injured workmen or for violation of the child-labor laws, and to prosecute malicious eviction suits against striking tenants of company houses. Thus the practice of law becomes a mere tool of business and the lawyer's work is cut out for him by the business man.

Advertiser enticement. In order to win the consumer's patronage business firms subject him to a "drum fire" of suggestions which tend to expand his economic wants far beyond his resources for gratifying

them. If he "falls for" advertisements he gathers "that one can spend one's way to a good life provided one can get enough to spend" (Eldridge); he is led to imagine that his success and happiness depend on the abundance of articles he is able to surround himself with, not at all on his inward poise, his freedom from internal conflicts, his possession of a sound philosophy of living. Thus the soul of the public is receiving an ever-more-artful commodity propaganda. Yet the individual manufacturer or merchant is not to be blamed for this unwholesome trend, for, if he advertised no more than does a high school, church or Young Men's Christian Association, his rivals would get all the business. The corrective must come *from outside*.

The commercialization of amusement and recreation. Formerly young folks' fun was self-made, home-made, church-made, or school-made. In the home there was the inevitable chaperonage of the on-looking old folks. Entertainments held in the school-house ordinarily were supervised by teacher or trustees. Other social gatherings were sponsored by the church, or by some daughter organization. Now, the taste for amateur amusements is dying out. Thanks to good roads and automobiles, the country young people are turning from their home-bred fun to the professional amusement-makers to be enjoyed in the town. Hence, as never before, recreation is being supplied *for money*, i.e., it becomes a means for exploiting the young. As a rule play and amusement lift or lower. When catered and without regulation they lower, because more money can be extracted from young people by offering them the high-flavored, the *risqué*, the sensational, than by offering them the pure and elevating. If the individual amusement-caterer is restrained by scruples, he is likely to be forced out of business by a *less* scrupulous or *unscrupulous* rival.

Some benefit, no doubt, is to be had from the *regulation* of commercial amusement, e.g., the censoring of shows and motion films and the supervision of public dance halls. The only policy, however, which holds out much promise is *the non-profit provision of recreation*. This is why, of late, there has been a wonderful expansion of the facilities provided by institutional churches, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the social settlements, the social centers, the recreation centers, the public playgrounds, and the public libraries. Society *will not* consent to abandon this field to Mammon!

The degradation of the newspaper. In newspaper publishing the capital factor gains constantly on the service factor; less and less is the editor-owner able to hire the capital he needs, while more and more

the owner is a capitalist who hires the editors he needs. The capitalist-owner is likely to run the newspaper as a pure "business proposition," *i.e.*, as he would run a theater or hotel; rarely does he see it as a great social instrumentality. Furthermore, the newspaper is peculiar in that it unites two services altogether different—the purveyance of news and opinions and the sale of publicity in the form of advertising. The former is a responsible public service, the latter the marketing of a ware. Now, constantly the revenue from advertising grows, while that from readers and subscribers dwindles. Between 1880 and 1915 the receipts from advertising rose from 44 per cent to 67 per cent. It is safe to say that at present their advertisers yield American newspapers three times as much financial support as their readers, perhaps *four times* as much. Many of the big city dailies get 85 to 90 per cent of their revenues from their advertisers and let them have three-fourths of the space. Advertisers exercise an increasing censorship over the news and editorial columns of the newspapers, a censorship that is secret, of course, for the journal known to be controlled loses readers and therewith its value to the advertisers. The newspaper makes a fine gesture of defying the individual advertiser who attempts to control space he has not paid for; but with rare exceptions newspapers glorify the element which buys advertising space, *viz.*, the businessmen.

Businessmen the most indulged and spoiled element in American society. The clandestine subjugation of the great bulk of the newspapers to advertisers is the secret of the astounding domination the business class have gradually gained over us, a domination which arrests the attention of every philosophic foreigner on his first visit to the United States. This is why here as nowhere else in the civilized world religion, philanthropy, education, literature, politics, and legislation bear the stamp of the motives, biases, and limitations of the commercial mind.

Here are some indications:

A national relief society which has not the funds to allot more than 2¢ a meal to some families rejects donations of fruit and vegetables from California, refuses to give addresses of starving farmers or unemployed to individuals who wish to contribute directly, and, instead of buying food in carload lots and distributing it to the distressed, give them orders on local food dealers, so that from 10 to 20 per cent of the relief goes as mercantile profit.

An advertising journal announces with satisfaction that in a certain city the relief for the families of the unemployed, instead of being furnished in bulk quantities at low cost, will be in the form of orders for

food in cans or glass jars or any other well-advertised and expensively distributed form.

An Eastern professor in an address to school-teachers in a California town said that the times were such as to call for consumers developing a degree of sales resistance. The next day the superintendent of the schools had to spend his time placating irate local shop-keepers and Chamber-of-Commerce zealots.

A study in a state university of the performance of some pieces of agricultural equipment was finally withheld from publication because the manufacturers threatened to hold up the legislative appropriations for the University.

Home economists in state universities carry out elaborate and costly tests on oil stoves for the farm kitchen, on soaps, and on household machinery; but the findings are required to be set forth without any means of identifying the articles tested, so that they are of no practical use to the ultimate consumer.

Regulations which protect intermediate (business enterpriser) consumers primarily are more fully and effectively enforced and with far heavier penalties than those which relate to ultimate consumers' goods, even foods and medicines.

In carrying out the Caustic Poisons Act there is almost no enforcement activity until there has been a long period of "educational" or conference work to give the business interests affected an opportunity to adjust themselves. No notice is given consumers to enable them to adjust *their* practices to non-enforcement!

A speaker for the United States Bureau of Public Health got into trouble by suggesting in a radio address that less consumption of meat during the summer months would be good for one's health. The Secretary of the Treasury ordered that future radio talks from the Bureau should have advance approval by the officers of the Treasury Department to avoid offending a trade interest, such as that of the packers, out of consumer sympathy!

The United States Food and Drug Administration has consistently suppressed information that should appear in publications or news bulletins whenever that information was of a type which would tend to discourage the use of a commercial product, or shift consumers' purchases from one field to another.

The elaborate tests of the United States Bureau of Standards on nearly two thousand dry batteries from a dozen different manufacturers

are released free of cost to each manufacturer, but consumers are invariably refused access to the extremely definite and practical information which would aid them in buying doorbell or flashlight batteries. State and municipal governments are refused access to it unless they will agree in advance that it shall not become available to their own citizens and tax-payers! Hundreds of commodities are tested by the Bureau for the benefit of the Government itself as purchaser of supplies and for business, just as business, without charge to it, while consumers as tax-payers foot the bills and receive nothing which they can use directly!

"The Government owned the oil under the Salt Creek field in Wyoming. It was compelled, however, in following the ideology of the time, to 'lease' the right to extract oil to private companies, reserving a small royalty. This was in effect a present of untold millions of dollars to private oil companies. The leases acquired from the Government became worth fabulous sums. The oil was wasted in fantastic ways. Nevertheless, the Government was not permitted to operate its own properties because of the certainty men felt that government is wasteful."¹

The pretensions of the commercialized press to a priestly status have come to be so ridiculous that increasingly the public is indifferent to the so-called "invasions" of the traditional "freedom of the press" by government officials and to the newspapers' clamor to be carried in the mails for a pittance. Why should tax-payers meet postal deficits caused by hauling to readers for almost nothing thousands of tons of advertising circulars containing only a little tainted reading matter? Perhaps the classic privileges should be withheld from newspapers which derive more than a third of their income from advertising. The "daily paper" would cost more, to be sure, but then it might tell much more truth!

Vanquished commercialisms. Let no one imagine, however, that the profits motive, so incredibly shameless and encroaching in our present phase, has had nothing but the triumphs. The fact is *the path of man's advance is strewn with discarded commercialisms*. One might almost sum up the moral side of social progress as *the expulsion of the profit's motive from those parts of the social order in which it has no business to be!*

Time was when the father disposed of his daughter's hand to the highest bidder. Sometimes, as among the Tekke Turcomans yesterday, when a father is "coining money" from his daughter's services as rug weaver, he names a bride-price so high that she goes through life with-

¹ T. W. Arnold, *The Folklore of Capitalism*, 1937, pp. 314-15.

out a mate.² A century ago in Serbia, what with purchase price and presents to members of the bride's family, a wife became so dear that "many a poor fellow was unable to marry at all." Finally a price-fixing law was passed restricting payment for a bride to one ducat! A common result of wife purchase has been that the rich old men monopolize youth and beauty, while the younger and poorer men have only hags. On the other hand, in some societies a "marriage portion" has been expected with the bride, so that portionless girls go husbandless. In olden times a favorite philanthropy was to provide poor girls with marriage portions. In the folk tales the crowning proof of romantic love was the lover's willingness to take his sweetheart without a "portion." It is but fifty years since Westermarck wrote, "In our days a woman without a marriage portion, unless she has some great natural attraction, runs the risk of being a spinster forever." How remote seems such huckstering now!

I inquire into the Great Temple of Madura, India. On its staff besides 500 menials there are 322 Brahmans who exercise priestly functions, *i.e.*, offer sacrifices. It is not a place of public worship but a place for the propitiatory offering of private petitions. Worried persons wishing to have a petition offered present themselves, specify what god they put their faith in, and state how much they are prepared to lay out on the sacrifice. They are told where to come and when and what sacrificial animal to bring. At the appointed time and place they find themselves in the hands of a priest of Vishnu, or Shiva, or Durga, or Ganesh, or Hanuman as the case may be. He offers their sacrifice in the best professional style with the right postures, gestures, and intonings. They pay the fee and go away hopefully. Thus was it in the great pagan temples of antiquity, *e.g.*, that of Diana of Ephesus. The priest was a pray-er. He knew by what means to incline the god to do his will. He would not exercise this mystic power on behalf of his client without pay.

It is a far cry from this to faiths which make God's favor depend on the state of the *heart* of the worshiper rather than on his *sacrifice*. Jesus's parable of the widow's mite is a landmark in the humanizing of religion.

About the close of the second century Tertullian declared that in heathenism the very gods are for sale, that no one is admitted free of charge to the knowledge of the gods. A fee is exacted for room in the temple, for even admittance thereto. Among Christians on the contrary,

² For the effect of the great demand for "Bokhara" rugs in handicapping Turcoman maids in the matrimonial market see Ross, *Russia in Upheaval*, 1918, end of chapter V.

"no market value is set on anything in our religion. We have indeed boxes for offerings. . . . Contributions, however, are not compulsory, but of freewill."

About the close of the seventeenth century the French Crown began to sell to sixty "farmers-general" the right to collect the indirect taxes. Adam Smith describes their profits as "exorbitant" and the collection as "wasteful and expensive." Commenting on the fact that their cruel methods often led to bloody conflicts, he remarks, "Those who consider the blood of the people as nothing in comparison with the revenues of princes, may, perhaps, approve of this method of levying taxes." When the Convention met it prosecuted the farmers-general as enemies of the people and guillotined thirty-five of them.

Until sixty years ago commissions in the British Army were private property. The officer bought his commission and, when he had done with it, sold it for what he could get. The capable experienced officer could be jumped over in promotion by a mere youth. The high cost of a commission excluded gifted members of the lower and middle classes from desirable places in the army and made the command of His Majesty's troops a prerogative of the aristocracy. This class privilege was extinguished only by paying the owners of commissions \$35,000,000 in compensation.

The loathsome aggressions of the profits motive in American society to-day may be but an eddy in a great historic current bearing us farther and farther from the practice of sale-and-purchase. That in modern society such indispensable things as love, salvation, clerical ministrations, protection, justice, education, access to the professions, access to the public service, promotion, and social recognition, are generally to be had on a basis of need or personal desert instead of cash payment, is owing to numerous triumphs of the spirit of good will, justice, and brotherhood over the commercial spirit.

CHAPTER XXXIX

PROFESSIONALIZATION

The patron of the artisan or tradesman can look out for himself; bad wares he can reject, poor service he can refuse to pay for. But the patron of a calling which involves the use of highly technical knowledge, has to take the worth of the service "on trust." The patient cannot pass upon his doctor's treatment. The client cannot test the value of the advice his lawyer gives. The student cannot plumb his teacher's learning, the reader gauge the editor's disinterestedness, nor the creditor verify the audit of the public accountant. There is need, therefore, that callings of this confidential character be restricted to men of honor acting with reference to a high standard. The means of bringing this to pass is *to elevate the calling into a profession*.

The profession. The expert must be shielded from the blighting competition of bunglers, quacks and charlatans; so the first step toward creating a profession is *the exclusion of the unfit* by restricting its practice to the licensees of some agency authorized to test and pass upon the proficiency and character of applicants. Along with this goes often the power to expel from the profession the practitioner whose conduct is such as to bring it into disrepute. Further, it is necessary that the calling *attract to itself men of good breeding and high spirit*, for such will do most to set and fix exacting standards of professional conduct. So the law generally accords the calling some *official recognition*.

Recognition of the professions. Army and navy officers not only hold their commissions from the head of the state, but under militarist governments they are authorized to cut down pitilessly any civilian "insulting the uniform." The clergy once enjoyed exemption from the jurisdiction of secular tribunals, *i.e.*, "benefit of clergy," and even now the courts respect "the seal of the confessional." Ordinarily the physician is not required to divulge on the witness stand the secrets of his patients and in a great variety of juridical questions the law insists upon the testimony of medical men. A constitutional "liberty of the press" protects the journalist. Lawyers have been drawn into the judicial system until in the eye of the law the bar has rights and functions well-nigh as important as those of the bench. The more exacting legal re-

quirements as to the audit of stock companies amount to a recognition of the profession of public accountant, while the statutes establishing administrative boards occasionally recognize the existence of such persons as architects, engineers, psychologists, economists, and sociologists.

Of even greater benefit is a *social status* high enough to protect the dignity of the practitioner. The lawyer makes clear to his client that he is a counselor, not a servant. The physician feels at liberty to remonstrate with the patient suffering from the consequences of his misconduct. The indispensableness of the clergyman in such cases as christening, marriage, and burial, together with the custom of prayer at public functions, gives him a place of much prominence. The scholar shares in the prestige of science although his will not be a position of real dignity until "academic freedom" is firmly established. The military enjoy a social status inherited from feudalism when officers were also territorial magnates. Gradually the professions have risen until they are no longer overshadowed by the ruling or fighting castes. In modern society successful professionals mingle as equals with the wealthiest bankers and capitalists, although their position in relation to the hereditarily rich—the leisure class—is still a bit ambiguous.

The professional spirit. The natural effect of barring the unfit and attracting superior men is the growth of *the professional spirit*, the very antithesis of the commercial spirit. In a true profession *getting* is subordinated to *serving*. The practitioner will have but *one grade of work*, namely, *his best*; no physician is respected who from carelessness botches a charity case. Again, the practitioner will be *loyal to the interests of his patron* even to the extent of opposing the patron's wishes. He will quit rather than render what he knows to be a disservice rather than a service.

As counselor in intimate matters the professional man must command the full confidence of his patron. Hence, he not only *keeps the secrets intrusted to him*, but he *forbears to use to the disadvantage of his patron anything he has learned in a confidential relation*. The architect will not accept a commission from a contractor and, if he has a financial interest in any building material or device, he will not specify or use it without the approval of his client. The consulting engineer is expected to inform his client of any business connections which might influence his judgment and to take no royalty or commission on any patented article or process used in his client's work without written authorization from his client.

It is held unprofessional for the practitioner to *deal through a middle-man or to conceal his personality under a corporate name*. The services of the salaried doctor of a ship, a college or a company ought to be free to the patient. The public accountant ought not to serve with an audit company nor the lawyer allow a collection agency to charge his patrons for his services. The practitioner ought not to pay commissions to laymen for securing business, divide his fees with persons outside the profession, nor allow anyone to guarantee his honesty and efficiency.

The putting of *service above compensation* implies a willingness to serve at times *without fee*. The good physician stands ready to treat indigent sufferers,¹ the good lawyer to take up the cause of the penniless victim of injustice. Architect, engineer, and journalist are not called upon to serve the distressed individual but they may properly be called upon to contribute their professional services to a movement for the public good. Every successful member of an honorable profession ought to be willing to do some free work.

In consideration of the protection, recognition and rights enjoyed by professionals they generally acknowledge their obligation *to practise with due regard to the interests of society*. The scholar recognizes his obligation to proclaim the truth at whatever cost to himself, the journalist his duty to publish the news fairly and without bias, the clergyman his call to apply Christian principles no matter who may be wroth, the physician his duty to stay out a pestilence even at the risk of his life. The architect should not, under his client's instructions, look for a way to evade the building code, nor should the engineer show how to dodge the sanitary regulations. For the lawyer to stoop to chicanery on behalf of his client or to find him a crooked path around the statute is to violate the bar's implied contract with society.

The medical profession has always set its face against secret remedies and the patenting of a means of relieving human suffering, insisting that it is a part of the physician's honor not to restrict the use of a medicine for the purpose of private gain, but to give it freely to the world. The doctors' fight with the makers of proprietary medicines is a duel between the professional spirit and the commercial spirit.

Soliciting employment, advertising, seeking publicity, underbidding, attempts to supplant or to injure maliciously the reputation or prospects

¹ It is significant that 44 per cent of the physicians in the United States practise in communities of 100,000 or over. The open country and towns of less than 5,000 inhabitants have about half the people but only 30 per cent of the doctors. Were they public servants, as most teachers are, they would be distributed according to people's *need* of medical care rather than according to their *ability to pay* for such care.

of a colleague are frowned upon as tending to lower the profession to the level of a trade. Lawyers *ban advertising* as "tending to stir up litigation"; moreover competitive advertising would greatly add to the expenses of professional men without making them in any way more useful to the public. In barring any other means of commending oneself to possible patrons than worthy service, paid or unpaid, private or public, professional men are protecting not only their own interest, but that of society as well.

Client versus society. The older professions tended to *put loyalty to the patron above duty to society*. For example, the leaders of the medical profession formerly insisted that the physician has no right to speak of any ailment or defect he may learn of in his practice. In view of what we know about the communicability of disease, is such secrecy ethical? If a health officer may nail a sign of warning on a house with a case of smallpox or scarlet fever, surely the physician is not bound to withhold all warning. Take the situation in Brieux's play, *Damaged Goods*. A young man not yet fully cured of a "social" disease plans to marry an innocent young woman. Is it right for his doctor to hold his tongue when her life and the sanity of her children are at stake?

Common sense justly condemns the advocate who defends an accused person whom he knows, or has good reason to believe, is guilty. The excuses offered are mere sophistries, spun to gloss over the irresponsible practice of law. The argument that the lawyer who treats the accused as a criminal is presumptuously putting himself in place of the judge is a quirk that any bright schoolboy ought to see through. No doubt the guilty man should have the benefit of those forms of procedure which have been worked out as safeguards for the innocent. But such defense, if offered by an advocate appointed by the court, whose prestige is therefore not at stake, will not go beyond the proper minimum. On the other hand, the attorney who voluntarily takes such a case has a strong interest in getting his client off. Acquittal will enhance his professional reputation. So he does his best to thwart the prosecution and frequently succeeds in turning loose on society an unpunished criminal. Yet we may not despise this mercenary who has deliberately thrust a spoke among the wheels of justice!

Guild selfishness. In "professional etiquette" are things which savor of conspiracy against the public. The old code for physicians forbade the consulting physician to give his opinion to the patient or his friends or anyone but the attending physician. "Neither by words nor manner should any of the parties to a consultation assert or insinuate that any

part of the treatment pursued did not receive his assent." "No hint or insinuation should be thrown out which could impair the confidence reposed in him (the attending physician) or affect his reputation." This rule is at once a betrayal of the truth, of the sick man who pays for the consultation, and of the public who have a right to know if the attending physician has bungled the case. So the later code admits that "the benefit to be derived by the patient is of first importance" and declares that the consultant should be permitted to state to the patient or his friends the result of his study of the case in the presence of the physician in charge.

Even when the codes are flawless, the guild spirit prompts members of the same profession to hang together. We see this in the difficulty of extracting an adverse opinion from medical witnesses in a suit for malpractice. More flagrant is the tolerance by judges of the outrageous fees charged by attorneys appointed to administer the estates of bankrupts and decedents and as receivers of corporations in difficulties.

The purification of the professions. The promulgation of sound rules is, no doubt, a great aid to well-intentioned but inexperienced members of the profession. But much more is needed if the ideals of professions exposed to the full strain of modern mammonism are not to become mock. If high-minded practitioners are not relieved of the competition of the unscrupulous, they will starve and the profession will be taken over by men of low standards or of no standards at all! So it is necessary to make it worth while for wobbly practitioners to live up to the code of their profession. Lawyers are regularly disbarred for flagrant practices and in some states physicians and public accountants may for unprofessional conduct lose their licenses. It has been proposed that, after the society of a profession has published its code of ethics, it shall set up a "standing committee on ethics" which shall investigate all complaints submitted to it bearing upon the professional conduct of a member and after hearing him shall report its findings to the council of the society. Publicity, reprimand, ejection from the society or dismissal from the profession might strike terror into the hearts of the shysters, ambulance chasers, and jury-fixers who hang on the skirts of the law, or of the quacks and blackguards who slip into medicine. In each profession the good *ought to be organized in order to pursue and harry the bad*. Resistance to such organization comes chiefly from those who want a free hand in extracting fees!

The extension of the professional spirit. The professional spirit has made itself felt in so many unexpected quarters that one must not

be surprised to meet it in any calling. Nursing, teaching, accountancy, pharmacy, and social work are in the process of becoming full-fledged professions. We catch realtors in the very act of turning professional. Photographers, insurance writers, investment counsel, morticians, "ad" men, and credit men give signs of being on their way.

Limits to such extension. Some want to foster the professional spirit in occupations in which it is quite incapable of producing the hoped-for benefits. It is too much to expect one to *put quality of service above gain* when one is the employee of a man who prefers gain to service; the servant will have to do his work according to the ideas of his employer. When, therefore, in the production of any service, *capital* comes to be a factor so prominent that the capitalist hires labor instead of the laborer hiring capital, we have a *business* rather than a *profession*. All the more will this be true, when, as in the case of the newspaper, the rendering of a public service is bound up with the sale of advertising.

Hence the hopelessness of fortifying with the professional spirit young "journalists" whose probable lot will be to serve as salaried employees of newspaper owners actuated by the commercial spirit. Walk-out or boycott would, no doubt, bring to terms the newspaper proprietor who construes the acceptance of his pay as the sale of a soul, but it seems idle to expect newspaper men to develop such a professional solidarity as to present an unbroken front to the exactions of their masters. If the commercial newspaper rises to the high function committed to it in modern society, the cause will be not so much the substitution of high ideals for low ideals in the minds of newspaper makers and publishers as the augmenting of the ability of the reading public to tell the good newspaper from the bad newspaper and their willingness to support the former.

The stage is in much the same state as the newspaper. Acting may be a *profession*, but producing plays is a *business*. Little is accomplished toward making the stage the great social institution it is capable of being by creating among playwrights and players a sense of responsibility for what they do, so long as what they shall present and how is determined for them by theater managers, most of them swayed by greed unashamed. If the theater's yoke is broken, it will be by the rebellion of theatergoers rather than by the revolt of stage folk.

Can business be professionalized? In the absence of any means of clearing out the crooks, it is vain to hope to purify the morals of trade by fostering in the business man a professional pride. For in the making and vending of goods the competition of the crooked man with the honest man is much more deadly than is the competition of

the tricky lawyer or doctor with honorable lawyers or doctors. The latter may in some degree brand the trickster by refusing to be associated with him in a case. Moreover, in a profession the bad man can capture from the good man no more practice than one man can attend to, while in manufacture or commerce the man quite unembarrassed by moral standards may expand his business until he has stolen most of the customers of his conscientious rivals and forced them out.

Nevertheless, after the honest men in a given business have come to an agreement as to where they ought to "draw the line," it is possible for them by joint action so to expose or punish the dishonest competitor that he is no longer a menace to them. Thus in some states laundry owners have organized and adopted the plan of certified laundries. Three inspectors are employed, each an expert in some phase of the business. When any laundry, whether a member of the association or not, passes 70 on a possible score of 100, it is given a certificate for one year. This means that it is authorized to use the term "certified laundry" with the copyrighted association seal. The Association's advertising warns the public of the risks it runs in patronizing non-certified laundries.

In 1928 the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission estimated that the amount taken annually by fraudulent advertising was more than five hundred million dollars—the greater portion drawn from the sick, the poor and the ignorant through advertisements of medicines, cures, fake schools, and the like, although other credulous persons contributed heavily. Encouraging, therefore, is the Truth-in-Advertising movement which represents the reaction of honest business men against the fakers and frauds who were undermining the faith of the public in all advertising whatsoever. A Model Statute making untrue, deceptive, or misleading advertising a misdemeanor has been adopted in nearly all the states. Moreover in over fifty cities Better Business Bureaus have been organized, controlled by local business men and aiming at the harrying of men and methods which would rob the public of their money and their confidence.²

Can the joint-stock company be professionalized? When it comes to making the large commercial corporation a tractable social servant, the difficulty of control from within becomes insuperable. The ultimate

² On the other hand, consider the policy of the American Association of Wholesale Opticians which in its 1921 meeting decided to carry on an advertising campaign to persuade the public to wear different types of glasses for different occasions, one type for evening dress, another for business, another for out-of-doors sports; the endeavor being to make people feel that any other style would be out of place. So we are to be propagandaed into uneasiness unless we have three or four styles of eyeglasses!

authority is, of course, the will of the stockholders, but in most cases the stockholders are too numerous and scattered, too ignorant of the business and too little acquainted with one another, to have a definite opinion as to the right or wrong of the practices of their corporation or to make such opinion effective if they had it. Their personal virtues do not pervade their corporation; their only trait which affects its management is their quite natural hankering for dividends.

Because in the end this incessant hankering triumphs over every other force within the enterprise, little is to be done by attempting to foster the professional spirit in the officers and managers of business corporations. It may just as well be recognized first as last that the structure of such entities furnishes a poor soil for disinterested motives, just as alkali furnishes a poor soil for orange trees. Regularly the corporation will follow the line of what appears to be maximum-profits-for-the-long-run unless it is controlled from without by means of law, railroad commission, public utilities commission, labor organization, shippers' association, or other outside agency.

PART VIII
SOCIAL REGRESS AND PROGRESS

CHAPTER

- XL. OSSIFICATION
- XLI. DECADENCE
- XLII. TRANSFORMATION
- XLIII. RECONSTRUCTION
- XLIV. REVOLUTION

CHAPTER XL

OSSIFICATION

In olden days our "common" schools remained closed during the busy season in order that the farmers might have the help of their children. Thus originated the long summer vacation, and as the cities set up their school systems they adopted it without question. So every June we close the schools of our cities and turn millions of children into the street—to hoe corn and "bug" potatoes!

In an early day in the level West the practice grew up of laying out roads on section lines a mile apart. Later this gridiron plan was adhered to even in rough country where it would be better to have roads follow the water courses or the water partings. To-day millions of loads are needlessly hauled over hill after hill on their way to market and thousands of hillside roads are washed away every season because men blindly follow set pattern.

These cases show that after a practice or institution has lasted two or three generations it will be kept even when the situation has so changed that it no longer fits. The first users are ready to alter or drop it if it does not suit their purpose; but after it has lived long enough to be venerated, it turns to bone and cannot be changed. This loss of pliancy by procedures and institutions may be called *ossification*.

CAUSES OF OSSIFICATION

Mental indolence. Most of us are loath to put our minds to a stretch for long; hence, we shrink from recognizing a change in the situation before us and re-thinking our task. Lazily we roll along in the rut of habit and precedent until a stone in the rut throws us out of it. Absorbed in their daily round, few pause to ask themselves: "Is this worth while?" "Am I doing any real good?"

Control of society by the old. Even the strong and enlightened, as they age, tend to stand by their earlier judgments and retain the emotional attitudes of their twenties. So, if the elders control, the effete will be kindlier looked on and longer tolerated than if the young are at the helm.

Ghost-fear protects the long-established. In primitive life fear of the ghosts of dead ancestors—later on fear of the ill-will of the gods—made men unwilling to quit the settled ways. In a Chinese village near Peiping, founded in the Sung dynasty (73–420 A.D.), the police recently gave investigators data as to 360 families comprising 2,300 persons. But the actual population of the village is about 3,000. “After long discussion it was discovered that all those that were included in the official count were the members of the families who had been in the village for many generations. The 300 merchants, craftsmen and apprentices whose families had come to the village during the last 200 years were not counted as local residents, but only as temporarily residing in that place with their homes elsewhere.”

Now, over much of the globe, ancestral tradition of this sort is rapidly losing power; by the end of this century, apart from a few millions of savages, there will not be a people on the planet intent on setting their feet exactly in the foot prints of their grandparents. For myriads the inherited patterns of life will be broken up owing to the prevalence of power-driven machinery, cheap travel, air navigation, the telephone, the screen, the radio, the conquest of disease, the spread of education and many other boons just below the horizon. In the eloquent words of General Smuts: “The tents have been struck, and the great caravan of humanity is once more on the march.”

Veneration of precedent. The long-established becomes an Ark of the Covenant. Our forefathers fought and bled for it, it has inspired heroic deeds, noble poetry and eloquence; how can a thing so cherished become a stumbling-block? In the face of the imperative need of church union the faithful cling to their denominational peculiarities because of the sacrifices these once cost. The monastic ideal, “uniformity of taxation,” the “open door,” *laissez-faire*, “a government of laws and not of men,” inspire passionate devotion long after their value has become doubtful.

ALLIES AND PROTECTORS OF THE OSSIFIED

The assumption that society is static. People expect society to hold its course until some large sensible force—a war, a revolution, a law, a religious movement or a great invention—deflects it. But society cannot be stable while its base shifts and its base may be shifted by the piled effects of a lot of little imperceptible changes—new methods of tillage, a shift from crop to crop, a gain of manufacturing on agriculture,

cheaper carriage, the opening of new channels of trade, immigration, population increase, the unequal growth of sections and classes, the disappearance of the frontier, the rush to the cities, the flocking of women into industry, *etc.* Silently these unnoticed processes make society other than we imagine it to be, so that some of the wisdom of the past turns to folly and perhaps some of its folly turns to wisdom.

Vested interests resist change. Persons whose bread-and-butter depends on an institution won't have it "mended or ended." Teachers of Latin and Greek are "up in arms" against overhauling the traditional course of study. For fifty years far-sighted religious leaders have urged that the social sciences enter into the training for the Christian ministry. Most of the divinity schools, however, have done nothing owing to the vested interest of the professors of the traditional subjects. Steadily the clergy are losing leadership because few of them can offer anything new and authoritative on the burning moral issues of their day!

So guild interest blocks adaptive change. Certain brethren who years ago specialized in good faith are in danger of losing their livelihood. Hard luck! One cannot well expect them to capitulate to anything less than mathematical proof of their superfluity—which is impossible in the field of education. They are like players who protest against the game being altered to their hurt while they are in the midst of playing it!

The dominant social class may resist change. In America the business element has long played upon a popular suspicion and jealousy of government inherited from our colonial stage when government was in fact an alien arbitrary agency over which the people had no control. Now that government has been made responsive to the public will such distrust is unwarranted; yet Business, seeking to stave off every restrictive measure that does not suit its purposes, fans continually these dying embers!

In a society being modified by invention at the rate ours is there is incessant need for the revising of old laws and devising of new laws. The sneers at "legislative tinkering" heard whenever a legislature or Congress attacks its problems in good faith emanate from certain selfish interests making "big money" out of abuses which ought to be corrected by law.

No element bawls louder for relief than Business when it is in a bad way; yet, as soon as Congress has passed the measures it is interested in, it wants that body to adjourn without heed to the demands for relief made on behalf of workers or farmers.

As fresh agencies are set up to enable government to keep up with

the growing complexity of modern life, the practice of electing all public officials becomes a stumbling block. The "long ballot" betrays people-rule by giving the actual selection of such officials into the hands of party bosses. It would have been given up long ago but for the fight put up on its behalf by the politicians.

The long retention of the "fellow servant" defense in suits for indemnity brought by injured employees exemplifies the power of the employing class over courts and legislatures. Its injustice had been conceded by all a generation before it was discarded.

The persistence of the county form of local government in our South after the victory of democratic principles there, can be accounted for only by the self-interest of a dominant class. Thomas Jefferson recognized in the New England township system the very foundation stone of democracy. In 1816 he wrote, "The article nearest my heart is the subdivision of the counties into wards (townships)." He realized that if the county was to be the smallest unit of government a few aristocrats would control. It was, in fact, the resistance of the planter class which prevented the setting up of the township system in the South.

While the dominant class thus causes society to appear at times more stupid than it actually is, in other cases it lends society a deceptive air of ready adaptiveness. When this class puts its weight behind a needed change, reforms are effected with startling suddenness. Good roads, zoning, banking reform, prohibition repeal, permanent tariff commission, could never have crashed so irresistibly through the jungle of popular prejudice but for the immense driving power of the organized business interests.

How the chief social elements react to change. The *intellectuals* have the least horror of change. The *learned professions* come next in openness to new ideas. The *commercial class* comprises many limber-minded businessmen who are hospitable enough to reforms which do not run counter to their interests. On account of their limited education the *wage-earning class* are often slaves to tradition. Their material interests, however, are not bound up with the inherited order and, once their minds have been set free, they stand for the thorough-going adaptation of institutions to *present* needs. Owing to their dealing with *nature* rather than *man*, the *tillers of the soil* are limited in their mental contacts. They follow their forefathers and stand for the inherited order save when the need of reform is sharply brought home to them by their own distresses.

The *propertied* class is the least sympathetic with rational trans-

formation since its status rests upon prescription and vested rights. It shares in the current flow of goods in virtue not of present exertion but of title from the past, so it cannot afford to allow the past to be discredited. Its attitude toward effete institutions is "Let sleeping dogs lie." Since most deep-going reforms are detrimental to *some* property interests, the propertied become excessively timorous and oppose all radical ideas. They grant you there are rotted timbers in the buildings our ancestors reared, "but," they insist, "once you begin to replace, you release strains you have not allowed for and some day down will come the whole structure on your head!" Domination by peasants, farmers, or the propertied therefore makes society a stiff-jointed rheumatic, while the capture of power by intellectuals, professionals, businessmen, or wage-earners, makes society supple.

It is the conservative elements that keep in circulation slogans rationalizing the do-nothing policy—such as: "Let sleeping dogs lie," "You can't teach an old dog new tricks," "What was good enough for 'dad' is good enough for me," "Benjamin Franklin and George Washington got along without it, so can we," "If God had intended us to use this new-fangled thing, He would have mentioned it in the Bible."

PREVENTIVES OF OSSIFICATION

What can be done to spare society a burdensome accumulation of the effete?

1. *Get the talented at the steering wheels.* Men cling to forms without meaning, to agencies without function, because they lack facility in close thinking. To take things as he finds them and to do things as they have always been done is the recourse of the numskull in office. Therefore, *man key posts with the enlightened and gifted.* Perhaps the perfecting of mental testing will enable us some day to rip off the camouflage by which dunderheads manage to keep on in high places.

2. *Preserve freedom of initiative.* In a custom-bound time a single bold innovator may start something which will hearten others to quit their outgrown past. One weakness of communal landholding in Old Russia was that farming came to be tied up with tradition because the clever peasant was not free to till his 20-30 strips according to his own ideas. So let the individual experiment as he will provided he does not violate the rights of others or visibly hurt the community.

3. *Keep a balance between clergy and other intellectuals.* The Moslem world, a tenth of mankind, is held back by ignorant fanatical *mol-*

lahs because there is no group competent to challenge their leadership. If lawyers, scholars, writers and journalists were prodding Islam's clergy as they prod *our* clergy, the *mollahs* would have to be fitted out with a genuine education.

4. *Apply critical scholarship to the genesis and history of institutions, i.e.,* find whether or not a particular institution was founded on error or misconception, whether the circumstances under which it arose or the situation to which it was adapted have materially changed.

5. The restless intellect is the natural enemy of the effete as sunlight is the natural enemy of green mould; therefore *preserve inviolate the right of free inquiry*. Grant no institution immunity from scrutiny and test. Let nothing be held so "sacred" that it may not be commented on by a fit person at the proper time and in a seemly manner.

6. *Keep social institutions out of the grasp of religion.* Claiming to reveal the will of a perfect, therefore changeless, Being, religion is the most conservative of influences. Only in that rare manifestation known as *prophetism* does it disown its past. The more that institutions slip into its benumbing clasp, the harder it is to adapt them to changing conditions. One cause of the immobility of the Mohammedan world is that its law is derived from the Koran. Judaism, too, owing to the sacred character of the Mosaic law, allows no free development of rules to govern human relationships. Fortunately there has never been a "Christian" law. Only small communities have ever relied exclusively on Biblical principles and they became in time exceedingly unprogressive. Hence, the Christian peoples have had the advantage of two great plastic secular systems of jurisprudence—Roman Law and the English Common Law.

7. *Base right-and-wrong on human nature and the nature of society.* Instead of being fixed for all time by the apothegms of the venerable sages or the text of an ancient book, discriminations of right from wrong should follow changing conditions of social life and keep step with the march of our knowledge of mind and society. Rigid old ecclesiastical dicta as to the taking of interest, alms-giving, marriage, divorce, and human propagation simply cannot survive the floodlight of social science. Let religion provide an outlook on life for the individual and modify society by influencing its members. But its authority should end with the individual conscience; it should not dictate laws, institutions and policies for society.

8. *Let the learner study life as well as books.* It is not lawyers who point out the dead wood in the law, but outsiders. The protests against the traditionalism of creeds and church methods come not so much from

clergymen as from intelligent laymen. For most students of law and theology study books instead of life!

9. *Test results by measurement.* Just as cost accounting brings to light the weak spots in a business, measurement may bring to light the weak spots in a society. Alternative methods of probation, of reformation of juvenile offenders, of apprenticeship, of instruction, of sanitation, of poor relief, of social insurance, of industrial training, of factory discipline, may be tested by comparing their results. Although measurement needs to be applied with caution, since it is apt to overlook or misread certain finer values, there should be incessant endeavor to substitute exact comparison for guessing in conflicts between old and new.

The non-material culture lags behind the material culture largely because it does not lend itself to test and measurement. How much easier it has been to get at the comparative merit of two types of milch cow, breeds of draft horse, or patterns of plow, than to settle that of two techniques of teaching, ways of rearing children, or modes of worshipping God!

10. *Liquidate endowments.* In order to "free the future from frozen funds and 'tired' endowments" the Rockefeller Foundation and General Education Board have liberalized the endowments they have granted by providing that ten years after the date of the gift the income may be used for other purposes than those originally specified and that principal may be spent as well as interest. Well says the president of the Foundation: "In endowing what they thought was of permanent importance, earlier generations made wrong guesses which embarrass us today. How can we assume that our guesses have any greater validity or are made with any clearer foresight?"

CHAPTER XLI

DECADENCE

Society decays with the weakening of the laws, customs, and beliefs which curb short-sighted, selfish, or inconsiderate behavior. The web of common, or interlaced, interests which enmeshes men gives way; there are more dissensions and fewer agreements, more clashings and fewer coöperations. Feeling for clan, or faction, or caste overrides feeling for the whole. In loyalty and team work society is "on the down-grade."

DETERIORATION OF THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF SOCIETY

Adverse change of climate. We have long known that Northern Africa is drying and that the Sahara is widening.

Palmyra in the Syrian Desert is one of the best examples of a ruin showing evidence of change in climate. In the early centuries of the Christian era Palmyra was a great city as large as modern Damascus, which has a population of 150,000. Ancient writers speak with enthusiasm of its sweet water and beautiful gardens. Its caravans traveled all over Western Asia and it grew so wealthy that its rich citizens took pride in adorning it with wonderful colonnades and temples. To-day Palmyra is a vast desolate ruin in the midst of the desert and harbors a village of about 1,500 people. . . . Such conditions, not only here but in hundreds of other places, seem to afford conclusive evidence that during the past 2,000 years the progress of great climatic cycles has caused the rain-fall and the population to dwindle.¹

At the time of Christ and again about A. D. 1000, Guatemala and Yucatan appear to have been drier than now.

Many of the finest ruins and most of the more ancient ones lie back from the coast in a wilderness of dense forest and jungle. There agriculture is almost impossible. The difficulty of clearing the rank vegetation and getting it dry enough to burn before a new crop of lusty bushes grows up is enormous. Fevers, too, prevail most of the year. They are the worst types of tropical malaria, not to mention many other kinds. . . . Here where the natives are so diseased and agriculture is so diffi-

¹ E. Huntington and S. W. Cushing, *Principles of Human Geography*, 1920, pp. 368-71.

cult, there dwelt an ancient race characterized by the qualities which we have defined as most essential to a high civilization. The Mayas of Yucatan and Guatemala, alone among the aborigines of America, carried to high perfection the arts of sculpture and architecture. . . . The most surprising thing about the Mayas is that they developed their high civilization in what are now the hot, damp, malarial lowlands where agriculture is practically impossible. For a thousand years there they lived and brought to fruition this wonderful civilization. The only explanation lies in a climatic change from conditions similar to those found in the drier regions farther north to that of a super-abundance of rainfall.²

De-forestation and erosion. At her zenith Greece was a fertile, well-wooded, healthful, and very populous country with, perhaps, as many people as Pennsylvania has. Two centuries later, at the time of the Roman conquest, the country was poor and but sparsely populated. All Hellas, according to Plutarch, could put in the field not more than three thousand fully armed troops. About the dawn of our era Strabo noticed that nearly all the mountains seen from the coast were denuded, while the valleys and plains were ravaged by malaria. What had happened was that the rush to the cities left the countryside short of laborers, so that pastures replaced tilled fields. Every summer, when the plain was parched, the herds were driven into the mountains where they browsed or trampled down the seedlings, the result being that in time the forest perished. Then the soil, no longer bound in place by living roots, washed down the slopes until the mountains died. Swamps formed and whole districts had to be abandoned on account of malaria.

In China deeply gullied plateaus, guttered hillsides, choked watercourses, silted-up bridges, sterilized bottom lands, bankless wandering rivers and mountain brooks as thick as pea soup testify to the devastation wrought by the heedless axe. I observed in Shansi:

Once the tree cover is removed, the rains wash the soil from the hillsides and with it fill the watercourses and choke the valleys. Wherever a brook or creek debouches into the valley of the Fên, it has built with this wash a great alluvial cone, curving down-river, and along the crest of this cone runs the shallow gravelly bed of the stream that once loitered under high banks three or four fathoms beneath its present level. This cone has covered under silt and sand and gravel from a few score acres to several miles of the former rich bottom lands and they can never be recovered.

Buildings are imbedded to the waist in the débris. Gateways that once one could ride a camel through, one can now only creep through on

² E. Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*, 1915, pp. 239-43.

hands and knees. Twice we came upon majestic stone bridges which once spanned broad affluents of the Fên, but which now, their noble arches half silted up, stand unused amid fields of beans and rape, sad monuments of a bygone prosperity.³

Declares Marsh in his *Man and Nature*:

There are parts of Asia Minor, of Northern Africa, of Greece, and even of Alpine Europe, where the operation of causes set in action by man has *brought the face of earth to a desolation almost as complete as that of the moon*. . . .

Reckless exploitation of natural resources in the United States.

The natural wealth of America was attacked with such ruthless energy that depletion showed itself early. In 1871 steps were taken to save the fisheries, in 1886 to conserve wild life, in the first decade of this century vast national forests were set apart and mineral conservation was begun. In 1935 the Soil Erosion Service, set up in 1933, became the Soil Conservation Service. States the Director:

Recent surveys of the extent of soil erosion in this country indicate that approximately 50,000,000 acres of once fertile land have been essentially ruined for practical cultivation. Another 50,000,000 are in a condition almost as serious. About 100,000,000 acres still in cultivation have been seriously impoverished by the loss of soil; and about 100,000,000 acres more of cultivated land are being depleted of productive soil at an alarming rate.

Thus, at the end of hardly more than a century of cultivation for most of the country, an area equivalent to the total now in harvested crops, or to 30 per cent of all land in farms is either destroyed, seriously damaged, or threatened. . . . Unless effective measures are adopted, we might reasonably expect to lose within the next 200 years all the land now threatened by erosion, and if this should happen, vastly larger areas would then be threatened.⁴

In 1938 it was calculated that on 41 per cent of the land area of the United States (exclusive of urban territory) one-fourth to three-fourths of the original surface soil has disappeared. On 12 per cent the loss has been more than three-fourths. And on 3 per cent practically all of the productive soil has been lost.⁵

³ Ross, *The Changing Chinese*, 1911, p. 271.

⁴ H. B. Bennett, address, "Soil Conservation," 1936.

⁵ *Soils and Men*, Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture, Government Printing Office, 1938, p. 6.

DETERIORATION OF THE RACIAL BASIS OF SOCIETY

Society may decay because people have deteriorated. Here are some startling hypotheses, but I warn the reader that this is quaky ground!

Race displacement. As to Rome's decline Tenney Frank concludes:

What lay behind and constantly reacted upon Rome's disintegration was, after all, to a considerable extent, the fact that the people who built Rome had given way to a different race. The lack of energy and enterprise, the failure of foresight and common sense, the weakening of moral and political stamina—all were concomitant with the gradual diminution of the stock, which, during the earlier days, had displayed these qualities.⁶

The cityward flow. The glittering cities lure the brighter youth from the fields and incite them to strain for the prizes of life. But in the city they marry later, die sooner, and leave fewer children than their dull brethren on the "home place." Until the nineteenth century great cities were sinks, their deaths always exceeding their births; nothing kept them up but the endless inflow from farms and villages.

Selective emigration. A strong and continued emigration, when it takes away the more hardy and enterprising, is likely to lower the quality of a people. The great outflow of Greeks, particularly after Alexander's conquests had opened all Western Asia to them, may have brought on the flatness of the Silver Age. The conquest and peopling of the Americas and the Philippines drained Spain of millions she could ill spare. Persecution for heterodox ideas drives away cream, as we see from the record of the fugitive Huguenots and other hounded sectaries that founded certain American colonies.

Extirpation of the superior. Otto Seeck, historian of the later Roman Empire,⁷ accounts for the world-historic decline of ancient society by social mis-selection. The decay of ancient Greece, marked by a lamentable lowering of the standard in every department of culture, he charges to the ferocious party struggles between aristocrats and democrats. In these struggles, at each turn of fortune's wheel, the *élite* of the defeated party were banished or slaughtered. Thus we read of seven hundred families being exiled at one time from Athens, one thousand leading citizens executed at Mitylene, four thousand at Gela. In the course of generations of such savage work the contending factions

⁶ "Race Mixture in the Roman Empire," *American Historical Rev.*, vol. XXI, 1916, p. 705.

⁷ *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 1895.

drained Greece of her best blood, and left to her surviving insignificant and mediocre families an inglorious and decadent future. In like manner Seeck connects the slump among the Romans, especially the notable decline in their courage and force of character, with the wholesale massacres of the Social Wars. Marius and Cinna murdered the aristocrats and their personal enemies by thousands, Sulla extirpated the democrats with equal ferocity, and the remaining noble blood was spilled under the proscriptions of the Triumvirs. Most of the bold were slain; only cowards remained alive, and from their progeny issued the timid, characterless generations of the Lower Empire.

Equalizing grade death rates. Through most of the past the superior kept their children alive better than the inferior. They cared for them more devotedly, more intelligently, or with greater foresight. Hence, with birth-rates about the same, the superior raised more of their children to the age of reproducing themselves. But the miraculous achievements of the last seventy years in holding at bay the destroyers of infancy and childhood have been made generally available, thanks to public-health policies, so that subparents have been helped nearly as much as superparents. Probably never before has the survival rate among the ill-endowed come so close to that among the well-endowed.

Self-elimination of the superior. On its up-curve a growing civil, military, and ecclesiastical organization draws together talent and creates brilliant centers of energy which attract the capable from rural huts and cabins as lighthouses fatally attract birds. In camps, courts, cloisters, universities, and capitals the *élite* are brought to a glow and feed the flame of civilization. But in these centers it is seized by wants and ambitions which interfere with breeding; it becomes glorious but sterile, fecund in deeds, ideas and graces, but not in children!

Sorokin⁸ discovers a marked tendency of eminent families to die out, partly from lower fertility, partly from their greater risks. By the fifteenth century almost all the aristocratic families of the time of the Crusades were extinct. The notable families of the Middle Ages rarely lasted longer than a century. The French aristocratic families usually disappeared within three hundred years. Of 500 aristocratic families of the fifteenth century scarcely any exist to-day. Of 394 peers in England in 1837, 272 were created after 1760. In Nuremburg of 118 patrician families, 63 died out in the period 1390 to 1490. In Berne of 381 families, 148 died out 1717-87. Of 1,219 aristocratic families of Sweden 946 died out in a hundred years; 251 families lasted into their second cen-

⁸ *Social Mobility*, 1927, pp. 357-59.

tury; 21 into their third century; only 1 family survived 300 years. A like extinction has been observed among the patrician families of Augsburg, Geneva, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Venice.

The birth differentials among us to-day are startling. In view of the great decline of deaths, births *had* to come down; but note who is doing the cutting! Reports the Findings Committee of the Conference on Better Care for Mothers and Babies:

Of the more than two million births annually, approximately 840,000 or more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of them occur in families which are on relief, or have total incomes (including home produce) of less than \$750 a year. 190,000 of these births occur in medium-sized or large cities; 650,000 occur in rural areas and cities under 50,000 population.

In parts of our South where living standards are lowest, the poorest are multiplying at a rate 77 per cent in excess of that required to replace them, whereas the higher-income groups are reproducing at a rate 17 per cent *under* what is required to replace them! At minimum-income levels contraception is virtually unknown, whereas it is widespread among persons of higher income.

In 1935, 14 per cent of all live births in the United States occurred in the six most prosperous States (highest *per capita* incomes), which received 27 per cent of the total income; 14 per cent of all live births occurred in the six poorest States, which received only 5 per cent of the total income.

Since presumably there is *some* correlation between income and ability, the indications that it is those families having the lowest standard of living that are multiplying the most freely are anything but cheering.

INTERNAL CAUSES OF SOCIAL DECADENCE

Besides causes lying *outside of* society or *under* it, there may develop *within* society conditions which cause decay.

Increasing heterogeneity. When a people has come to be a hodgepodge from engulfing floods of immigrants of diverse racial origin and cultural background (*e.g.*, the United States between the Civil War and the World War), or from incorporating population bodies differing from one another and the integrating kernel, its social clock is turned back. More crime, increasing resort to harsh punishment, growing bitterness of industrial conflict, less faith in *government by consent of the governed*, fewer matters on which a true public opinion forms, increasing

difficulty of regions, areas, and local communities getting together for team work!

Demoralization from shift of cultures. When recent immigrants are many and motley the social bonds are strained. For when an immigrant has sloughed off his old-home culture yet has not been mastered by the culture of his new home, he slumps morally. To approach the strange culture he has to become tolerant of conduct out of line with his old standards; so he becomes *tolerant of his own conduct*. The old standards lose power over him, and until he completes the shift to the new culture he may be demoralized.

This is why among nature peoples the emancipated young are found less reliable than the worshippers of old gods. From his own traditions and customs the native had certain values and controls; on taking over from missionaries and traders new customs he does not at once take over the new controls.

Sacrifice of the future to the present. The loss of our surface soil since settlement has been estimated at one-fifth. Yet German and Japanese farmers conserve fertility so well that the productivity of their land is increasing each generation.⁹ We are warned that with prevailing farm practices only about 40 per cent of the present crop land can be "cultivated safely without serious erosion."¹⁰

Farm tenancy and farm mortgages have grown so fast that since 1880 the equity of American farmers in the land they till has declined from 62 per cent of its value to less than 40 per cent. "In Iowa, settled by homesteaders only 75 to 100 years ago, the equity of farm operators in farm real estate is now less than 25 per cent."¹¹ This calamitous loss of ownership is not due to faulty government policies but largely to the arts of selling having developed faster than "sales resistance." Millions of cultivators have been wheedled into mortgaging their land, crops, chattels, or future earning power, in order to have more land or farm machinery or household conveniences. Consider that three automobiles out of five are bought on the "instalment plan"! Advertising has come to be ubiquitous. One could "skip" the advertisements in one's newspaper; but over your radio you cannot have the entertainment without the "ballyhoo." Millions of us cannot stand out against such pressure; so you get a bigger proletariat living from hand to mouth and myriads of share croppers. When ancient lawgivers decreed *No man may sell or*

⁹ Baker, Borsodi, Wilson, *Agriculture in Modern Life*, 1939, p. 150.

¹⁰ See 1938 Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture, *Soils and Men*, pp. 92-96.

¹¹ Baker *et al.*, p. 57.

mortgage himself or members of his family there were howls over "loss of freedom"; yet we don't think that way of it now! The day may come when, in order to fight the incessant concentration of ownership, billboards will be swept from the highways, advertising from broadcasting, newspapers will not be carried by the post office at unremunerative rates unless at least half their income is from their readers, and one's power to pledge one's future for the purchase of consumption goods will be limited.

The wide prevalence of the pygmy family consisting of three children or less registers willingness to sacrifice the future to present convenience. Right now there are several peoples practising birth control so recklessly that their extinction is visible on the horizon. It is, of course, one thing to avoid increase of population pressure; it is quite another thing to cut family so deeply that there will be *no* great-grandchildren!

Frustration of the *élite*. Much depends on the part played by the *élite*, i.e., the 3 per cent most gifted, socially-minded and energetic. They can guide their people better than any other element can; but many things may hinder the *élite* from playing this rôle. Some ideology may split it and prompt each half to do its utmost to wipe out the other half. It may fall so early and so hard for the practice of birth control that its reproduction rate is cut to a third of the rate characterizing the commonplace mass. Prolonged warfare may bring to the levers of social control the heavy, slow-witted battle-axe wielders who have little use for intellectuals and will not give them a "show." Eager truth-seekers and welcomers of new ideas may be persecuted or intimidated by some priesthood whose system of dogmas they disturb. A sycophantic press may persuade the public that it is the successful money-makers, the "solid men of business" who ought to be trusted and followed. Consequently the latter are able to fling out of pulpits, colleges, public office, or public service anyone spilling truth they wish hidden.

Rise of privilege and caste. Wholesome we-feeling quickly dies out if the social system is seen to embody plain injustice. Generally poor do not hate rich provided that society is still fluid and competitive. They comfort themselves with the hope, "Even if *I* can't get up, some child of mine will." But the pushful capables who have won to power or wealth try to throw down the ladders they climbed by in order to shield their sons and grandsons from being knocked off their perch by other climbers. As the successful thus wall themselves off and become a caste, a sense of injustice spreads among the masses.

We see now why a large and flourishing middle class is a guaranty of

social health. It means plenty of stepping-stones leading from bottom to top. It insures a circulation of individuals which keeps hope alive in the ambitious youth of the lower orders. Such a middle class mediates between the extremes, allowing neither aristocrats nor populace to have its way with the other. It prevents the state from becoming a class state, and social institutions from becoming mere props of injustice. The dwindling of the middle class, leaving the people in two camps, poor and rich, is, therefore, an ill omen. On the one hand is a nobility of wealth that, having rid itself of every useful service to society, has given itself up to luxurious enjoyment; on the other, a rough, uncouth, unbridled, and irresponsible peasantry or populace—and no broad bridges leading from the one to the other. Neither camp feels that the other is a part of “us.” Each fears its interests will be sacrificed if the other gets on top, and therefore will go to any length to gain and to keep power.

Decadence of social culture. Social culture is as subject to decay as social organization is. A recent “manifesto” of the “futurist poets and artists of Italy” staggers us by proclaiming

War is beautiful because it fuses in harmony Strength and Kindness. War is beautiful because it realizes the long-dreamed-of “metalization” of the human body.

War is beautiful because it “symphonizes” fusillades, cannonades, pauses choked by silence, and the perfume and odors of putrefaction.

War is beautiful because it completes the beauty of a flowery meadow with the passionate orchids of machine-gun fire.

War is beautiful because it creates new architecture, as the heavy tank. It creates the flying geometrics of the airplane, the spiral smoke of burning villages, *etc.*

If “war is beautiful” it will be so *no matter which side wins*. But the futurists give themselves away when they add:

War is beautiful because it serves the greatness of great Fascist Italy.

Oho! So it *does* make a difference in the “beauty” of war *whose* are the putrefying corpses, *whose* are the burning villages!

In the same vein a son of *Il Duce* remarks in his book on Ethiopia:

War is certainly educational. I recommend it to everybody. . . . War was a sport for us, the most beautiful and complete of all sports.

This glorification of reciprocal mass murder is as if one found in a roomful of scrofulous, hydrocephalous, or syphilitic children a “beauty” not visible in a garden of active and happy youngsters!

DISQUIETING TRENDS CAN BE ARRESTED

Review of what has been done by the more alert self-conscious peoples to check decadence encourages us. *A people can have whatever type of society it is fit for.* The reason that bull-fighting did not become the popular sport in the New World colonies peopled from Britain and France that it did in those peopled from Spain is that more of the citizens loathed it and kept it from getting a foothold. Or consider what the Franciscans, the Baptists, the Methodists, the Quakers, did to make *their* world better!

This being so, it is the social scientist's job to discover and point out mal-functioning social organs; to call attention to sinister trends in the volume of wife-desertion, juvenile delinquency, gangsterism, lynching, news suppression, tax evasion, "racketeering," offerings of worthless securities, *etc.*; to set forth the remedies which may somewhere have been taken and to evaluate their results.

Reformers too often picture society as "going to the dogs," paint things so black that one doubts if *anything* can be done. This is a pity because every sociologist knows that certain reform movements of the past built up healing forces which still operate, that there are many ills from which our society remains free, and that, if only those of good will among us can be roused and brought to coöperate, our major ills can be remedied.

As a rule healing comes only from those who themselves are sound in character, judgment and knowledge. A disorganized individual *may* help fight social disorganization, but probably he won't. In general, you cure a social ill by getting enough of the sound to accept and push through the right course of treatment. If the sound are too few you get hold of the young, so as to turn out a larger proportion of sound in the oncomers.

Among us, there is no lack of sound persons to put over such betterment policies as the experts recommend. All that is needed is to rouse them to the demoralization going on and show them the right remedies to put their personal influence and money behind. The repression of industrial espionage, the unmasking of dishonest, insidious propaganda, the arrest of consumer gouging, the exposure of deceitful advertising, the encouragement of body-building games and sports, as well as the combatting of liquor, "dope," gambling and prostitution—all are carried to final victory only by the sound.

CHAPTER XLII

TRANSFORMATION

Some changes in society happen, others are willed. Call the former *transformation*; the latter, *reconstruction*. Now, the factors which *transform* may be distinguished as *static-dynamic processes*, *transmutations*, and *stimuli*. Let us consider them in this order.

The accumulation of results from static-dynamic processes. Certain regular activities leave behind them unintended by-products which in time accumulate and bring on social changes. Hunting, by elimination of the less cautious creatures, eventually makes the game scarcer and shy, so that the tribe may have to gain a supplementary food-basis. In the pastoral stage the continual escape of the wilder members from the herd and the resultant breeding from the more tractable perfects domestication and so paves the way to the adoption of agriculture. Operations which modify the physical environment—deforestation, the building of dykes, canals, causeways, and roads—transform society's setting. Mining, clearing, reclaiming, enclosing, as well as the extermination of pests, have a dynamic effect seeing that they lessen the material they work on. The digging of the precious metals finally makes them so plentiful that the "money economy" supersedes the "natural economy."

Big changes are brought about by processes which leave *a little more or less* of something. In the Dark Ages the short-sighted practice of rewarding military services with estates, which, at first granted for life, later became inheritable, eventually dissipated the resources of the Crown and led to feudal decentralization.¹ In the course of centuries the death-bed gifts to religious corporations brought a fifth of the soil of Europe into the "dead hand" and made the Church the richest institution on earth. The practice of Southern justices shortly after the Civil War imposing on Negroes arrested on petty charges excessive fines and binding them to work at a paltry wage for the planter who paid the fine, would in time have subjected the bulk of the Southern Negroes to forced labor had not the Federal government intervened.

Transmutations. Human relations and institutions glide insensibly

¹ M. Kowalevsky, *Oekonomische Entwicklung Europas*, 1914, vol. II, chs. 1 and 2.

into unintended forms. Presents freely given a chief pass into presents demanded; volunteered help passes into exacted service. Bank-notes, issued as certificates of deposit of coin and redeemable on demand, come to be looked upon as real money, and circulate long after the old right of redemption has been lost. In India minor officers, courtiers, and servants "were provided for by being allowed to take, in individual villages, the whole or part of the Raja's grain." "In time these claims develop into a landlord right over the village." "The change from revenue-manager to landlord was accomplished in about a century."² An ethical religion becomes formal, owing to the fact that its *spirit* is less successfully imparted from father to son than its *form*.

Since "evolution" is applied to a series of changes brought about by the operation of *resident* forces, social changes brought about by *static-dynamic processes* and *transmutations* may therefore properly be termed *social evolution*. This is what sociologists mean when they insist that society *evolves*, in fact cannot be prevented from evolving.

Now, there are other unwilling social changes the causes of which are not *in society* but *under* or *outside* society. Let us call these factors of social change "stimuli" and their result "social growth."

STIMULI

The growth of population. Increase of numbers changes adversely the man-land ratio, making it harder to get a living. This incites to new ways of wresting a livelihood from Nature. The advance from the hunting stage to the pastoral did not follow promptly the domestication of animals, for men seem to have first tamed animals for amusement rather than for food. It awaited the pressure of numbers. Again, it was food-shortage which made man pass over from herdmanship to tillage. The earliest workers on the soil may have been "strangers attached to the tribe upon whom the rough work of the community fell, and who would be the first to suffer from a scarcity of food."

Thus mere growth of population brings on many social changes. The adoption of pastoralism converts the savage horde into the tribe, institutes property, establishes male kinship, develops patriarchal authority, favors polygamy and wife-purchase, makes woman a chattel, causes captives to be enslaved instead of eaten, and substitutes the *wergeld* for the blood-feud. The adoption of agriculture breaks up the tribe into

² See B. H. B. Baden-Powell, *The Land Systems of British India*, 1892, vol. I, pp. 131, 186; vol. II, p. 224.

clans, which become village-communities; while the back-breaking soil tempts to slavery, the slave trade and slave-raiding. Increase of population exhausts land supply until at last the poor man must work for wages. Then, slavery and serfdom disappear of themselves, for it is no longer necessary to own laborers in order to have enough of them. Population pressure compels resort to inferior soils and this, by enhancing the rental value of the better tracts, gives rise to a landlord class. As this class withdraws from labor and busies itself with politics and war, it comes to rule society.

Growth of numbers may cause an *exchange economy* to take the place of *domestic husbandry*. In some districts the natural resources fall short in certain respects and the local population seek to supply their lack from the larger resources of other districts, sending out in return those products of their own which are easiest to come by. Hence, arise arteries of communication and regional interdependence.

The need of better security for goods on routes traversing many local jurisdictions creates a demand for royal protection—"king's highways"—and cements that alliance of burghers with king which humbled the feudal lords. In his struggle with the barons the king chooses from the burghers of the town his agents and servants, and the chief of these, ennobled by royal patent, take their places alongside the old territorial aristocracy.

The towns which grew up in the Middle Ages gave rise to fresh social and political developments. The feudal manor stood for constraint; the town, for freedom. "City air makes free" became a legal maxim. Outside the town labor was despised; inside, labor was respected. Outside, fighting and working were distinct occupations; inside, one wrought or fought as occasion required. Outside was caste; inside, men were in free and fluid relations.

Less traditional than the country, the city appraises men according to some present fact, their *achievement* or their *wealth*, rather than according to their *ancestry*. It is plutocratic or democratic in temper, whereas the countryside believes devoutly in ancestry. In the city, people consume, as it were, in one another's presence, hence they vie in expenditure more than do country folk.

Increase of social mass reacts upon organization. As society spreads, distinctions arise between local chiefs and the head chief, between local priests and the high priest, which lead to the formation of hierarchies. Differentiation occurs between sacred and secular functionaries, between military and civil heads, between judicial and executive officers.

The heavier burden of business obliges the ruler to surround himself with helpers, who in turn require other helpers, so that the governmental structure becomes complex. Power is deputed and redeputed, comes into the hands of the leisured or the trained.

Changing age make-up of population. In the American population in 1850, those under twenty were about six times as numerous as those over fifty. In 1930 this ratio was about as seven to three. When our population becomes stationary those under twenty will be actually fewer in number than those over fifty. Predicts Paul H. Douglas: ³

America will rapidly lose its juvenile quality and youth no longer will be the main center of attraction. The old man and the old woman, instead of being the last leaves upon the tree, will become more and more important in America. And who knows but that the psychology of senescence may in twenty or thirty years be more important than the psychology of adolescence?

As the fall in the birth-rate causes population to approach the stationary state

A great deal of the buoyancy which has characterized America because of the expansion of population will be removed . . . the boosterism of our real-estate owners and merchants will disappear from American life. . . . There will be instead an emphasis upon the inner life and upon qualitative aspects of education, culture and character. . . .

The accumulation of wealth. The multiplication of comforts and luxuries causes transfer of labor and capital from certain occupations to others, from extractive industries to elaborative industries, from the fabricating of goods to the rendering of services. So far as capital-building goes on, the sacredness of property will be emphasized in morals and law, while there will be wider support of government as a property-protecting institution. With more to consume there grows up a dread of vice, so that morals are more concerned with fortifying one against temptations to over-indulge.

Those more successful in accumulation become eventually a distinct social class. "The heroes of the Homeric poems," says Maine, "are not only valiant but wealthy; the warriors of the *Nibelungenlied* are not only noble, but rich. In the later Greek literature we find pride of birth identified with pride in seven wealthy ancestors." ⁴ Owning a horse, so as to be able to fight from horseback instead of on foot, has been the germ of every knighthood, *e.g.*, the Greek *hippeis*, the Roman Equestrian

³ *Child Welfare Pamphlets*, No. 38, State University of Iowa, 1934.

⁴ *Early History of Institutions*, 1875, p. 134.

Order, the Gaulish *equites*, and the medieval riders (*Ritter*), horsemen (*cavaliers, chevaliers, caballeros*), or knights.

Wealth inequalities lead to civic inequalities. Service in the Roman cavalry, at first obligatory upon every man who could furnish two horses, became after a time a badge of superiority. Men of standing remained in the cavalry after they had become too old to fight. "Young men of rank more and more withdrew from serving in the infantry, and the legionary cavalry became a close aristocratic corps."⁵ By the time of Sulla the dying out of the sturdy farmer class and the formation of an urban rabble had converted the Roman army "from a burgess force into a set of mercenaries who showed no fidelity to the state at all and proved faithful to the officer only when he had the skill personally to gain their attachment."⁶ Finally the rich came to feel that it was a shame that they should have to do anything they disliked. In Cæsar's time "in the soldiery not a trace of the better classes could any longer be discovered. In law the general obligation to bear arms still subsisted; but the levy took place in the most irregular and unfair manner. . . . The Roman burgess cavalry now merely vegetated as a sort of mounted noble guard, whose perfumed cavaliers and exquisite high-bred horses only played a part in the festivals of the capital; the so-called burgess infantry was a troop of mercenaries swept together from the lowest ranks of the burgess population."⁷

Under great pecuniary inequality *human worth comes to be measured, not by one's achievements or personal merits, but by one's scale of consumption*. This spreads a foolish luxury through the upper circles of society. Percolating down through the social strata artificial wants divert a large part of income from the service of real human needs. In all classes the craving for wealth is raised to an extravagant pitch, while everything else is lowered in value. Very clearly is this to be seen in the decline of the Roman Republic after the slave economy had wiped out the middle class. Says Mommsen: "To be poor was not merely the sorest disgrace and the worst crime, but the only disgrace and the only crime; for money the statesman sold the state and the burgess sold his freedom; the post of the officer and the vote of the jurymen were to be had for money; for money the lady of quality surrendered her person as well as the common courtesan; the falsifying of documents and perjuries had become so common that in a popular poet of this age an

⁵ T. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Eng. Trans., 1911, vol. II, p. 379.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 455.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 581.

oath is called 'the plaster for debts.' Men had forgotten what honesty was; a person who refused a bribe was regarded, not as an upright man, but as a personal foe."⁸ There was "nothing to bridge over or soften the fatal contrast between the world of the beggars and the world of the rich." "The wider the chasm by which the two worlds were externally divided, the more completely they coincided in the like annihilation of family life . . . in the like laziness and luxury, the like unsubstantial economy, the like unmanly dependence, the like corruption differing only in its scale, the like criminal demoralization, the like long-ing to begin the war with property."⁹

The interaction of societies. The action of one society upon another—*commerce*, *migration*, or *war*—frequently causes social change. *Commerce* between societies hitherto self-sufficing makes them depend upon each other for certain goods, which may lead to internal changes. All through Asia trade with Europe and America is destroying the native arts. In the fifteenth century the demand from the Continent for English wool resulted in the conversion of fields into sheep pastures, the inclosure of much common land, the raising of rents, the eviction of customary tenants, an over-supply of labor and the freeing of the villeins from their hereditary bondage. Again, it is the rise of foreign trade which converts domestic slavery into capitalistic slavery. Negro slavery would never have gotten such a hold on our South had not Europe stood ready to absorb cotton in unlimited quantities and to pay for it with manufactured goods, which slave labor is so unfitted to produce.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, *emigration* played no small part in the transformation of European societies. The settling of vast fertile tracts by these emigrants, coupled with steam transportation, developed an overseas competition which, by depressing agricultural profits in the Old World, lessened the landlord's share of the produce. The result was the shattering of the political and social domination of the land-owning class.

Still more momentous are the changes brought about by *warfare*. So long as they dwelt undisturbed in the home they had won for themselves in Canaan, the children of Israel succumbed constantly to the seduction of the local Baal cults; but whenever danger united them against a common foe, their loyalty to Jehovah, the god of their nomad life, was revived. The Hebrew monarchy emerged from warfare in this way. During peace Saul returned to his own estate and lived there with

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 616.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 621.

a few followers. David's conquests and successes, however, gave the monarchy that solidity which enabled his son Solomon to supplant the tribal with the civil organization, lay taxes, levy *corvées*, conscript troops, set up a court and launch a new nobility.

Chronic and profitless warfare between levies of freeholders ruins the middle class. The exhausting duel between Israel and Damascus produced the evil state of things which aroused the reforming prophets, Amos and Hosea. The little farmers lost their lands during their absence in the field, and on their return debt crushed them into slavery. Great estates took the place of small holdings and the poor became dependent on the rich. Availing themselves of a military crisis which caused jailed debtors to be released to fight the foe, the Roman *plebs* extorted from the patricians the creation of tribunes to protect the rights of the plebeians. The Crusades rid Europe of many turbulent nobles whose presence made order and industry well-nigh impossible. Taking advantage of the Crusader's need of cash, the towns bought immunities from him, the abbeys and priories took a mortgage on his estate.

The disposal of booty, captives, lands and tribute may upset the balance between classes. Maine surmises that the capital which Greek eupatrids, Roman patricians, and Gaulish knights lent to commoners at such rates of interest as to force many of the borrowers into debt slavery and lead to violent social upheavals, may have originated in the seizure by the nobles of the lion's share of the spoils of war. In early Roman society much depended on whether the state land was let in great blocks at a nominal rent to the aristocrats or was allotted as homesteads to the commoners. Yet more fateful was the glutting of the labor market with war captives. Ruin of the middle class by slave competition brought destruction on the original Roman commonwealth.

The contact and cross-fertilization of cultures. The Christian Church, Roman law, the feudal tenure, parliamentary government, the jury system, the federal principle, spread far beyond their original habitat. The abolition of serfdom, as now the woman's movement and social legislation, came about largely by national example. A social evolution from resident forces only is hardly to be met with any more, seeing that to-day the germs of every social novelty are blown about the world, and peoples at diverse stages of development follow the example of the advanced societies.

Usually, however, the peoples have rejected alien *institutions*, but borrowed alien *elements of culture*, which, nevertheless, in time are likely to work social transformations. When a backward people is in contact

with a highly cultured one, there occurs simple borrowing; but when the peoples are nearly abreast on different lines of development, one fructifies the other and a higher culture results. Just as the crossing of two strains may yield a progeny superior to either, so the crossing of two cultures in the minds of an *élite* may initiate a superior culture. Thus the meeting of Orient and Occident engendered neo-Platonism, and the mutual fertilization of Christian tradition and classic culture by the Revival of Learning produced the Renaissance.

The innovating individual. Ideas born of gifted minds start most of the changes in society which are progressive. Such transforming ideas are either the *industrial-martial inventions* or the *religio-scientific innovations*, the reason being that these are *condition-making*. The inventions pertaining to warfare—chariot, armor, Greek fire, gunpowder, cannon, machine-guns, submarines, air bombers—have helped the more ingenious races to survive and have made it impossible for barbarians ever again to overrun the civilized. Next come the inventions which have facilitated transportation and communication—wheeled vehicle, boat, sail, compass, rail, steam, airplane, telegraph, telephone, wireless, radio. These call into being cities, promote diffusions and comminglings of races, hasten crossings of cultures and blendings of blood, abolish frontiers, make possible vast political units and supersede local association by national, even international, association. More than this, they accelerate progress by transmitting *everywhere* good new ideas which arise *anywhere*; so that every section of mankind is served not only by its own inventive spirits, but by the productive geniuses of the human race. Last come the *condition-making* inventions embodied in languages, sciences, and speculations. Languages support the inter-mental activities by which like-mindedness spreads. Physical sciences further the progress of mechanical invention. The revolutions in ideas wrought by founders of religion reverberate as far as the revolutions in production wrought by mechanical inventors.

A new institution or relation *may* spring directly from the individual mind. The Hebrew prophets who originated worship without sacrifice, and the Reformers who proclaimed "justification by faith" lessened the dependence of laity on priest. With his principle that the ties of kinship come second to the ties of belief Mahomet gave a new basis to Arab society. Cæsar was a social inventor when he established the principle that insolvency shall not cost the debtor his freedom; St. Benedict when he devised the "Rule" that gave form to the thousand monastic communities of Western Europe; Hildebrand when he imposed sacerdotal

celibacy upon the Church. Pythagoras, St. Francis, and Loyola originated new types of religious confraternity. Henry IV instituted the invalid soldiers' home. Grotius modified the relations among nations. Robert Raikes invented the Sunday School; Toynbee, the social settlement; Le Claire, the profit-sharing group; Raffeisen and Schulze-Delitzsch, the coöperative credit association. Pinel and Tuke, the modern insane hospital; Marbeau, the *crèche*; Howard and his successors, the reformatory; Barnardo, boys' work; George, the Junior Republic; Leverhulme, the "garden city."

TRANSFORMATIONS OF OUR TIME

Ours is a tumultuously dynamic phase. Never before has the bulk of mankind been required to adapt itself so quickly to great underlying changes.

In 1930 Professor W. F. Ogburn observed with justice ¹⁰:

Never before in the history of the world has there been so much change. The radio broadcasting has been a development of the past ten years. So also has been the auto-bus service. The good roads have come within the past twenty years. The electric refrigerators are a product of the past five years. The talking picture is only two years old. Moving pictures have developed within twenty years. The great growth of chain stores has taken place within the past ten years. The replacement of the horse on the farms by the tractor has occurred in the west since the war. Telephone service across the Atlantic is a result of the past three years. Transportation by air is a post-war growth. There were no investment trusts in the United States before the war. The era of great mergers in businesses and banks has been within the last decade. The use of color in decoration and clothing has been greatest in the past ten years. There has probably been more social change in the State of Virginia in the past ten years than in a thousand years in ancient Egypt, more than in two hundred years in the Middle Ages and more than in five or ten thousand years among primitive peoples not in contact with civilization. Society hitherto has been largely a relatively stationary society. Change was so slow, for instance, in Biblical times, that no one ever thought of living as changing at all. It was only in the eighteenth century that people began to write about changes.

These changes have not been all in the realm of mechanical invention and other widespread adoption. There are many changes in social organization and in our social habits. For instance, the family is undergoing profound changes, the birth rate is falling and the decline has been rather precipitous since the war. So that families are much smaller now than they were a generation ago or even than five years ago. Since

¹⁰ Commencement Address before Randolph-Macon College, Virginia.

1900 the number of restaurants has increased four times as fast as the number of families. The number of house servants has declined while the number of waiters in hotels and restaurants and the number of bakeries has increased. Our religious life is changing. Churches are discussing consolidation. There are fewer doctrinal sermons. The churches are taking an active part in the social life of our cities. The emphasis is more on the ethical conduct of social groups. Puritanism is on the decline.

Particularly is the position of women changing in society. The loom and spindle have long since deserted the home. The laundry tub and the sewing machine have made an exit in many homes, while the broom and stove are used fewer hours. The hours of labor of women in the home are declining, especially in the homes where there are no children or where the children have grown up. One out of every four women who work is a married woman, and one out of every eleven married women now works outside of the home.

Primary factors of contemporary social change.

1. The wide introduction of machinery and mechanical power.
2. Improvements in means of transport and communication.
3. The application of science to warfare.
4. Discovery of many means of combating disease.
5. The cheapness of printed matter.
6. The social policy of universal education.
7. Adoption of the scientific method in all fields of inquiry.
8. The establishment of *evolution* as a universal process.
9. The discovery of means of contraception.

Secondary factors of contemporary social change. Roughly the derivations of these are:

- a. The growth of cities; from 1, 2, 4, and 5.
- b. The extensive fixation of capital; from 1.
- c. Great-scale industry; from 1, 2, and a.
- d. Appearance of a leisure class founded on income from industrial capital rather than on the profits of commercial capital or the rent of land; from b and c.
- e. Immense displacements of population by voluntary migration; from 2, 5, and 6.
- f. Intermingling of dissimilar races and discordant cultures; from 2 and e.
- g. Rise in the plane of popular intelligence; from 2, 5, and 6.
- h. A higher standard of living; from 1, 2, a, and g.
- i. Weakening of the authority of religion; from 7, 8, and g.
- j. The voluntary limitation of the size of the family; from 4, 9, g, h, and i.
- k. Acquisition of political power by the popular classes; from g, h, and i.

Mechanization. The greatest single influence transforming human life, both individual and collective, in our time is *the machine*. Among its effects are:

1. The extinction of the great class of independent skilled craftsmen, living mostly under favorable and fairly decent conditions and generally satisfied therewith.
2. The appearance of localized aggregates of workers living under inherently unfavorable and disagreeable conditions with which they are dissatisfied.
3. Transfer of production from the skilled craftsmen to the financial operator—the manufacturer—directing machines and unskilled machine tenders.
4. Waste of productive capacity by the recurrent conflicts of employers with organized employees.
5. Waste of productive capacity by the periodical stoppage or slowing down of industry in consequence of production outrunning the buying power of the public. Industrial depression, unemployment, misery and anxiety until the goods in excess are somehow cleared away.
6. The formation of combines and trusts with the object of regulating the supply and prices of commodities without regard to economic conditions or the interests of the public.
7. "The creation of a relatively small number of immensely rich men having, through their wealth, the power to modify the conditions of life of the community and to control and direct the mental states and actions of their fellow men."¹¹
8. The capture by the capital-furnishing class of an increasing proportion of the entire product as the "earnings" of their capital.
9. The utilization of innumerable forces—economic, financial, social, and governmental—to protect and augment the share of the product going to capital-furnishers and to hold down the share going to labor-furnishers.
10. Lowering of the self-confidence and social status of the worker by hand or brain and exaltation of the pride and social prestige of the non-worker, *i.e.*, the "investor" of capital.

Adjustments urgently needed. Ideas, standards, and policies are quite as real entities as cannon and motor trucks, *for they direct men's actions!* Unfortunately, it is not so easy to perceive when an idea, standard, or policy is out of date and ready to be scrapped as it is to perceive when a machine or technique is out of date and ready to be scrapped. Consequently the great majority of men are holding to ideas, standards and policies which they learned from their parents or adopted in their youth, but which are unsuited to the changed situation.¹²

¹¹ R. Austin Freeman, *Social Decay and Regeneration*, 1921, p. 167.

¹² To illustrate: the idea of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man might render supreme service in this era of race intermingling. But see how it is compromised by

For example, now that necessities of life for the masses are in the channels of trade, the business man should not expect to be left as free from regulation as he was in the days when trade was chiefly in superfluities for the classes. More and more a concern engaged in supplying the public with a necessary will be looked upon as a public instrumentality and will be obliged to accept certain responsibilities. A generation ago the courts began to recognize that certain businesses are "affected with a public interest." In the eyes of the sociologist *all* considerable enterprises supplying us with essential goods or services are "affected with a public interest," and may properly be restrained from furnishing that which is other-than-as-represented, from arbitrarily discriminating among their customers, and from knifing their competitors.

Danger ahead. The prospect before humanity is dazzling. Within living memory science and invention have put mankind in possession of the means of ridding themselves of plague, famine, penury, overpopulation, ignorance, superstition, priestcraft, fanaticism, despotism, slavery, and caste. They have only to do everywhere what is now being done with success somewhere. But most men's ideas of human relations and responsibilities are those of an earlier and simpler time. In many ways their inherited traditions inhibit their seizing the opportunities for good will, peace, enlightenment, and social progress which beckon them. On the whole their conduct and policies have not been accommodated to the rapidly-developing social situation, so that at many points we perceive class animosity, national antagonism, or race antipathy growing up. To reach the promised land shimmering on the horizon our generation has to negotiate a perilous "knife-edge"; and our generation *may fail!*

the diction of war and monarchy. The common appellations of Jesus are "Lord," "Lord of Hosts," "King," "Prince," "Master." The Christian life is represented as a warfare, or as the orderly working of a great royal household with "servants," "stewards," "messengers," "soldiers." Among our favorite hymns are "Onward, Christian Soldiers," "Fight the Good Fight," "Hold the Fort." Says Fairchild: "As embodied in the formulated sects of to-day, the Christian religion is essentially pastoral, patriarchal, militaristic, despotic and feudalistic, and therefore fails to appeal to the citizen of an industrial democracy as a vital and practical thing. All the paraphernalia of thrones, diadems, armor, and blood-red banners arouse no response in the mind or heart of the day laborer, the clerk, or the mechanic—they are symbols without significance." *Applied Sociology*, p. 321.

CHAPTER XLIII

RECONSTRUCTION

Must we be content with such betterments as come of themselves or may we put in a hand to bring about desired changes? Surely the latter! We study living forms to find means of improving the useful species of plant and animal. We search out the laws of physical forces in order to devise ways of harnessing them to the service of man. With microscope and tube and stain we probe the life history of microorganisms in the hope of better protecting ourselves against these invisible enemies. Why, then, is it not legitimate to study social phenomena in the hope of learning how to mould them to our wishes? We suppress smallpox, typhus, diphtheria, the bubonic plague—why not endeavor to banish such recognized social maladies as prostitution, juvenile delinquency, child exploitation, tramperry, mob violence, family break-up, religious rancor?

Otherwise why develop social science? For what is the use of working out causes and effects, of discovering how certain things condition other things, if we are to do nothing with this knowledge? In this time of growing social consciousness and easy dissemination of ideas are we to rest content with such tardy, haphazard improvements as are brought about by blind social evolution? Either leave society in self-ignorance or be reconciled to endeavors to improve it by intelligent collective will.

Long before there was record, the social will began to divert the natural course of things. One of the oldest controls of human relations is pair marriage. What a bold interference of the community with a private matter—yet few wish to see it dropped!

The “do nothing” philosophy. The social philosophy which expects the state to protect its *individual citizens* in their rights but to ignore *the social welfare* would require us to let the slave trade start up again, allow the lottery to return, leave untrammelled the circulation of salacious books and pictures, give free course to the sale of narcotics and habit-forming drugs, tolerate polygamy, let the Spanish bull-fight acclimatize itself among us, and fold our hands while saloon and bawdy house, gambling room and opium den, animated by boundless greed, do their utmost to break down the good habits which home and school and

church have been at endless pains to build up. An alluring program!

Consider the outcome of successful foreign Christian missions. After investigation on the spot I wrote of missions in China ¹:

What of the young men leaving the mission colleges unconverted, yet imbued with Christian ideals? What of the bracing effect on the government schools of competition with the well-managed and efficient mission schools? What of the government schools for girls, which would never have been provided if the missionaries had not created a demand for female education and shown how to teach girls? What of the native philanthropies which have sprung up in emulation of the mission care for the blind, the insane, and the leper? What of the untraceable influence of the Western books of inspiration and learning which, but for the missionary translations, would not yet be accessible to the Chinese mind? Among Chinese who neither know nor care for the "Jesus religion," the changes of attitude toward opium-smoking, foot-binding, concubinage, slavery, "squeeze," torture, and the subjection of women, betray currents of opinion set in motion largely by the labors of missionaries.

Let-alone (laissez-faire) was a philosophy wrought out by honest European thinkers, eager for social progress, who thought nothing would help like the removal of such old class hindrances to the operation of beneficent social forces as imprisonment for debt, the established church, laws against the combination of workmen, protective tariffs, and restraints of trade.

However, it just suited the rising capitalist class to insist that their success came to them in a "natural" order and owed nothing to favoring laws and institutions. For them, possessing already the legal rights which their pecuniary interests required, it was good tactics to cry down the devising of legal remedies on behalf of tenants, or laborers, or consumers, or women, or minors; to insist on the futility of man's laws in the face of "Nature's laws"; and to harp on the failure of laws badly-drawn, unworkable, or never enforced, to yield the results hoped for!

The discrediting of do-nothing. The let-alone social philosophy touched its zenith in the third quarter of the last century. Then its power over minds began to be broken down, partly by the success and extension of such bold enterprises of social reconstruction as the German workingmen's insurance legislation, partly by the criticisms of thinkers like Lester F. Ward, the great champion of building up the science of society for the purpose of giving people some control over their destiny.

Do-nothingism is now in utter discredit with the disinterested by rea-

¹ E. A. Ross, *The Changing Chinese*, 1911, pp. 245-46.

son of the unchallenged successes which stand to the account of the interventionist policy. Among these are:

1. Universal education at the public expense.
2. Social insurance.
3. Public provision of libraries.
4. Public provision of facilities for recreation.
5. Restriction of the industrial labor of children and women.
6. Reformative treatment of juvenile and first offenders.
7. The setting up at public expense of health centers and clinics.
8. Public works to absorb the unemployed.
9. The conservation of natural resources.

Societies which have adopted these policies show no inclination to falter or turn back, but rather move onward. Continually they perfect and extend them while other societies, after looking into their results, adopt them. If these are not proofs of success what should constitute such proof?

Other controls of social phenomena too recent, perhaps, to be regarded as settled give strong signs of permanence. Among these are:

1. The extirpation of prostitution and the "social" diseases.
2. Housing regulation and city planning.
3. The social regulation of wages and hours in industry.
4. Compulsory unemployment insurance.
5. Instruction of the young on the subject of sex.
6. Sterilization of born mental defectives.
7. The setting up of a code of practice for each branch of business.
8. The authoritative settlement of industrial disputes.

These daring experiments in the deliberate shaping of social destiny have not disappointed men's hopes. The peoples which have ventured on these measures have to an amazing degree added to their longevity and lessened their sickness, mortality and loss of infant life. Comparison of the heights, weights and intellectual performance of school children shows that those peoples have the brightest outlook for the improvement of the next generation over this, which have been the most courageous and enterprising in applying intelligence to the removal of acknowledged social ills.

A modern instance. A belated society aiming to "catch up" may safely introduce changes in a wholesale way. Under the leadership of a progressive Parliament and an iron-willed President of immense popular prestige Turkey has in fifteen years achieved:

1. The abolition of the Caliphate.
2. The freeing of the State from religious domination.

3. The closing of the old mosque schools, centers of narrow and fanatical teaching, and the reorganization and secularization of education.
4. The abandonment of Islamic law and the adoption of a law code patterned on that of the Swiss.
5. The outlawing of polygamy and the reorganizing of the family on the basis of the equality of husband and wife.
6. The emancipation of women.
7. The adoption of the Western calendar.
8. The suppression of Arabic script and the compulsory adoption of Latin script.

While such examples encourage us to endeavor to remould society "nearer to our heart's desire," there is, nevertheless, little prospect of success unless certain precautions are observed.

CANONS OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

1. *Reforms must not misread human nature.* Proposals for having women in common, which have cropped up among Utopians ever since Plato, ignore the stubborn fact of sexual jealousy. "Free love" has no future because of the general craving for the comforting sense of security in love. Of the sixty-odd experiments in community life which have been launched in the United States all failed save those on a religious basis, because not sufficient allowance had been made for the greed and selfishness of the ordinary unsanctified person. Attempts to live in one big building, the Fourier phalanstery, collided with the widespread yearning for domestic privacy. Proposals for the state guardianship of children have not met with popular favor because they outrage the parental instinct. A century ago Utopians like Charles Fourier and Robert Owen assumed that God made man good, hence his faults must come from living in a bad social system. Make his surroundings right, and his inborn bent for harmony with his fellows will insure the success of a communistic order. But since Darwin traced the descent of man from sub-man, we may not view human nature in so rosy a light. Man's disposition was evolved in his pre-human phase as a part of his equipment for survival and includes some instincts which clash with social harmony.

2. *Reforms must square with essential realities if they are to succeed.* The anarchism of Kropotkin and Tolstoi grew out of observation of the process of spontaneous human adjustment in the Russian rural village and is unsuited to the expanded economic society of to-day. Coöperative production has disappointed expectations because business management is more difficult than it was formerly supposed to be. The settlement of

city families upon rural land fails, not from inherent difficulty but because not enough instruction, guidance and credit have been provided for the inexperienced settler. The Russian Communists at first quite underrated the rôle of managers and technical experts in production and after letting them go were eventually obliged to lure them back into the factories by high pay and promise of a free hand.

3. *Intervention should be preceded by a close study of the situation it is proposed to control.* The ambition to create a "science of society" has had the effect of importing into the study of social conditions the methods of exact observation in the field, counting, measurement, induction, and verification, all of which had been worked out in the older sciences. As a result, the interventions of to-day are made not on the basis of brilliant dreams and "hunches," but on the basis of comprehensive, thorough, and impartial investigation. Whether it be a legislature setting up a system of vocational education, a religious denomination planning the resuscitation of the country church, a philanthropic association forging a program on behalf of the rural young people, a wealthy foundation confronting the problem of promoting public health, or a great industrial concern under the necessity of gaining the good will of its employees, policy waits upon the results of a survey of the situation by experts. Some of the great modern pieces of social legislation, prepared by commissions after elaborate testimony-taking, investigation, consultations with experts and deliberation, are veritable landmarks in scientific lawmaking.

Sociology is, however, not an exact science. Even our most pondered measures may have consequences quite unforeseen. Laws restricting the industrial labor of children, by raising the age limit and cutting down the hours of work as well as enforcing school attendance, have converted the workman's children from an asset into a burden. It is not surprising, then, that there has been a marked decline of births in the manufacturing towns. Workingmen's compensation was originally urged as a legal remedy; only experience showed its unanticipated efficacy in directing the employer's mind to the prevention of industrial accidents.

4. *A reform should be tried out on a small scale before being adopted on a large scale.* It is fortunate that the large number of commonwealths in the American Union permits one state to experiment for the other forty-seven. One state makes a new departure—a minimum wage for women, abolition of private employment bureaus, "mothers' pensions," the "social evil," probation of adult first offenders, the juvenile court, municipal ownership, factory sanitation, the surgical sterilization of

degenerates. Other states watch attentively the results of the experiment and "follow suit" if the results are encouraging. It is significant that constructive measures which have had the support of the leaders in social work have not failed at their try-out, but have been adopted, with some modification perhaps, by other states.

5. *The weaving of several reforms within the same field into a social "plan" is risky.* In its first phase a reform is brought forward as a remedy for a specific social ill which all agree should be corrected. Presently a number of sound reforms have been proposed for evils within a certain field, say that of credit. You want a remedy for pawnshops, for chattel mortgages, for crop liens, etc. Then someone asks, "Why not integrate all these into a single comprehensive plan for the supplying of credit in all the forms called for?" We have done just this in the field of education—and it is a success. But it should be pointed out that in your blanket plan you are not only linking acknowledged social ills, but are providing for a lot of things which are even now well handled. So your case for social intervention has ceased to be simple and clear.

6. *Every fundamental social reform should be the outcome of a social movement.* The most egregious failures in social therapy have been reforms introduced *from above* without that preliminary process of agitation by which understanding of and sympathy for the reform are created. The cause of popular education is not advanced merely by multiplying schools; usually there is need of a campaign which shall plant belief in and desire for education in young people and in their parents. Interference with the private habits of a people in order to promote their health is usually futile unless at least two-thirds of the people understand why the habits are bad. The creating of playgrounds is by no means the chief service of the recreation movement; the main thing is the spread of the gospel of play.

CHAPTER XLIV

REVOLUTION

Ours is a time of turmoil and upheaval. Never were so many peoples restless and critical as in the two decades since the World War. What overturns—Russia, Finland, Austria, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Italy, Turkey, Spain, China!

What is a revolution? No revulsion of public opinion or reversal of popular attitude, be it never so great and sudden, is a revolution. A revolution is *an abrupt shift of the center of dominance in society*, a wresting of power from the dominant element by an emergent element. The chief thing involved is, of course, *control of the state*, for in modern society the state is the supreme repository and organ of power; it alone has the tanks and cannon! Physical force always figures in a revolution, for a dominant element does not yield up power without a struggle, or at least a showdown.

Maladaptation and blockage. The type situation which hatches a revolution is this. Society is frequently called on to adapt itself, for it runs into new conditions, changes take place in the strength, position, prestige, or self-assertiveness of its constituent elements. Then, quite aside from underlying technological changes, mere growth in knowledge or rise of critical thought may cause certain established institutions or relations to be looked upon with hostility. Political or social organs decay, *i.e.*, they have become effete from standing still while society has moved on. They ought to be swept aside in order that something more serviceable may be put in their place.

Provided thought and discussion are unshackled, in due course there grows up an overwhelming public opinion *against* serfdom, feudal rights, "enclosures," a savage penal code, a hereditary upper house, upper-class monopoly of government jobs; *for* separation of church and state, break-up of the landed estates, the "homestead" disposal of the public domain, public education, extension of the suffrage, the regulation of public utilities, *etc.* The needful adjustment could be made peacefully, almost painlessly.

However, the powerholders may be too shortsighted, selfish, or pig-

headed to permit it. If they deem it will cost their class too much, they stick at nothing in order to block it. Brutally they interfere with the process by which adaptive changes are normally brought about. They gag critics, jail agitators, pillory spokesmen of the people, ride down and saber public gatherings, hound original and independent thinkers, hamper the free formation of groups and free selection of leaders; so that needed reform perishes in the womb. Thereupon the distress, the sense of injustice and repression, of multitudes of men grows and spreads until either the dominant class becoming alarmed stands aside, or else an upheaval occurs. The typical cause of revolution, then, is *the selfish blocking of greatly and generally desired social adjustments by the holders of power*. President Woodrow Wilson was right when he declared, "Repression is the seed of revolution."

Can revolution be engineered? Sociologists reject with contempt the theory, dear to refugee dominators, that revolutionary discontent has been stirred up by a few gifted but unscrupulous Utopians or sore-heads, whose inflammatory eloquence rouses people to revolt even when they are actually well-governed and have nothing serious to complain of. Bah! The bulk of men are not fools; they cannot be made discontented by vain imaginings nor can they be stampeded by seditious suggestions that clash with their upbringing and their settled habits.

What sets off a revolution? Not always is oppression at its worst just before the outbreak of revolution. Charles I of England was brought to the block but his rule was mild and constitutional compared with that of Henry VIII, whose popularity never waned. The revolting American colonies were not worse off under George III than under his predecessors, but better off. The revolting French peasants of 1789 were far from being the most wretched peasants on the Continent. It was just because *the French bourgeoisie had been gaining in wealth, intelligence and social importance* that they resented more and more bitterly the monopoly of power by a throne and aristocracy they no longer revered. The immediate precipitating cause of a revolution is likely to be *some disaster*—dearth, loss of a war, national bankruptcy—*which produces widespread suffering and utterly discredits the existing régime*.

Transfer of the allegiance of the intellectuals.¹ It is a portent of revolution when in numbers the gifted writers, orators, artists, scholars, teachers, even clergymen, quit the dominators and at great personal sacrifice and risk take up the cause of the oppressed. Adams, Otis, Lee, Franklin and many other leaders of the American Revolution dis-

¹ See Lyford Edwards, *The Natural History of Revolution*, 1927, Chap. IV.

tinguished themselves by their championship of colonial rights at least ten years before the Declaration of Independence. In France down to about 1740 none of the outstanding publicists challenged the existing social order or attacked the divine right of kings. Then set in a great intellectual movement led by the "encyclopædists" and philosophers, which so riddled monarchical, aristocratic, and ecclesiastical pretensions that the privileged were silenced; many of them even came to doubt their own cause! The transfer of the allegiance of the Russian intellectuals was gradual; Dostoievsky and Tolstoi hit tsardom harder than had Gogol and Pushkin, while Kropotkin and Gorki hit hardest of all.

Not only are the dogmas, assumptions and arguments which prop the odious domination riddled, but the repressive class itself is stretched on the rack of pitiless publicity. "Its weakness and its failures, its ignorance and stupidities, its sins and its shames, its vices and its crimes, its heartlessness and its frivolity are dwelt upon—not once or twice but a hundred and a thousand times. No class of people is ever subjected to such complete exposure and such terrific attack as the dominant class in a pre-revolutionary society."²

Besides the deluge of philosophical treatises, historical works, critical writings, pamphlets, poems, plays, and novels which formulate, justify and circulate revolutionary ideas among the educated, a vast deal of pot-house discussion and open-air debate goes on which spreads these ideas among the illiterate.

From "bourgeois" revolution to proletarian revolution. The American and French revolutions with their train of overturns brought in the democratic epoch. But with the passing of absolutism and the spread of representative government revolutions are more and more coming to be economic and social in their aims. Shall the immense volume of capital involved in latter-day production be private property yielding its owners a perpetual income and releasing them and their descendants altogether from work? Or shall it be publicly owned, yield money returns to nobody and thus provide no support for a luxurious idle class? The Russian revolution of 1917 overturned the state controlled by the big land holders and capitalists and in its place set up an organization controlled by the Communist Party, dedicated to the interests of workers and peasants. In the twenty years since, a huge "bureaucracy" or "apparatus" has come into existence in order to direct production, for Marx's forecast that plenty of talent for this responsi-

² Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

bility can be drawn right out of the ranks of labor has not been borne out by experience.

The social myth. Revolutions owe much of their drive to what Sorel calls "the social myth," *i.e.*, a dream of "things as they might be" arising from *a fusion of the ideas developed by the revolutionary intellectuals with the elemental wishes of the repressed masses*. The Protestant Reformers saw themselves restoring to the world pure Galilean Christianity. The English Puritans, less than a tenth of the people, looked forward to a reign of the "saints," they being the saints. The social myth of the French revolutionaries was *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* and they propagated it with an ardor and disregard of self truly apostolic. Fired with the vision of a new social order free from capitalist domination the Russian Communists, scanning the horizon, see signs of early proletarian uprising and oncoming "world social revolution" where the practised eye detects nothing of the sort.

What the revolution consists in. Once the power of the dominant class is broken, the revolutionists proceed to strip it of all means of regaining power. The feudal lords are not allowed longer to keep "retainers" (armed men). The estates of the great landowners are broken up into small holdings and disposed of to actual cultivators. The Church is stripped of its vast landed properties, its monopoly of religion, and its monopoly of elementary instruction. The slaves of the planters are set free. The railroad companies are deprived of their power to fix rates arbitrarily. A hereditary upper chamber composed of title holders is abolished. Property qualifications for the suffrage disappear. The more odious of the former dominators are executed or banished.

Expectations and realizations. From contacts with revolutions at different stages there remains with me one clear impression, *viz.*, *they cost more than their leaders anticipate*. While traveling in China in 1910 I talked with several who were to lead in the overthrow of the effete Manchu domination the succeeding year. They cherished glowing hopes of the progress China would make once the Manchu incubus was removed. The Americans in China were generally sympathetic with the idea of a republic in China but the British had no faith in the ability of the Chinese to work representative institutions then. In 1911 the revolution broke and soon the venerable dynasty which the people were in the habit of obeying disappeared. The outcome vindicated the judgment of the British.

In Mexico in 1922 (also in 1928 and 1936), while observing a society

which had just emerged from nine years of fighting and turmoil, I recalled the rosy predictions I had heard from young Mexican revolutionaries before 1910. They expected that, within a year after the blow-up, the Diaz régime with its creatures and followers would be disposed of so that the patriots would be free to devote all their attention to realizing a program of upbuilding and creation. Instead of one year it required *nine* years for Mexico to be unified again under one government. During this long unsettled period the habit of idling and fighting instead of working, of wielding gun rather than spade, of overriding morality and law and "running wild," became so widespread that it was difficult to build up forces that could cow the bandit element. Economically the country was prostrate like a man after a long siege of typhoid.

The good from revolutions. Consider the American Revolution. What it freed our Colonial forefathers from has been summed up by the Beards:

The spirit of domestic politics, especially in the royal provinces, was distinctly altered by the sudden removal of the British ruling class—a class accustomed to a barbarous criminal code, a narrow and intolerant university system, a government conceived as a huge aggregation of jobs and privileges, a contempt for men and women who toiled in field and shop, a denial of education to the masses, an established religion forced alike on Dissenters and Catholics, a dominion of squire and parson in counties and villages, callous brutality in army and navy, a scheme of primogeniture buttressing the rule of the landed gentry, a swarm of hungry placemen offering sycophancy to the King in exchange for offices, sinecures and pensions, and a constitution of church and state so ordered as to fasten upon the masses this immense pile of pride and plunder. From the weight of this mountain the American revolutionists delivered the Colonial subjects of the British Crown. Within a decade or two after that emancipation they accomplished reforms in law and policy which required a hundred years or more of persistent agitation to effect in the mother country. . . .³

The successful Colonials rid themselves of (1) Royal restraints on the seizure and enjoyment of the trans-Allegheny vacant lands; (2) the quit-rents (\$100,000 a year) paid by American farmers to the King and to the Penns and Baltimores; (3) the great Tory estates including Sir William Pepperel's Maine holdings extending thirty miles along the coast, the Phillipse heritage in New York embracing about three hundred square miles, the properties of the Penn family worth in round numbers about five million dollars and the Fairfax estate in Virginia stretching out like a province. The confiscated property of the Tories

³ Charles and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, 1930, vol. I, p. 292.

amounted to at least \$35,000,000 which in our money would hardly come to less than three or four times as many dollars; (4) the system of entail and primogeniture. Within fifteen years every state had abolished primogeniture.

Must revolutions occur? Revolution is so terribly costly and disruptive that we ought to dread it as we dread smallpox.. Is there any vaccine against it? Certainly there is. If society can insure itself against being bitted and ridden by a selfish class, what charm would the violent overthrow of government have for anyone not a fool or a knave? ⁴ When there is unhampered public discussion and formation of parties, when all citizens may vote and their votes are "counted as cast," all resort to force to get rid of a bad government is vicious, since the voters can rid themselves of it at the next election. If the bulk of them are so naïve as to let "people rule" become a sham, they would not be clever enough to prevent a "people's revolution" from becoming a sham likewise. We must grant that even under genuine democracy remedies which the workers have dire need of but which the employing class stubbornly oppose are delayed for years by the veiled use of corrupt party "machines" and false propaganda by this class, not to mention the strangling of remedial laws by "court review"! But savage class strife has been avoided, there is no plotting to overthrow government, the "ins" do not employ terrorism against the "outs," the people continue to enjoy full political freedom, and no one dreams of "dictatorship."

Whether the spirit of revolution is some day to become rife among Americans may be foretold by watching what happens to our agitative liberties. Should liberty of speech, press, demonstration, organization, *etc.*, be seriously curtailed, many grave ills will be left untreated. Consequently popular discontent will grow and this will seem to warrant more and tighter restrictions—which will result in still grosser neglect of social ailments! For, once you enter this perilous path, you have to go on and on until at the end you find yourself facing revolution!

If our propertied withstand the critics and opponents of the current social order in every legitimate way but, nevertheless, leave intact the agitative liberties as conceived by the "Fathers," much will be said which they may not like and some policies adopted which may lessen

⁴ "So far as there is definite human responsibility for the wasteful ferocity of violent revolution, it must lie mainly at the doors of those die-hard reactionary classes and groups that are too short-sightedly selfish to make the compromises, concessions, and adjustments that are necessary for orderly progress." W. H. Chamberlin, *Collectivism, A False Utopia*, The Macmillan Company, 1938, p. 251.

their profits; but still they and their legitimate interests *will be safe*. Whatever political tendency comes uppermost, they need not go in fear of revolutionary violence.

Even those contending that "social revolution to overthrow capitalism is inevitable" should be left unmolested and their party should have its place on the official ballot. Free institutions will take far more harm from muzzling them than from letting them have their say. For American post-war experience has abundantly shown that a legal ban on "subversive" doctrine does not work as intended. It is used not so much by honest patriots to hamper the propagation of revolutionary ideas as by unprincipled schemers to persecute the more trenchant critics of the class that is in the saddle.

PART IX
SOCIAL PRODUCTS

CHAPTER

- XLV. CULTURE PLANES
XLVI. STANDARDS
XLVII. GROUPS
XLVIII. INSTITUTIONS

CHAPTER XLV

CULTURE PLANES

The civilization of those Chinese who more than thirty centuries ago came down the valley of the Wei River—it has spread and spread until half a billion people in Eastern Asia light their tapers at its flame! Uncounted savage tribes and barbarian hordes have succumbed to its influence. Says Metchnikoff¹:

Whatever these heterogeneous tribes have of civilized life, Kalmucks of the Russian steppes and Annamites of Tonkin, Tunguses of Siberia, Manchus of the Amur and the Ussuri, mariners of Fokien and Canton, emanates from one and the same center of civilization, the "Land of the Hundred Families." . . . Nor can one doubt that if Japan had not had the good fortune to light her torch at the fire of the Celestial Empire, she would perhaps have remained like the Philippines with their Tagals and their Visayas.

Nestorian Christianity came, flourished for a time and vanished. The Jews of Kaifêng-fu lost their language and their religion and became Chinese in all but physiognomy. The conquering Manchus have forgotten their language and literature. "China is a sea which salts everything which flows into it."

Take the Near East. What wealth of contrast Homer would have noted in the country between Bokhara and Morocco! But the Saracen flood passed over it and now it has the sameness of an ancient beach from which the sea has ebbed. No sooner is one south of the Caucasus than the eye notes such characteristic "Eastern" features as

shaven heads and mustachios, instead of the full beard; the middle girt by the gay sash or the fancy ornamental belt; brimless caps of lamb-skin and huge black mantles of shaggy felt; embroidered heelless slippers or soft-soled boots; baggy cotton trousers tied in at the ankles; strings of beads for the man's idle hands to play with; merchants sitting cross-legged on beautiful hand-woven rugs; barefoot, veiled women and women draped with festoons of coins; finger nails and grizzling beards stained with henna; shepherds who look as if they live on locusts and wild honey; importunate beggars with the air of having an assured so-

¹ L. Metchnikoff, *La civilisation et les grands fleuves historiques*, 1889, p. 321.

cial position; diminutive donkeys, Biblical asses, camels of the desert and slow-moving oxen at the plow; piles of pomegranates, and long, sweet grapes; sacks of goatskin, with the hair turned inside, distended with wine or olive oil; draft animals bedecked about the head with beads to avert the evil eye; heifers treading out the grain on threshing floors; bricks of mud and straw drying in the sun; white-washed mud huts with flat roofs; doomed *marabouts*, and Moorish architecture.²

Plane-making and plane-breaking. All down the stream of history diversifying forces have been at work and homogenizing forces have been at work; but for most of the time they have been out of balance. During the pushing out of the Roman frontiers and the diffusion of the classic culture the likeness-producing forces had the upper hand. After the break-up of the Empire and the decay of communications, *i.e.*, after the fifth century A.D., the diversifying forces came on top, as we see plainly in the development of a whole sisterhood of Romance languages out of Latin.

Could one have flown about the earth, say six thousand years ago, when the cultures of Egypt and Babylonia were but infants one would have seen thousands of nearly isolated kindreds, tribes and peoples, each with its more or less distinctive tools, weapons, speech, folkways, standards, and cult. Since then differencing forces have been active as well as assimilating forces, but for much of the time the latter have been stronger. The net result is that to-day we find mankind aggregated into sixty-odd political units and perhaps a hundred self-conscious nationalities, while nine-tenths of them speak some one of a score of leading tongues and adhere to one or another of half a dozen great religions. No doubt, as the centuries pass, there will be fewer tongues, states, and nationalities.

The extension of culture planes. Freely communicating men are likely to gravitate in time into common planes. In early ages only those of the same group, the same stock, or the same valley fell into these common planes. But culture gains radiant energy until such an element as the Arabic speech, the written characters of China, the religion of Islam, or the game of chess overcomes all rivals in its neighborhood and draws myriads of people into one plane. While such planes have been extended and broken countless times, the improvement of the means of communication causes them to form on an ever vaster scale. Never before our time has a convention like the dress suit, a sport like tennis, or a convenience like the sewing machine been so widely diffused over the earth.

² E. A. Ross, *Russia in Upheaval*, 1918, pp. 51-52.

Civilization, which once was *fluvial*—as on the Nile, the Euphrates, the Ganges, the Hoang Ho; then *maritime*—as on the Persian Gulf, the Ægean, the Mediterranean, the Yellow Sea; then *oceanic*—as was possible after Columbus and Magellan; has in a lifetime become *planetary*!

Generally peoples have been more alike than their habitats. So those elements of culture spread farthest which chord with human nature and those spread least which, bearing the impress of a particular geographical environment, are handicapped in appealing to men in any other environment. The imagery of Christianity is so foreign to the Eskimos that the translator of the New Testament into their tongue had to render the word "sheep," wherever it occurred, by "little seals." What commends the Gospel to the Greenlander is, therefore, not its pastoral background, but its chiming with the better impulses of his heart.

If a truth like the rotundity of the earth wins assent, the resulting agreement never breaks up; but planes laid down by *relative* values shatter if *something better* presents itself. The use of bronze spreads until the smelting of iron is developed. Romanesque churches multiply until the Gothic type is perfected. After touching its perigee the Phœnician culture recoiled before the Graeco-Roman culture. Hieroglyphic writing spread, then gave way to the simpler alphabetic writing. The abacus conquered China and Russia, then collapsed from the spread of the practice of "figuring" made possible by the invention of the cipher (o). The formal duel, after gaining vogue with the upper orders, everywhere, has pretty well gone out owing to the decline of the military spirit and the growth of the influence of the common people.

Culture spread as affected by dominion. Some things are so good that they meet with favor and furtherance everywhere, *e.g.*, coffee, quinine, the cross-bow, the pulley, printing from movable type, the safety razor. On the other hand, the boundaries between different religions, types of family, and moral codes curiously coincide with the limits of by-gone empire. Hellenic civilization took root wherever Alexander went and stopped where he stopped. The line between Latin and Teutonic Europe is strangely reminiscent of the *limes*, or frontier, of the Roman Empire. Islam went where the conquering Arab, Turk or Mogul bore it, rarely farther. There would be to-day no penetration of modern civilization into Japan, India, China, Turkestan, the Caucasus, Northern Africa or the Soudan if some Western nation had not gone there sword in hand. How long would it have been before, on their own initiative, the Filipinos would have gained the benefit of such American blessings as public sanitation, compulsory schooling, equality before the law, the

"merit system" and representative government? Surely a century or two.

Why some good things need to be pushed. The reason why some good things spread of themselves, whereas other good things do not spread unless they have military or political backing or are propagated, hinges on a distinction set forth by Keller ³:

It is not hard to demonstrate to an ignorant person in this country that he should learn to read and write; he can see that by living in this society. Similarly for his interest is it that he shall use the English language. Tests lie all about him and are immediate and decisive. But try to persuade him by abstract argument to give up the vendetta, to renounce anarchistic leanings, or to change his religion, and you fail. There are no immediate and decisive tests at hand. You cannot demonstrate that interest will be subserved by change; you cannot even secure visualization of evil consequences. . . . The more nearly custom represents direct reaction on environment in the actual struggle for material aids to existence, the more rational a test does it undergo; and, conversely, the more derived the societal forms the more clearly do they fall under the tests of tradition rather than reason. . . . You can persuade a savage of the inadequacy of his stone hatchet long before he can be made to see that his family system is capable of being superseded by one yielding better satisfaction to his interests.

This is why superior drinks, foods, narcotics, materials, tools, implements, methods of production, and means of enjoyment make their way rapidly among peoples and races; while superior sex morals, forms of the family, upbringing of children, relations between parents and children, status of social classes, treatment of the weak, relief of the poor, types of recreation, and political institutions spread slowly or not at all. Since their merit is not so evident and appealing as that of a reaper or a bicycle, people reject them and persist in their bad old ways. Here is justification for the right type of foreign missions, for to-day along with the propagation of the elements of the Christian religion goes propagation of the best moral standards, family type, class relations, civic ideals, educational methods, and governmental policies in the country which sends out the missionary.

The missionary (in China) is the introducer of current Western standards. He instructs his schoolboys respecting bathing, spitting, the use of the handkerchief, neatness of garb, the care of one's room, modesty in personal habits. He teaches the people to clean house and yard, to white-wash the walls of the home, to scour the floors of the school room or church. He enforces the duty of being humane to dumb animals, of sparing defective children, of educating daughters, and consulting the wife.

³ A. G. Keller, *Societal Evolution*, 1915, pp. 131-36.

Unwittingly he reads into the Scriptures everything that has commended itself to the conscience of Christendom, and becomes, in spite of himself, the voice of his country and his time. The girls' schools in the American missions reflect American ideas as to woman's proper place. The industrial schools inoculate with American belief in the dignity of manual labor a people so disdainful of toil that every one exempt from it advertises the fact by wearing his finger-nails long. The notions of government taught in the mission colleges would have horrified those who Christianized the Irish and the Saxons. The place these same colleges give to natural science and scientific methods betrays the modern spirit, and would have scandalized St. Boniface or St. Francis Xavier.⁴

Religious missions, therefore, are an infinitely milder and cheaper means of disseminating the higher elements of a superior culture than dominion. The proper relation between force and persuasion is seen in the Far East, where the gun boats of the European powers have procured for missionaries only the opportunity to live, work, and go about without molestation.

Social results of culture diffusion. The use of sewing machines on opposite sides of the Pacific of itself does nothing to better relations between East and West, but it may open a door to the introduction of non-material culture elements which *will* knit the hearts of their users. The sharing of techniques and processes hardly inspires good will, but it eases the kindling of good will, makes harder the keeping alive of inveterate animosities. Extirpative warfare is less likely to occur when combatants have much in common. Broad community of culture does not beget coöperation, but it makes peoples readier to coöperate when good opportunities to coöperate present themselves. We may liken the multiplication of culture planes between peoples to an amelioration of climate which causes the glaciers of misunderstanding and mistrust to retire from the peopled valleys to the remote and inhospitable highlands, where they do the least harm.

⁴ E. A. Ross, *The Changing Chinese*, 1911, pp. 246, 249.

CHAPTER XLVI

STANDARDS

Behavior planes are laid through society not only by voluntary imitation, as I have just shown, but also by social pressure. A certain doing or abstaining is believed to affect human welfare, so it is bound upon all. The pattern society thus projects may be called *standard*. Whether it is enforced by the police or is left to public opinion is of no great moment; *it controls!*

Standards are key products. A society's individuality comes out more in its standards than in anything else. The characterizing differences between medieval society and modern society, between Western society and Chinese society, between aristocratic society and democratic society, between capitalist society and communist society, are to be read in the standards of behavior which these societies respectively impose. Founders of religion, prophets, saints, reformers, orators, poets, and artists leave their mark chiefly by making or modifying standards. Tell me a people's behavior standards and I will sketch for you its social order.

Its standards constitute, as it were, a trestle by which a people rises higher and higher above its native promptings. If all its standards gave way, it would sink to the animal plane, for animals know not behavior patterns. Our inherited bents are, no doubt, much the same as those of our savage ancestors; if we treat the weak or unfortunate better, it is owing to the standards we have been reared in. When by family tradition, early training, or group example, they have become "second nature," no social pressure is called for; when, on the other hand, they remain outside the individual's *psyche*, he conforms to them owing to the *sanctions* (of public opinion, law, or religion) behind them.

Every close-knit group develops standards of its own. The boy's gang, the "underworld," the "sporting" circle, the "smart set," "Bohemia," "nigger town," the slum "beyond the tracks," the foreign settlement, the "peculiar" sect, the artist colony, the "conscientious objector" group, the religious community—arrives at norms of conduct which reflect its peculiar outlook or interest. In India co-exist many divergent

standards, since the members of each caste heed only the opinion of their fellow members, while general society is inchoate. On the West Coast of tropical South America three strands make up the population—whites, *cholos*, and Indians. The whites collectively fix the legal, political, and economic status of the Indians, but have practically no influence upon their behavior among themselves.

Active standards and sleeping standards. There are *sleeping* standards not thought about until someone violates them, and *active* standards bright with daily use. With us the taboos on incest, cannibalism, and dueling are asleep. Among our active standards are: a man should keep a promise made for a consideration received, a man should support his wife, a woman should stand by her husband in trouble, men should be chivalrous toward women, all should defer to the aged, "put up or shut up," "live and let live," "boost, don't knock," "don't flinch, don't foul, hit the line hard," "let the other fellow have his say," "if you play the game at all, play it for all it is worth." Then there are numerous taboos: on the marriage of near kin, on the marriage of white with black, on sex intimacy outside marriage, on marrying for money, on tattling, "grousing," and "welshing."

Later taboos. In our time, there have met with some success efforts to limit liquor selling, adulteration, misleading advertising, the wasteful use of limited natural resources, the working of young children in factories, "combinations in restraint of trade," arbitrary discrimination among the patrons of public utilities, black-listing, the use of violence in labor disputes, buying votes, the bestowal of public office for personal or party reasons, and the secret pledging of candidates for public office.

Taboos going out. Whilst new taboos are set up, a fight is made on certain old taboos such as the "color line"; the ban on dancing, the theater, Sunday recreation, and the open discussion of social problems originating in sex. Those most active in undermining antiquated taboos may be doing their best to set up new taboos, their motive in both cases being the public welfare as they see it.

What standards do. No social product is more momentous than *the standard of living*, because it plays a star part in regulating propagation. It includes those things so keenly desired that, rather than miss them, people will forego or postpone marriage, or limit the size of their family. It varies from class to class and sometimes, among the capable and successful, the standard of living is so high that it actually checks their increase more than the increase of day-laborers is checked by *their*

standard of living. From the social point of view the standard among the mass should be high enough to prevent their increase absorbing all the fruits of economic progress, while among the rising it should not be so high as to lessen the proportion in which they contribute to the next generation. It is a misfortune that for a generation American achievers have been under the spell of the "business" standard, which rates men according to *expenditure* rather than according to *personal worth*.

Said Professor W. F. Ogburn in June, 1929:

We set up during the war a minimum subsistence budget of about \$1200 for a family of five. Had people done as we instructed them to do in this budget they would have been well nourished and they would have had the necessary calories and the necessary vitamins. But when I took the budgets down to be analyzed by food experts who would make the appraisals as to the quality of food and as to the energy value of foods, I found a very curious thing; that people living in the United States in 1919 did not really get enough to eat until they got up around \$1600 or \$1700, sometimes even \$1750, although they could have bought it, I am quite sure, if they had laid out the budget properly and had been willing to make necessary inhibitions, at somewhere around \$1100. This goes to show that human beings will sacrifice on food in order to maintain standards.

Pattern types, the man-as-he-should-be, the woman-as-she-should-be, are active forces in society. Elsewhere¹ I have shown at length how by capturing admiration these types become personal ideals and direct the development of individual character. Each age gets its characteristic "slant" from the dominant pattern. In the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., the man-as-he-should-be was a religious ascetic. During and after the Crusades the knight was the man-as-he-should-be. The cardinal virtue was no longer *renunciation* but *measure*, i.e., the avoidance of excess and extravagance in both actions and display of feelings.

"In modern English-speaking society," writes Sumner,² "the 'gentleman' is the name of the man-as-he-should-be. . . . It is a collective and social ideal. Gentlemen are a group in society who have selected a code and standard of conduct as most conducive to prosperous and pleasant social relations. Therefore manners are an essential element in the type. A gentleman is one who has been educated to conform to the type, and that he has the *cachet* is indicated by his admission to the group. Novels develop and transmit the ideal; clubs are the tribunal of it." "A gentleman of a century ago would not be approved now." "In the eighteenth

¹ *Social Control*, 1901, chs. XVII and XVIII.

² W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*, 1915, pp. 206, 207.

century he patronized cock fights and prize fights and he could get drunk, gamble, tell falsehoods and deceive women without losing caste." "A gentleman of to-day in the society of a century ago would be thought to have rowdy manners. Artificial manners are not in the taste of our time; athletics are." "It appears now that he must have some skill at sports and games." "The sentiment *noblesse oblige* was once the name for the coercive force exerted on a noble by the code of his class. Now that fixed classes are gone and the gentleman is only defined by the usage and taste of an informal class, it is a term for the duties which go with social superiority of any kind, so far as those duties are prescribed and sanctioned by public opinion."

In old China the scholar was taken as the pattern. School teachers and pupils cultivated the scholar's stoop and those with good eyesight wore broad-rimmed goggles for the sake of scholarly effect! The scholar shunned vigorous exercise lest he spoil his skill with the writing brush, so a frail and ascetic appearance was coveted. Pedants and book worms, myopes and recluses had to rule, largely by moral force, and, since their "long suit" is learning, they cried down bodily prowess. If the sturdy coolie sported fan and sun umbrella, it was not from effeminacy but because the common people formed themselves on the model of the *literati*. The ascendancy of the intellectuals damped the active and combative impulses of the Chinese.

Standards do not stay the same. One sure thing about behavior patterns is, *they will change*. Scientific advance, new thought, new leaders alter the popular notion of *what should count*. The Churchmen of the Middle Ages would "cut" us, we are so little awed by virginity. The military orders of olden time would despise us for honoring obedience and personal loyalty no more than we do. The Puritans would give us up because we shun long sermons and "godly conversation." A century ago, who foresaw the present vogue of the athletic type? A century hence, the young may be as strong for mental hygiene and disciplinary moral exercises as now they are for physical culture!

Genesis of new standards. Whence comes fresh standards? Sometimes from *experience*. Newcomers to the range country become willing to hang horse thieves after experiencing being afoot in vast spaces. Hospitality becomes a sacred duty in a sparsely settled region because it is a boon to both hosts and guests. Fearful of becoming fat and soft the Britons stationed in the tropics develop the standard that tennis or golf must be played in the late afternoon even when, as at Jiddah on the Red Sea, the golf course has to be laid out over the sand dunes! Among men

of the sea, as a means of bringing home responsibility to captains, there has grown up the hard rule that the captain must be the last person to leave the ship!

Changed conditions. Cheap sugar and automobile driving favor the growth of temperance sentiment. Accounting for the modern standard of decency Sumner observes,³ "the cheapening and popularization of luxury have made houses larger, plumbing cheaper, and all the apparatus of careful living more accessible to all classes. The consequence is that all the operations and necessities of life can be carried on with greater privacy and more ostentation of conventional order and decorum." "Therefore the standards and codes of all classes have risen and the care about dressing, bathing, and private functions . . . has been intensified."

Upper class example. In tropical South America only the *gente decente* (decent folk) take care to safeguard the chastity of their daughters. As the masses rise economically and respond to church, school, and good reading matter, they will pattern after the *gente decente* as regards the association of young people. In respect to bathing, outdoor sports, truthfulness of speech and aversion to boasting the English aristocracy have been pace-setters for the English and the Americans. *Bushido*, the moral code of Japan, originated with the *samurai*.

But standards may rise when leadership *departs from* an aristocracy. Sumner⁴ points out: "Steam and machinery with the increase of capital and of power over nature which they have produced, have given social power to the lower middle class, as the representatives of the masses. This has brought into control the *mores* of those classes, which were simple, unluxurious, philistine and comparatively pure, because these classes were forced to be frugal, domestic, careful of their children, self-denying, and comparatively virtuous on account of their limited means."

The influence of moral leaders—Pythagoras, Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus, Mahomet, Francis of Assisi, Rousseau, Tolstoi, Gandhi; or of *élites*—the Prophets of Israel, the Essenes, the Stoics, the Christian Fathers, the Reformers, the Puritans, the Baptists, the Quakers, the Methodists, the Liberals, the Humanitarians, the Socialists, the Eugenists. Their rôle has been much exaggerated, for it is easier to credit shifts in standards to such sources than to trace them to those obscure changes in the life or circumstances of the people which actually caused them.

Must standards possess utility? "Sacred" as the *mores* are always

³ W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*, 1915, p. 451.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 452.

held to be, some of them are positively harmful as, *e.g.*, the taboos in India on the killing of venomous snakes, on the eating of food prepared by one of a lower caste, the Egyptian folk taboo on the bathing of a baby until it is forty days old! Likewise the Indian customs regarding child marriage and widow remarriage are noxious rather than benign. Often public opinion stands behind customs which had their origin in some long-since-exploded belief regarding ghosts, goblins, or the evil eye. In various sects to-day religion is put behind taboos on shaving, cutting the hair, the use of buttons, the wearing of ornament, bright color in dress, eating flesh, drinking alcoholic beverages, smoking, reading novels, dancing, visiting the "playhouse," the wearing of short skirts or bobbed hair. Almost everywhere the taboos binding women are far more numerous and onerous than the taboos binding men!

Nevertheless, after all these discounts, there remains a body of standards which are the fruit of collective experience and had some merit at the time they were adopted; but we may be sure that many of these will long outlive the conditions which gave them birth and meaning. This is why, the world over, wherever tradition is still powerful, *i.e.*, in (say) two-thirds of mankind, you find in force numerous social requirements which have no virtue now—and may never have had any!

The criticism of standards. Without the free play of criticism standards multiply like weeds until they choke life's channels. New taboos are added to old until one is no freer than the orthodox Jew, obligated to obey 613 commandments! However, when a standard is attacked is the reproach that it narrows one's freedom? Or that obeying it burdens the obeyers more than it benefits society? Only the latter is a telling point.

Any clever youth can dissect standards to death, make them out to be arbitrary, nonsensical, or inconsistent. Without insight and a sense of social responsibility such a one is a pest, for he helps break down standards just to "show off," or to free himself from salutary restraints.

Two opposed types may be distinguished. Those who take standards seriously, live up to them under trying circumstances, propagate them, expose those who violate them and shame the public into enforcing the standards it professes to uphold; and those who regard standards as gyves, ignore them when no one is looking, flout them when they feel themselves strong with the public, and pour upon them ridicule and contumely. The former are the upbuilders, the latter the destroyers. There are times when the latter are so many and strong that there is a moral sag in society from its members feeling freer to give themselves up to their appetites and passions, heedless of the effect on others. Gen-

erally, the youth who boasts, "I have no need of your social compass, my own conscience tells me where north is," is headed for shipwreck.

The disintegration of tradition. What gives a social standard power over the reluctant is chiefly public opinion, its antiquity, and the influence of early education. In our time, however, the latter are uncommonly weak, because the startling changes in manner of life forced upon us by the economic results of mechanical inventions have obliged us often to junk tradition and ignore childhood teachings. Here is the prime cause of the raw individualism of our age, its ruthless self-assertion, its struggle-for-life ethics founded on a false Darwinism, and the elevation into dogma of that ancient maxim of the underworld, "Every man to look out for himself."

The break-up of moral traditions throws men back upon unschooled human nature and has its good side as well as its bad side. Penetrating is the insight of C. H. Cooley ⁵:

It may obscure those larger truths that are the growth of time and may let loose pride, sensuality and skepticism; but it also awakens the child in man and a childlike pliability to the better as well as to the worse in natural impulse. We may look, among people who have lost the sense of tradition, for the sort of virtues, as well as of vices, that we find on the frontier; for plain dealing, love of character and force, kindness, hope, hospitality and courage. Alongside of an extravagant growth of sensuality, pride and caprice, we have about us a general cult of childhood and womanhood, a vast philanthropy, and an interest in everything relating to the welfare of the masses of the people.

In lieu of guidance from social standards many good persons put their trust in the simple humanitarian touchstone: "Do what you like, *provided that nobody is harmed.*" This principle *sounds* well, but is it safe? A miscreant who has confessed to an atrocious crime falls into the hands of an enraged crowd. Why should they curb their vengeful impulses? His life is forfeit anyhow. Lynching him will save the state the expense of trying him, and strike terror to men of his ilk. But the social psychologist, knowing the crowd *psyche*, warns the lynchers: "Hang malefactors to-day and in a few years you will be burning them. Lynch for murder to-day and ere long you will be lynching for larceny. Flout your courts by taking justice out of their hands and soon only second-raters will consent to be your judges."

In a legislature a group of life insurance companies used money to accelerate the passage of a needed amendment to the law on life insur-

⁵ *Social Organization*, 1909, pp. 354-55.

ance. The facts came out later in a law-suit and a certain farmer-legislator known as "Honest John" was shown to have accepted a sum for his support. He defended himself after this fashion: "Yes, I took that money and reduced the mortgage on my farm. But who was harmed by my taking it? Not the companies, for they are making no complaint. Not the public, for the law I voted for deserved to pass." Few have the insight to discern that insurance companies which find themselves able to put through a good bill by the use of money will be tempted some day to put through a bad bill by the use of money; that the success of the insurance companies will encourage railroad, traction, and power companies to use money in order to gain their political ends; that if all through the underworld runs the whisper that money is floating about the legislature, the "gray wolves" and the "yellow dogs" of politics will go to any lengths in order to break into the legislature and get some of it!

No, for all we are so common-schooled and newspaper-read, few of us can safely dispense with guidance. More and more it is an intricate and bewildering world we grope in. Society is getting complicated faster even than the public is being enlightened. Many questions of right and wrong are "tough," call for rare insight into human nature and society. As, year by year, human relations become more tangled, the questions we face are to the questions that stumped our grandfathers as problems in quadratic equations are to problems under "the rule of three." Very sagely does Cooley observe ⁶ :

In a traditional order one is accustomed from Childhood to regard usage, the authority of elders and the dominant institutions as the rule of life. But in our own time there is for many persons, if not most, no authoritative canon of life, and for better or worse we are ruled by native impulse and by that private reason which may be so weak when detached from a rational whole. We find, then, that people have to make up their own minds upon their duties as wives, husbands, mothers and daughters; upon commercial obligation and citizenship; upon the universe and the nature and authority of God. Inevitably many of us make a poor business of it. It is too much. It is as if each should sit down to invent a language for himself. These things should be thought out gradually, coöperatively, each adding little and accepting much.

The perfecting of standards. While most of us need a staff in skirting the abysses of life, standards need not be arbitrary or antiquated. Social inquirers ought to examine critically the current standards, *e.g.*, the "color line," the taboo on the marriage of near kin, the

⁶ *Social Organization*, 1909, p. 352.

taboo on the wife earning money outside the home; they ought to formulate and push new standards called for by novel situations or new knowledge, *e.g.*, the obligations of the parent in to-day's society, the right of youth to be instructed respecting sex, the responsibility of the employer of young people, eugenic standards of mating, and taboos on the use of race poisons. In a sound society much thought and care will be given by the *élite* to preserving and propagating what are considered "spiritual values."

CHAPTER XLVII

GROUPS

Human groups are often among the end-products of social processes. *Domination* begets large aggregates, such as realms and empires. *Socialization* prepares people to cohere when a motive for uniting presents itself. *Adaptation* smoothes away obstacles to the formation of a group, or makes the members more harmonious and coöperative among themselves. *Opposition* causes those on the same side of a cleft to stand together, from sympathy and in order to prevail. When two elements struggle, up to a certain point the blows of each pound the other into coherence; hence, *strife* (war) has from early times been recognized as the arch-consolidator. This is probably what the Greek philosopher Heraclitus had in mind when he declared, "Strife is the mother of all things."

Such processes are, however, not the only creators of groups; for at bottom there are just two things which are requisite for the formation of a group. If men are to feel themselves one and wish to be together by themselves, they must be aware of *essential traits*, common to them and setting them off from others. Then if, going further, they are to "make common cause," they must be aware of *imperiled common interests* which can be defended or advanced only by their joint efforts. Therefore, whatever marks certain persons off from others or gives them a vital community of interest, is a group-maker.

The blood bond. The first enduring human clot we catch sight of is the *kin group*. Even carnivores of the same litter are gentle to one another, brothers and sisters who have been together and played together from childhood are likely to get on peaceably. So the blood tie becomes the bond of the earliest stable groups. But this bond is a little too rigid, seeing that the kin group is frequently joined by runaways whom it ought to take in. So it is made more elastic by the blood covenant and the fiction of adoption. Declares W. Robertson Smith:

The commingling of blood by which two men became brothers, or two kins allies, and the fiction of adoption by which a tribesman was feigned to be the veritable son of a member of a tribe, are both evidences

of the highest value that the Arabs were incapable of conceiving any absolute social obligation or social unity which was not based on kinship.¹

Again, in order to unite all the members of the social group with an equal bond, blood kinship is everywhere recognized as *equally* binding. It is something mysterious, like that "drop of Negro blood" which shuts one out of white society in our South.

A third weakness is that *being akin* means simply *having an ancestor in common*. But this notion is too feeble to bind together self-willed nomads. So acknowledgment of kinship comes to imply not the mere recognition of common descent, but *a realizing sense of identity*. Again citing Smith:

A kin was a group of persons whose lives were so bound up together in what must be called a physical unity, that they could be treated as parts of one common life. The members of one kindred looked upon themselves as one living whole, a single animated mass of blood, flesh, and bones, of which no member could be touched without all the members suffering.²

Under such a system there can be no inviolable fellowship except between men of the same blood.³

No binding precepts of conduct except those that rest on the principle of kinship.⁴

No life and no obligation was sacred unless it was brought within the charmed circle of the kindred blood.⁵

How all manner of obligation was run into the kinship mould is shown by the "blood-covenant" in which persons make a life-and-death compact by tasting the blood of one another or some animal, by the "tie of milk" which unites the foster child to all the kin of the foster mother, by the ceremony of adoption, by the significance attached to the taking of food together, and by the inventing of an "eponymous hero" as a make-believe ancestor to cement the alliance of two groups.

For ages upon ages people, stuck tight to their kin group, faced grim risks and made heavy sacrifices for it, with a sad heart shouldered responsibility on the behalf of remote, even scalawag, kinsmen—all in order that they might count confidently on their kin group coming to *their* aid when *they* found themselves in a "tight place."

The place bond. The groupings among hunters and pastoralists owe something to territorial consciousness; but it was only after men ceased to rely on hunting or pasturing, and settled down to till the soil, that the

¹ *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 1885, p. 51.

² *Ibid.*, p. 255.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

place bond came to count for more in making groups than the *blood* bond. "*Neighbor*" (the *nigh* one) became a word to conjure with. A man's natural succorers and defenders were his neighbors. Upon the local community devolved functions that in the hunting or pastoral stage had been discharged by clan, phratry, or tribe. The greater the danger householders felt themselves to be in from sheep stealers, cattle rustlers, horse thieves, robbers, *etc.* and the sharper their sense of dependence on one another; the more tightly they stuck together, the stronger their loyalty to the local group, the more they were willing to do on behalf of their group or its members.

After being the main tie for some thousands of years the *place* bond has suddenly lost much of its old significance. The spread of security owing to the law-enforcing activities of local and central governments has greatly weakened a family's sense of dependence on its neighbors. The rural telephone has halved the time required for getting help in case of fire, sickness, molestation or other emergency. With the arrival of automobiles and hard-surfaced roads the premium on *nearness* has well-nigh disappeared and propinquity has ceased to mean much. In the countryside ten miles now counts for no more than a mile did a generation ago!

It now looks as if the ancient natural grouping by *kinship* or by *neighborhood* is destined to give way to *selective association*. Disparity of culture holds neighbors apart, as we see in the aloofness of the artist colony or writer colony from the farmers of a picturesque New England valley or the fishermen of the Maine coast. Class lines divide so that, as in rural England, one lives in his *class* rather than in his *neighborhood*. Reading, giving the companionship of historical or imaginary characters, lessens dependence upon neighbors for intercourse and sociable enjoyment. Correspondence and travel admit one to other circles than those of the vicinage. Once parish was coextensive with local community and as a matter-of-course neighbors were co-worshippers; but now, thanks to the strength of sectarian consciousness, half a dozen starveling churches will struggle to exist in a community which might furnish one rousing congregation.

Most of the literature which furnishes cultivated peoples with life ideals comes from gifted persons who for the sake of their own personal development have sometime had to break hampering ties—of kinship, of neighborhood, of religious fellowship. Their eloquent voicing of individualism stirs youth to rebel against inherited ties of every sort and implants a yearning for independence which unfits them to share in

the neighborhood life. And yet without such sharing they cannot remain happy or, indeed, quite sane. Unwittingly the strong-winged geniuses tempt the fledglings to pitiful little flights from the home ledge which too often end only in disappointment and loneliness!

Likeness grouping. Groupings according to color and other external race characters are, of course, natural formations rather than products of social conditions. Groupings on the basis of dress, speech, and social habits are, indeed, products of association but the extension of planes of uniformity (fashions and fads) continually razes barriers of this sort. As sunderers of men extrinsic differences are on the wane.

It is an open question whether the social population of the future will be much cleft by *occupational* differences. In frontier society the useful callings are not sharply graded in social prestige. As society develops, specialization grows and occupation counts for more in rating men. At the same time more branches of activity come to be professions, while even the skilled trades, taught in a systematic way, gain something of the dignity of the professions. Then, too, the latter-day tendency to see in the useful callings so many forms of social service forbids us to despise the socially necessary coal-heaver or street-sweeper because of the repulsiveness of his work. So there seems to be little likelihood that occupation will ever again sunder people into hereditary castes, such as we see still in India.

Diversity in knowledge, culture, and taste will continue to segregate men, but in an epoch of universal education it is impossible that they should rear such high barriers as the past knew. When all but the mental deficient have the equivalent of a high school education—as may well be the case among us within forty years—there will be no stratum of “bumpkins,” “boors,” “clodhoppers” or “chawbacons” for the educated to look down upon.

Common-experience grouping. Those who have been knit together by a shared vivid experience like to form a permanent group to perpetuate their intimacy. The Grand Army of the Republic was a vital factor in the lives of the Civil War veterans of the North. The American Legion renders the same service to the American combatants in the World War. Trying pioneer experiences often form the basis for strong durable groups. The class organizations and reunions of college graduates show no signs of dying out. Whether current social development is favorable to this type of grouping is not clear.

Fraternal grouping. This type of association is waxing tremendously. In the United States to-day there are eight hundred different secret

orders with some thirty million members. This includes members of vast organizations like the Woodmen and the Knights of Pythias and the Odd Fellows and the Daughters of Rebekah, each of which carries on its own roster more than half a million members. It includes the Maccabees who meet in "Hives," the Red Men who meet in "Tribes," the Prophets who meet in "Grottos," the Watchmen who meet in "Forts," the Stags who meet in "Droves," the Owls who meet in "Nests," and the Eagles who meet in "Aeries." It includes these new and rapidly growing secret orders, the Beavers, Lions, Serpents, Roosters, Orioles, Deer, Geese, Goats, and Bears. It includes organizations like the Elks and the Foresters and the Modern Order of White Mahatmas and the Concatenated Order of the Hoo-Hoo, the Christian Knights and Heroines of Ethiopia of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, the Sheiks of the Mosque and the Iridescent Order of Iris and the Benevolent Order of Monkeys and the Hooded Ladies of the Mystic Den.

The motive?

To live in a modern world and be an ancient; to live in a humdrum world and be a knight; to live in a gabby world and have a secret—all this is possible. It is the essence of fraternalism that it does its best to make it possible. . . . When the password is given and the inner door swings back, it is upon a world as different from the world outside as ingenuity can make it. . . . Lodge night for the Redmen brings out the tomahawks. Lodge night for the Shriners brings out the fezes. Lodge night for the Odd Fellows, when the Third Encampment meets, brings out the purple gowns, the yellow belts, the miters and the breastplates. All over America six nights a week, from one to five million men and women are dressing themselves as brahmans, Pharaohs, cannibals, vikings, princes, furies, hermits, druids, Galahads, sorcerers, Maltese, and Tibetans.⁶

Interest grouping. Grouping dictated by identity of interest will last. Men will not cease to struggle groupwise, until they have no closer community of interest with *some* of their fellows than with *all*—which is not likely to arrive very soon! Nevertheless, the typical interest groups of to-day are not life-and-death affairs as such groups were in the days of yore. The extension of the régime of law and justice does away with the necessity for such little compact sovereign groups as clan, *gens*, kindred, tribe, mark, guild, and vigilance committee. General acceptance of the same ideas of right and widening of the scope of operations of the machinery for realizing these ideas relieve one of the necessity of belonging to a strong group in order to obtain justice for self or others.

⁶ Charles Merz, *The Great American Band Wagon*, 1928, ch. II.

Just as the spread of the "King's peace" has taken much of the life out of the groupings of kindred or neighbors, so justice for strangers on the same terms as for nationals will take much of the life out of the nation.

Just as in history tribes have merged into peoples, and communities and provinces have merged into nations, so nations are bound to be merged into something still larger. Just as those who dreamed of One People were looked upon as bad tribesmen until the dream became reality; just as those who dreamed of One Nation were looked upon as bad citizens until the dream became reality; so those who dream of a supernational world organization will be deemed bad patriots until the dream becomes reality.

Invention and discovery condition interest grouping. Often it is *the inventor* who fires the train which blows up an old order and leads to new groupings. For example, the incessant development of machine technique gathers workers into ever-larger production groups. As this goes on, in order not to be at a fatal disadvantage in bargaining with their employers, the workers form unions for the purpose of substituting collective bargaining for a type of individual bargain which has become one-sided and oppressive. Furthermore, in order to reinforce their holding-out power, all of the same craft in a given field of industry unite in one organization, so that "approved" strikers in one factory may be sustained by contributions from their brothers at work in other factories. Thus the organization of labor, with all that this implies in the way of solidarity, loyalty, and self-sacrifice for the common good, is really a by-product of large-scale industry—which is, in turn, a by-product of the machine!

The immense expansion of sea-borne commerce in consequence of the perfecting of the marine engine, the iron ship and the ice machine, sharpens the interest of all trading nations in the maintenance of international peace and the security of the seas. Very likely this new common interest will eventually beget certain forms of joint action among them. Again, the invention of such weapons as the torpedo, poison gas, the airplane, the dirigible, and the aerial bomb obliges the nations to enter into some more comprehensive organization for the restraint of disturbers of the peace if they do not wish to be blotted out one by another in some future war.

Quite unconsciously the discoverers of the germs of disease and the concoctors of antiseptics and serums are moulding with giant hands the near political future of the human race. The recent marvelous progress

of the art of saving life—the blessings of which will soon be extended to nine-tenths of all mankind—will for a time divide humanity into *swarming peoples*, producing constantly a surplus which must emigrate or starve, and *adapted peoples*, which curb their fecundity, raise their standards of living, and disallow mass immigration. This situation will cause the National State to be cherished as a needed means of defense until adaptive fecundity has so spread over the earth that a man's right to remove from one land to another will be as freely conceded as is now his right to remove from place to place within his home land.

Groups as transmitters of the thoughts and purposes of the past.

Thanks to the power of tradition and the stability of social structures human groupings often *correspond to bygone conditions and aims rather than to living forces*. Not only do men stick together long after they have lost their reasons for sticking together, but they remain apart long after they have lost their reasons for remaining apart! Because they find themselves entangled in groupings which no longer answer to their present sympathies and interests they fail to come together in groupings which *do* correspond to their actual needs. It is this power of the past over human association which in many parts of the world keeps essential groups small and local, suited to means of communication, modes of travel, forms of economic life, and tactics of defense which characterized an earlier time.

The persistence of antiquated groupings is illustrated in the contemporary failure of kindred Protestant denominations to merge into a single organization in order to avoid wasteful competition and duplication of work in communities too weak to support several Protestant churches; this despite the fact that the principal causes of their separateness no longer exist, while their doctrinal differences mean nothing to the majority of their members and are trivial from the viewpoint of modern religious thought.

One would expect human groups to arise and pass away freely like vortices in a liquid, for they are supposed to project and to fulfil the changing purposes of their members. As a matter of fact, however, once an organized group has gained headway and traditions, it behaves as if it had a life of its own, for in a way *it determines its members instead of being determined by them!* How often a political party or reform association which has fulfilled its original mission, instead of disbanding forthwith, casts about for new issues to justify its continuance. Its dominating spirits cannot bear to relinquish the power which their control of the organization has given them. In one of our frontier states the

"anti-horse-thief association" kept on with its annual meetings and banquets long after horse thieves had ceased from troubling; then it gained a fresh lease of life as an organization to deal with the theft of automobiles!

Groups afford leverage for minority control. Because churches, nationalistic associations, and political parties play so great a rôle in pre-determining the reactions of the average man to whatever comes up, they afford the shrewd and masterful few a rare opportunity to mould opinion. Can anyone doubt, for example, that from the last eighty years' conflict between science and faith, the Christian religion organized into ecclesiastical bodies, has emerged with far less damage than if it had been no more organized than are the religions of Asia? Under the leadership of positive characters who love the tenets and past of their denomination, the churches have yielded little from conviction and have revised their theology only when it appeared necessary in order to keep their hold upon the rising generation.

In the same way national parties afford the Vested Interests a rare opportunity to multiply their political influence. In view of the progress of manhood suffrage in Europe since the Revolution of 1848 it is really astonishing how little the ballot in the hands of the toilers has actually been used to modify property rights, inheritance, taxation, or the legal status of labor. When they saw the tidal wave of political democracy coming the privileged classes were in despair and never dreamed that they would be so little disturbed as they have been. Before the World War very little had been done anywhere to correct the monstrous concentration of ownership, while the "rash experiments" which were expected to be launched as soon as the common people wielded the ballot never materialized. The explanation is to be found partly in the control of reading matter by the Vested Interests, but chiefly in their ascendancy over such opinion-forming groups as "society," the churches, and the political parties. The *party*, instead of being what it professes to be, *viz.*, a fluid grouping corresponding to the current play of popular interest and opinion, is really a tough centralized highly-organized body, taking in respect to a new political issue a position dictated by the watchful dominant element and indoctrinating the rank and file with this official view. Instead of the position of the party reflecting the view of the majority of its members—as is the bland accepted theory—the position of the majority of its members is likely to reflect the view of the party. Here is the secret of the fruitlessness of English political democracy as long as English politics was a series of sham battles be-

tween "Liberal" and "Conservative" parties under the "invisible government" of one and the same social class. Only when a formidable party arose, built and officered by *bona fide* representatives of labor, was privilege seriously menaced.

CHAPTER XLVIII

INSTITUTIONS

Social institutions are sets of organized human relationships established or sanctioned by the common will. The purpose of an institution may be illustrated by *marriage*. Among animals the sex appetite prompts to matings which no animal group attempts to control. But in the human group such foresight is arrived at that, in order to lessen the number of fights prompted by sex jealousy and to assure the better care and protection of children, endeavor is frequently made to direct *all* sex activity into an appointed channel, *viz.*, marriage. The attempt is made in the belief that a *cardinal social interest* is at stake, the socially approved form of sex relation is supported in every way, and all unauthorized sex relations are frowned on.

Elements of an institution. The institution involves:

1. *The underlying concept.* The institution sprouts from some widely-held idea that such-and-such a procedure will promote the survival or success of the group. It is intended to meet a *social need* or serve a *social interest*.

2. *The purpose.* This develops out of the underlying idea. The common will, which authorizes, perhaps even finances, the institution, settles its purpose and fixes the objectives to steer toward. A group activity, *e.g.*, football, that gratifies participants in ways to which society does not object is still no institution, since it lacks a social purpose.

3. *Permanence.* Nothing for one occasion only or to meet a single emergency is an institution. When an imposed activity or inhibition is so recurrent that it becomes a custom and this custom gains social approval and authority, it is an *institution*.

4. *The structure.* A framework of activities may be necessary in order to realize the underlying idea. Implicated in this framework are apparatus, buildings, and equipment; but the common practice of calling the housing edifice "institution" is absurd.

5. *The code.* With an institution go rules, written or unwritten, prescribing the conduct of those concerned. Take, for example, the *family*; not only does the law precisely define the rights and duties of husband

and wife, of parents and children, but the local community has definite ideas of what is owing from each member of the family to each of the others and, in case of infraction, makes its disapproval felt.

6. *Authority.* Those who act in or for a social institution are invested by society with the authority necessary to effect its purposes; for, in the words of Cooley,¹

an institution is simply a definite and established phase of the public mind, not different in its ultimate nature from public opinion, though often seeming, on account of its permanence and the visible customs and symbols in which it is clothed, to have a somewhat distinct and independent existence.

7. *The personnel.* *Operative* social institutions function by means of a specialized personnel: teachers, clergymen, officers, officials, staffs, *etc.*; on the other hand, merely *regulative* institutions (betrothal, the family, rest days) have no such agents.

Varieties of institutions. Institutions can be grouped according to the basic social needs they serve. In the *economic and industrial* fields property, contract, inheritance, exchange, money, credit, interest, joint-stock companies, and labor unions are outstanding. In the *political* field conspicuous are law, legislatures, courts, police, army, consultative bodies, administrative bureaus, municipal corporations, and political parties. More and more these have become organs of that comprehensive and supreme institution, the State. In the *domestic* field one comes on such institutions as courtship, betrothal, marriage, divorce, the family. In the *religious* field are met such *quasi*-institutions as priest-hoods, hierarchies, churches, creeds, theologies, public worship, devout observances, rest days, feast days, *etc.* In the *educational* and *scientific* field there occur schools, universities, libraries, museums, scientific institutes, research bureaus, learned societies, and the press in certain of its aspects.

Genesis of institutions. In a previous chapter I showed how *standards* come into being; well, the needs which beget *institutions* are much the same. When in a given situation standard behavior does not avail to protect what society deems its interest, a piece of social machinery will be set up—the family, the court of justice, the police, the school, the health center. Seeing that, as a rule, maintaining an *institution* costs more in attention, authority and money than maintaining a *standard*, a conception of the *interest* of society, or of the dominant class, lies back of the institution more often than it lies back of the standard.

¹ *Social Organization*, 1911, p. 313.

Institutions being but instruments are unmoral. The great humanists taught that every human being is an end-in-himself and denied society the right to sacrifice him without his consent. But an institution cannot be an end-in-itself any more than a tractor can be an end-in-itself. "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath."² So let us not value a current social institution by checking it against the corresponding institution of an earlier culture, or against its original form, or against one of its by-gone phases, or against an abstract moral code. It should stand or fall *by the quality and adequacy of the service it is actually rendering or is likely to render*, bearing in mind, of course, its *cost*. Well says MacIver: Social institutions "do not exist in their own right to overpower men but only to serve them and when they cease to serve no antiquity and no sanctity can save them from condemnation."³

Resistance of institutions to change. Effete institutions are hard to mend or do away with partly because they are enshrined in popular traditions, partly because the masses, until their minds have been limbered by school, newspaper and screen, are very fearful of change. In 1752, when the British parliament introduced the Gregorian calendar and the days between September 2 and September 14 were dropped, yokels gathered in crowds shouting, "Give us back our eleven days!" Sunday observance, originally religious, has come to be in some societies a social institution so favored that laws are passed on its behalf which violate the principles of religious freedom. Again, an influential social class may identify its security and dignity with the life of a certain institution. A national church accumulates so much interested support that, as a rule, it cannot be disestablished save in connection with a revolution. Or take *monarchy*; thousands of influential families become dependent on the offices, sinecures, jobs, privileges, and honors dispensed in a royal court, while the entire wealthy class regard royalty as the crown of the leisure and splendor which assure them their exalted position. No wonder that almost never has monarchy fallen without a revolution!

As we might well expect, *institutions tend to lag behind the needs and opportunities of their situation*. Only the recently founded or overhauled institution is actually abreast of its time. So we ought to be sociological enough not to scold when we find social institutions ten to twenty years out of date! Our concern is to make sure that they do not lag *fifty or a hundred years* behind their time!

² Mark II, 27.

³ *Community*, 1924, pp. 162-163.

Since always there are persons making a living, a profit, or a prestige out of what an institution should do but fails to do, there will be *some* resistance to every move to bring a lagging institution up abreast of its opportunity. Such self-interested protest should not in the least halt or flabbergast us. Coolly we should disregard it, go ahead and make the needful alterations.

Recalcitrance against institutions. Wherever we look we see institutions flouted—smuggling by “respectable” persons, defiance of “blue” laws, the selling of degrees by bogus medical schools, the unbridled expenditure of money to win elections, lobbyists “hitting it up” with legislators, spouse quitting the lawful mate to live with the spouse of another. Probably ninety-eight per cent of such recalcitrance emanates from the headstrong, who put their own wishes above the claims of society.

Nevertheless, before claiming to be better than others, law-abiders and conformists should recognize that there *is* a minority who *conscientiously object* to bearing arms, to apprehending a runaway slave, to taking an oath, to paying tithes to a state church, to paying taxes when they are unrepresented, to seeking a permit before speaking in a public place. Such objectors flout not *all* institutions, but only those they believe to be unjust or tyrannical; their motives are not private, but public or social. They look upon certain institutions not as innocent means of promoting the general welfare, but as mere tools of class domination or exploitation. Before condemning such conscientious objectors we should remember that nearly every curtailment of class exploitation or enlargement of human freedom in the last five hundred years has come as the result of a high-minded heroic ignoring of some institution by a little handful of persons.

Religion ceasing to be a social institution. Throughout the West, religion, once a social institution, is coming to be a private matter, whereas education, once a private matter, is coming to be a social institution. In the Middle Ages the Church was looked to as chief promoter of concord and obedience and in many ways society favored it. But, since the Church cherished aims and ambitions of its own, it proved to be by no means a pliant, manageable institution. Moreover, certain later developments have sadly impaired its value as a social binder. Variation of doctrine has spread among the laity confusion and doubt. The splitting of believers into sects has made it impracticable to support religion with public money. The growth of diversity and of unbelief has lessened the efficacy of religious dogma in producing like-

mindfulness. Consequently, we see modern society leaning less on the Church and more on the school.

The builders of the noble cathedrals which are the wonder and pride of Western Europe imagined that by rearing such temples to glorify God they made themselves safe against Paynim and pestilence, against blight and murrain. As a matter-of-fact, no such security was reaped, in the sequel it was science not faith that delivered men from these afflictions. Nevertheless, science has scanty resources for allaying the greed, jealousy, and enmity of men. There is great need of a religion of brotherhood to prepare man for the wonderful social possibilities opening before him. Such a religion, however, is too fine and sensitive to be propagated by society and worked as a social institution. Let it grow as it will, without any commitment or tie-up.

May individuals outgrow their need of institutions? Traversing the remote interior of China in 1910 I was impressed by the master rôle of certain venerated institutions, handed down from the sages of antiquity, in standardizing the cardinal human relationships, regulating behavior in the main situations life presents, and thereby preserving harmony and order in a badly overpeopled land. It was easy to see that the marked peaceableness of the Chinese was due less to fear of the magistrate than to reverence for ancestor worship, marriage, patriarchal authority, superiority of elders, family property, family honor, *etc.* Without this reverence the Chinese would at once fall into chaos.

Nevertheless, individuals *may* develop beyond their need of institutions. In a rationally organized society the intellectual and moral *élite* are scarcely conscious of any restraint upon them from the side of institutions. The good father does not come up against laws intended to prevent the neglect or exploitation of children by their parents. Upon a well-mated couple the institution of marriage exercises no pressure whatever. If any section of the *élite* is continually running afoul of a certain institution, it is a sure sign that something is wrong with that institution. Institutions ought to be so well adjusted to society's actual needs that enlightened and conscientious persons will rarely find themselves hampered by them.

Importance of a knowledge of the course of development of institutions. Full knowledge of the past of our characteristic institutions immunizes us to chauvinism, cultural arrogance, and blind conservatism. It convinces us "of the lack of that uniqueness, divine revelation, perfection and permanence with which we are wont to clothe and

adorn our institutions.”⁴ The impassioned champions of the privileged position of Latin and Greek in the college curriculum would sing rather small did they realize just why it was that at the time of the Renaissance the most humane and enlightened minds were all for making the ancient classical culture the basis of a liberal education. The extreme Sabbatarians would be chastened did they realize that for five centuries after Christ the “Lord’s Day” (Sunday) was in no wise identified with the Jewish sabbath.⁵ The fanatic churchmen who denounce civil marriage as no marriage would be sobered were they aware that near a thousand years elapsed before the Christian clergy undertook to marry people.⁶ James Harvey Robinson points out⁷:

We pay our taxes grudgingly as if they were still the extortions of feudal barons or absolute monarchs for their personal gratification, although they are now a contribution to our common expenses fixed by our representatives . . . to do justice to the anachronisms in conservative economic and legal reasoning would require a whole volume.

Criticism and testing of institutions. Ours is the most revolutionary epoch humanity has experienced. Never before has so large a proportion of the population been qualified to see their social institutions as they really are. Breath-taking is the speed with which there has been built up in the minds of Russian workers and peasants execration of the most venerated institutions of Old Russia. In Mexico the success of the revolutionists in discrediting the hoary institutions which gyved the masses has been remarkable. In China the faith of myriads in the superiority of the traditional Confucian institutions has been destroyed; in a generation there should be no freer mind in the world than the Chinese mind. Before the ferment in India ceases the power of antiquity over the Indian intellect will be broken; her intellectuals will be gaining their orientation from branches of knowledge most of which did not exist two centuries ago. Soon throughout the Moslem world the air-tight Mohammedan orthodoxy will fly to pieces under the blows of modern science and the leaders of Islam will be called upon to effect in a few decades accommodations such as the leaders of Christendom have been allowed three centuries to make.

⁴ H. E. Barnes in E. C. Hayes, ed., *Recent Developments in the Social Sciences*, 1927, p. 350.

⁵ C. S. Moehلمان, *The Story of the Ten Commandments*, 1928, Ch. XIV.

⁶ G. E. Howard, *A History of Matrimonial Institutions*, 1904, vol. I, Ch. VII.

⁷ *The New History*, 1920, p. 23.

Never before were there at hand such facilities for *testing the practical results* of institutions as there are to-day. The effects upon juvenile behavior of Sunday-school instruction or Boy Scout ideals—once a matter of vague impression—are made the subject of scientific observation and exact statistical methods. Police methods, law-court procedure and prison régimes are constantly examined from new angles. Mental testing has given us means of arriving at a just appraisal of educational techniques. Questionnaires circulated among intelligent married couples bring out undreamt-of causes of conjugal dissatisfaction. The natural outcome of this scrutiny and criticism is not the collapse of institutions, but their speedier adjustment to their job.

An emergent institution: the health center. Scores of new institutions are coming into existence in our time. Let us consider one of them as a sample. The settler of two generations ago drew water from the family well, drank milk from home cows, ate bread from flour ground from his own grain and meat cured in his own smokehouse. Were he cleanly and careful he could insure his family a wholesome diet. But for all these things his grandchildren have to depend on the intelligence and conscience of others over whom they have no control.

Vastly more is known to-day as to the inlets of infection and the means of conserving health than was known seventy years ago before the discovery of bacteria and the rise of the "germ theory" of disease. It seems a great pity that housewives and mothers, infinitely concerned about the health of their dear ones, should not be made acquainted with the rapidly accumulating knowledge of how to keep well.

There are two very different roads to happiness. One well-trodden route is acquiring material sources of enjoyment—a better house, finer furnishings, a piano, a car, a radio set, a greenhouse. But this calls for more income and the struggle for more income often sets people at loggerheads; dividends can go up only at the expense of wages, bigger profits can be had only from higher prices. An alternative route to happiness is *better health* and wayfarers thereon have everybody's good will, for they tread on nobody's toes. Whatever health the individual enjoys is his own, not filched; so everybody is willing he should have health.

Such considerations lie back of the 616 county health units which were in existence in 1935 and several hundreds of health centers maintained by the larger cities. Such a center may be defined as *an organization which provides and coördinates medical service and related social services for a specified district.*

The health center is an institution for the conservation of health through the dissemination of health information. It is not an agency for the treatment of disease, but for its early discovery and prevention. It aims not so much to cure as to forestall ill health. To achieve these ends, it brings together, under a single roof if possible, all public and private health agencies, together with all the welfare and relief organizations working in a given district. Health activities are thus combined and correlated so that an effective and aggressive attack can be made upon disease and ill-health, especially from the standpoint of prevention. In other words, the health center is a sort of "department store of health."⁸

Ninety years ago *some* American communities provided a free public high school, while others did not; now *all* places with a reasonable number of would-be pupils maintain a high school. In the same way it is not open to doubt that in twenty to thirty years *every* county or city will have its "health center" or "medical center" where the ailing will be attended to without regard to their capacity to pay.

An emergent institution: the recreation center. In the city the average family is totally unable to provide the play space its children need so that, if they are to play as growing creatures should, playgrounds will have to be provided by the community. There is, furthermore, the point that wholesome recreation is so vitalizing that public playgrounds can easily be justified as public health agencies; if it is sound social policy to set up health centers, it is equally sound to institute recreation centers.

The Methodist Episcopal Church in its *Discipline* of 1792 said:

We prohibit play in the strongest terms. . . . The students shall be indulged in nothing which the world calls play. Let this rule be observed with the strictest nicety; for those who play when they are young, will play when they are old.

The Church took this attitude from excellent motives but, in the light of what we now know, we cannot endorse it. By keying muscles and viscera to their best tone play gives a sense of well-being, lessens pointless hankering and discontent, cuts down irritability, and braces one to meet shocks with good humor.

Play affords free vent to pent-up emotions, stirs age-old impulses to spontaneous bodily and mental activity, relieves blockage by opening fresh channels for self-effectuation and "unstops the fountains of human nature."

⁸ L. V. Ballard, *Social Institutions*, 1936, p. 379.

PART X

CERTAIN PROBLEMS IN THE LIGHT
OF SOCIOLOGY

CHAPTER

XLIX. MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

L. THE TREATMENT OF MINORITIES

LI. SOCIAL ASPECTS OF HEALTH AND DISEASE

LII. COMMERCIALIZED VICE FROM THE SOCIAL
VIEWPOINT

LIII. CRIME

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LVIII. THE ISMS AND SOCIOLOGY

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CHAPTER XLIX

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

It would not be easy to exaggerate the importance of *domestic institutions*. They say nought as to who shall attract whom, or when, or how much, or for how long; but they *do* channel the man-wife and parent-child relations which presently arise out of instances of sex-attraction. Among us there may be a handful—two or three in a hundred—wise and conscientious enough in the light of their culture to do quite the right thing by mate and offspring without any guidance or pressure from society. However, if marriage and family relations were in no wise stereotyped for us, a vast deal of misunderstanding, confusion, frustration and exploitation would be experienced¹ which we now miss because most of the individuals involved know well what they are entitled to and what is expected of them. Nor may we look ahead to a near time when the stereotyping of domestic relations by the family institution can safely be dispensed with; for, while more of us become enlightened as to marriage and family, the institution continually exacts more because it incorporates fresh ideals from the *élite* of each generation.

For individuals who have progressed morally till they are abreast of, or even beyond, its demands the institution can do nothing. But then it is doing them no harm either; for them the institution has virtually ceased to exist. But the backward many ever need its urgency.

Why society sets up the institution. Friendships have always been made and broken *ad lib.*, society has never sought to channel them; but it stereotypes sex union because of what hinges on it. With the birth and rearing of children in prospect society insists that the man and the woman shall stand to each other in a definite and lasting relation. It needs but little observation to convince one that a sense of unsettled-

¹ Said Clara Zetkin, German communist delegate in Moscow in 1925: "The famous theory that in a society based on communism it is just as simple to satisfy one's wish for love as it is to get a drink of water is well-known. Well, to this 'drink of water' theory we owe the fact that our younger generation has gone mad. The theory has ruined a good many youths. Let us be spared such 'Marxism'!"

ness in the love life deters from the having of children, begets restlessness and caprice in sex relations, prompts to divorce for the sake of remarriage and, as middle life draws near, more and more shatters peace of mind.

The Free Love advocates of 50-30 years ago have disappeared, no one champions their cause. As they saw it, the marriage institution was cast-iron, so unyielding to human needs and feelings that it deserved to be ignored. Accordingly, in good faith loving couples in "radical" circles, in the presence of their friends, pledged each other love and loyalty, then lived together as husband and wife. So much has been done since to bring matrimonial institutions into accord with current life and thought that this rebellious mood is no longer in key with the time.

Which sex suffers the more from marital instability? As things are, instability in the conjugal relation appears to work against the interests of wives more than against the interests of husbands. After a couple have lived together for, say, a dozen years, the wife's prospect of remarrying well in case they part will probably be poorer than her husband's prospect. For, in general, a woman's matrimonial future depends more on her looks than does a man's.² At age 37 the average wife may have lost half of the charm for men that she had at 25. On the other hand, her husband at age 40 may be distinctly a more desirable "catch" than he was at 28. Like as not he has more income, more property, more authority and reputation, surer prospects. The earlier liberalization of divorce laws released tens of thousands of unhappy wives shackled to brutal, drunken, shiftless or spendthrift husbands; but the present facility of divorce in some commonwealths may, on the whole, work to the detriment of wives rather than to their advantage.

Growth of divorce in the United States. Among Americans resort to divorce has been growing at a sensational rate. In 1870 there was 1 divorce to 33 marriages; in 1900, 1 to 12; in 1930, 1 to 6. The proportion of current marriages that will end in divorce will hardly be less than 20-22 per cent! The divorce rate is lowest along the Atlantic seaboard, Florida excepted; it rises as one moves west until it reaches its peak in the Pacific states. For sixty years it has been presenting this profile and in Canada a like contrast is noticeable between older and younger provinces. Professor Hankins thus interprets the picture:

² On the ease of securing a divorce in Soviet Russia Newsholme and Kingsbury comment: "The shadow of possible separation may cloud the life of many women, whose physical charms are passing . . . she ages and loses her confidence that she can keep her man." *Red Medicine*, 1933, p. 155.

MARRIAGES PER 1,000 POPULATION

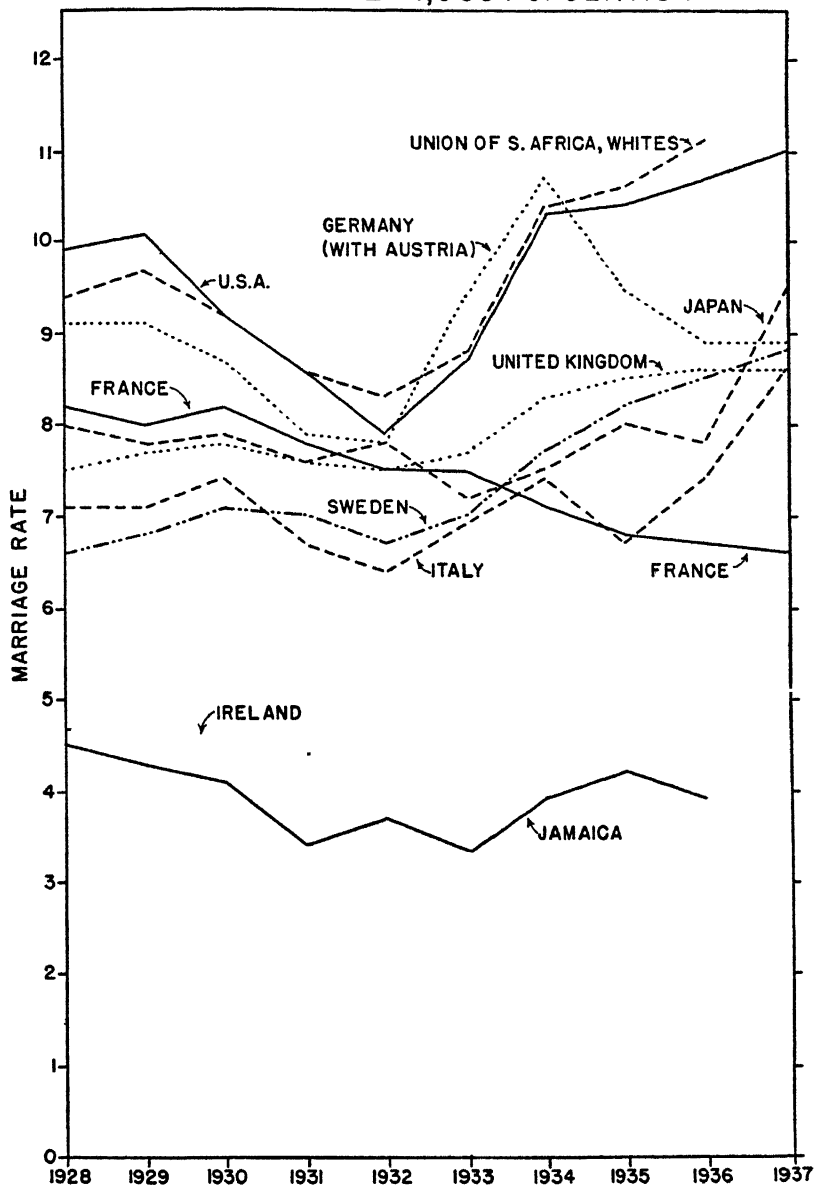


FIGURE 31

The fact that the states with the highest rates are, with the exception of Texas and Oklahoma, in the Pacific and Mountain divisions is explained by the fact that the population is of native stock and Protestant religion and that original individualism in political and social tradition has been accentuated by frontier experience. Low rates and slow increase are associated in New England and the middle Atlantic states with traditional conservatism and large foreign-born Catholic populations and in the south Atlantic states with conservative Protestantism, rural isolation and retardation of economic development.³

Causes of the growth of divorce. Clergymen, moralists and happily married conservatives are fond of charging the great growth of divorce among Western peoples in our time to unworthy motives. In truth both low motives and high motives are back of it, but perhaps the bulk of the growth should be laid to the following *changed conditions*, which give play to motives which have been there all the time but gave no sign of their presence.

Ever smaller is the economic contribution the home-staying wife in town is able to make to the upkeep of her household, while the number of children she bears to her husband is not over half of her grandmother's brood; where, as on the farm, the wife retains her housekeeping and maternal importance marriage continues relatively stable. The latter-day access of women to earning gives the unhappy wife courage to break away from what her grandmother endured in silence because she saw no way of supporting herself. The equalizing of the sexes in school opportunities causes bright wives to chafe under the old type of marriage which took for granted the husband's inherent superiority and right to dominate. Some educated young women "fly the coop" because they had expected to find in the husband a delicacy of soul which the average man is "unable to deliver"! The spread of rationalism weakens the grip of religious beliefs and authorities which bid wives, "Be submissive, no matter what you may be called upon to put up with." In many education and widened horizons have so quickened egoistic desires that they find more difficult the self-sacrifice and accommodation of attitudes conjugal harmony calls for.

One feeder of marital discontent is the spread of a higher ideal of what marriage should be. Love has come to be looked upon as the one thing that hallows sex intercourse, so want of "response" in the mate is felt to be fatal. There may have been as much wifely "frigidity" centuries ago as there is to-day, but husbands then took less notice of it.

The rising tide of divorce reflects the greater sensitiveness of the

* *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. V, p. 183.

girl of to-day. In the last century-and-a-half thousands of moving romances have impressed breathless readers with the heinousness of marrying without love. In most minds the old-time "arranged marriage" has been utterly routed by the "love match." The bringing parental authority to bear on a daughter in order to make her marry a man for whom she feels no love, in order to advance her father professionally or her mother socially, is regarded as profaning the holiest of human relations as well as violating the personality our culture tends to build up in the well-reared young woman. If we wish family considerations to weigh much in mating, we shall either have to drop the romantic ideal of marriage or else bring up daughters quite otherwise than we do.

"Liberal" divorce laws do not break up happy unions. Actually the state of the law has little to do with the disposition of the wedded to stick together or go asunder. Legal opportunity for divorce should not be looked upon as a monster going about breaking up happy homes! A muddle-headed churchman stigmatizes a new legal "cause" as "an assault upon the marriage compact," as if opening a door of release to the tormented tempts the well-mated to crowd through it! The clergyman who characterizes a divorce law as "undermining the very substructure of society" has a queer idea of what holds husband and wife together. The divine who beseeches us to "protect the poor from the evils of loose divorce statutes" conceives permission to be free of galling bonds as a demon forcing loving spouses apart! One judge pictures divorce as "the antipodal foe of marriage" which "invades the home and defiles its sanctities," under the curious notion that there are any "sanctities" left in the home made hideous by brutality or drunkenness. Funniest of all is the claim that by blocking escape from marital unhappiness we shall "restore the purity of our homes"! Nothing, of course, makes for secret amorous intrigue like denying the mismated all remedy!

The truth is, resort to divorce is not so much *malady* as *symptom* of a malady. This malady is not to be relieved by stony-hearted denial of legal relief to shackled, unhappy spouses, but by inspiring couples not yet at the hopeless stage to bestir themselves to keep their union from drifting upon the rocks. For by the time one partner is exasperated enough to sue for a divorce there is small chance of *that* union being saved. So the sociologist who deplores the excessive growth of divorce and would check it is not inconsistent when he stands for "liberal" divorce laws. In his view those who think to befriend marriage when they *tighten up* divorce laws are wanting in practical wisdom.

Nevertheless, it should be recognized that in our culture religious bodies have been often very helpful in this matter. As a rule they take the conjugal union very seriously, instil wholesome ideas about it into their members, discountenance casual, light-minded divorce. While churchmen too often assume the coercive tone of the lawgiver on this subject, religion's appraisal of marriage *has depth*; so that here is a matter upon which religious leaders and sociologists "see eye to eye."

Many divorces due to a wrong attitude at marriage. Among us one marriage in five ends in the divorce court. Eliminating the divorces granted on account of the drunkenness, incarceration, or insanity of the spouse, or like solid reason, it seems safe to estimate that one union out of nine goes on the rocks because the couple married without realizing the momentousness of what they were doing. One or both put forth no determined effort to "make good" on their vows. If, from youth up, in home or church or school, they had been taught to take the proper attitude toward their hazardous undertaking, their marriage might have been saved.

When on impulse an ill-matched couple rush off harum-scarum and marry as a "lark," when to their astounded friends the wife gaily bubbles, "O, Jim and I are willing to take a chance!," when neither attaches great importance to the permanence of the relation they have entered into, how can we expect them to expend the anxious thought and make the thousand personal sacrifices which may be required to assure the success of their marriage? An attitude so casual virtually *courts* matrimonial shipwreck. If, on the other hand, a couple join their lives, deeply solicitous that their solemn vows be faithfully fulfilled, each will study to understand, anticipate and please the other. Responsibility for making many of the inevitable yieldings and adjustments will be accepted as a matter of course. Given two intelligent persons of stable character bent on making glow the sacred altar-fire of their love, their union should gain in promise as the years pass. The myriads of couples who shortsightedly let a salvable marriage break up are virtually sacrificing their future happiness to their present convenience. For one who looks ahead cannot but ask himself, "When I am old will I have at my side a loving, sympathetic mate to whom I shall always be the first person in the world?" People are likeliest to have that sweet companionship and solace from one whom they loved and lived with when they were young. As a general thing a marriage made in the twenties will knit hearts together for life better than one made in the thirties; and one made in the thirties will mould the two personalities to each other better than one made

in the forties. So people who resort freely to divorce, yet are always dreaming that their *next* marriage will be the perfect, the utterly satisfying, marriage, are probably deluding themselves. Eager for variety they let their first marriage go on the rocks, when, in fact, it holds the better promise for happy companionship in old age.

Want of trust taints the spring of conjugal happiness. A woman of 37, twice or thrice divorced, marries a man of 40, likewise a matrimonial butterfly. Both have reached a time of life when marriage is a very serious thing to them. Each is conscious of needing a loving, loyal mate to lean on through the trying periods ahead. Yet, in view of the records, how much confidence can either feel that their conjugal future is safe? What a foundation on which to rear one's hopes of a comforted and companioned old age!

Remedies. If the marriage institution is to receive the broad support it deserves the attitude of the general public should be such that the spouse known to be responsible for the foundering of a marriage will meet with averted faces and feel mortified. In case responsibility can be fixed on neither, no black mark should be set against them; but whoever has figured in *two* divorces (unless it appears from the record that in neither case was he (she) to blame), ought to run the gauntlet of public disapproval and find his (her) stock in the matrimonial market sensibly depreciated. For one winces at being deemed a frothy or quicksilver person whose promises mean little and who will not put himself to any trouble in order to make good a solemn public vow.

In matrimony as in business one plays for high stakes therefore should accept grave hazards. If divorce were as mortifying to a couple as bankruptcy is to a business man, more often would it be foreseen and avoided. If public opinion consistently frowned on frivolous divorce, particularly on the spouse at fault, many couples would reflect, "After all, our case is not hopeless; let's make a 'go' of it!" Since it threw off the lead of religious authorities, public opinion is confused, divided and weak as to divorce because the public's philosophy of marriage is terribly shallow. If it appreciated the worth of stability in this basic human relation, it would be sterner in its attitude toward the culpable.

Instruction on marriage and family should be offered in every institution of higher learning, in order to impress young people with the gravity of marriage and the great desirability of *settledness* in this basic human relation. Such instruction should have the effect of lessening the weight given to *physical attractiveness* in picking a wife, in comparison with that of *personality* and *character*. The woman's standard of value

for men might well be modified in the same sense. Most young people are ready to drop meretricious standards of rating their companions once their eyes have been opened to *the qualities that count*. The facts show that college students are by no means so irresponsible and uncaring about such matters as they have the reputation of being. Perhaps there will spring up eventually a new profession, *domestic counselors*, after the example of medical counselors,—wise persons with a large experience who can give troubled spouses good counsel as to what's best for them to do. To-day those perplexed as to the law lay their case before legal counselors, persons disturbed as to moral questions consult their pastors. So we can imagine a new speciality of *domestic counseling*.

Growing marriedness. The rise of divorce rates as marriage loses its quondam ecclesiastical rigidity ("God's law") does not prove that marriage is a less popular institution than it was formerly. Otherwise, how explain the fact that in 1930 a twentieth more of the people of this country fifteen years of age and over were married than was the case in 1890? It would seem that our matrimonial institutions are all the dearer to the people from having been brought into line with the best public opinion of the time. The cry raised by certain churchmen that marriage and family as we know them are in peril from this or that social class or social movement is sheerest demagoguery and deserves not the slightest consideration. No other topic of public discussion is such a honey-pot for hypocrites!

CHAPTER L

THE TREATMENT OF MINORITIES

The type of minority most in danger of being discriminated against or persecuted is one set apart by its *race, religion, language* or *culture*; for those in no notable way marked out insensibly blend with the majority and so escape all risk of maltreatment by it.

Popular resentment of unlikeness. An element, be it never so in-offensive, that stands out glaringly from the encompassing community owing to its "queer" looks, its "strange" ideas, or its "peculiar" manner of life is likely to run into trouble, if not downright persecution. For such is the normal reaction of the crude toward such as have the unblushing affrontery to be different! Those so "pig-headed" as to persist in being unlike themselves they can easily be led to maltreat, in case they can do so with impunity. Their justifying cry, "These people should be driven out, for they are of inferior race—or are 'heretics,' 'Papists,' 'anarchists,' 'communists,' 'nigger lovers,' 'enemies of the family,' *etc.*—and not fit to be among us!" should fool no one. Really what motivates this type is not love of lofty cultural values but the alluring prospect of safe indulgence in cruelty! Most destructive mobs are clearly under the sway of sadistic impulses.

Hoi polloi charges nearly everything about a minority which irritates it to race; it is "bad heritage" that makes this stumbling-block element *think* and *act* so perversely as they do. They can no more change their standards of behavior and traits of character than they can change their skin color or facial mould. If deeply they offend *us* by their notions and ways, they will be just as offensive to our children and to our children's children! Therefore, let us once and for all get rid of them;—extirpate them as the Turks did the Armenians or else drive them out stripped, uncaring what becomes of them, as the Nazis do the Jews. If governments generally come to be swayed by such theories, what a hell this earth will presently become!

Who are tolerant? The enlightened well know that there is nothing racially distinctive about crude religious ideas, "queer" moral standards, or primitive patterns of social organization, for they but reflect the in-

ferior culture in which the unpopular minority has been reared. The means of replacing gradually this culture by a higher are well understood and within easy reach. Hence, an element which deeply offends *us* may be so transformed by influences we bring to bear on their young that it will be on the best of terms with our great grandchildren! Unfortunately this appreciation of the mighty rôle that culture plays is shared chiefly by the cultivated; most of us look upon the shortcomings of a distinct minority group as "bred in the bone," therefore *hopeless*. One job of "adult education" is to teach the oncoming how masterful is culture's rôle in making people what they are; to drive home to them the fact that every one of us is descended from thousands upon thousands of generations of filthy, repulsive savages. For, dear reader, the horrid truth is, our sweetest cherub if given over in its first month to a native-Australian mother will grow into a typical stone-age aborigine!

In case the enlightened should conclude that a certain element in our midst really is, and must continue to be, a source of endless friction or a drag on national progress, they will *drive it out*. To insult it, humble it, handicap it, bar it from openings, *while still letting it abide in the population*, makes it more than ever "a sore spot" and does the nation no good. Sociology counsels, "Either grant the most irritating element among you a 'square deal' or else expel it. Half-way measures, being at once futile and exasperating, only make matters worse."

In general, the better-educated, more travelled and wider-visioned citizenry, having long ago brought under their stone-age impulses, trust to the blending alchemy of time. They have faith that spontaneous assimilation, if undisturbed, will presently eliminate from an objectionable minority the "outlander" traits which offend us. They realize that the oldsters, even if they *never* drop their peculiarities, will not be able to impose them on their children shaped up in our public schools. In case certain aliens, say the gypsies of Hungary, turn out to be a poor ingredient of our people or prove an inviting target for mob persecution, they would bar them from our immigration quotas but not hound those already legally among us. They trust in the Americanizing effect of the community playground, the labor union, the political rally; in the magic of the public school to free youngsters from the clamp of the Past. By pointing out valuable items in the culture that certain of our immigrants bring with them they deflate our cruder national self-conceit. They explain the true meaning of the culture peculiarities which some of our immigrants exhibit, thereby "spiking" certain misapprehensions among us which breed hateful prejudices.

Effects of justice for minorities. As a rule, complete absence of discrimination—whether legal or social—against a weak minority begets in it the maximum of good will toward the rest of society and of loyalty toward the nation as a whole. Justice Frankfurter speaks of “. . . the passionate devotion to this land that possesses millions of our people, born, like myself, under other skies, for the privilege that this country has bestowed in allowing them to partake of its fellowship.” On the other hand, the imposing of disabilities on the minority makes it long for a national emergency that will give it a chance to “get even.” The pace of Americanization among the foreign-born in our midst would be far slower than it actually is had our law-makers applied any form of discrimination against, or pressure upon, them. They were deterred from doing so by eloquent warnings against “prejudice” from our idealists and far-sighted political leaders and by appeals to “the great American principle of toleration.” This was not only just and magnanimous, but has turned out to be *actually the shrewdest policy that could have been devised!* Under it a cheering progress has been made in assimilating myriads of strangers. States a high official: “The melting pot has worked better than most of us know, the nation is 97 per cent ‘American citizenized.’” European publicists, from the figures which disclose the shocking heterogeneity of our national make-up, imagine us to be far more confused and jangling than in fact we are!

Likenesses are being produced faster than unlikenesses. Difference of religion or culture does, indeed, hold people apart, delays good understanding, hinders team work. The reason why we worry less about it now than once we did is that physical and social isolation is now far more difficult, therefore rarer, than it was in this country a century ago. The means of communication have been so perfected that no alien group in our midst can for long keep itself “unspotted” by the enveloping culture. Its young people simply *will not* allow their clucking elders to toll them away from the exciting, alluring life “out there.” Compare the rate at which the encysting of small tangent religious groups went on in Britain’s colonies in America in the seventeenth century with the snail’s pace at which it proceeds among us to-day! In fact, of late the process has virtually ceased.

What with newspaper, film, radio and school quietly and with little design softening and disintegrating the separatist groups in their midst, Americans feel a justified confidence in the power of the reigning culture here to subdue anything that flouts it. Hence, good-humored tolerance of the will-to-be-different-and-to-live-apart. “Aw, leave ’em alone,” we

say to our would-be Torquemadas, "we're bound to get their kids anyway!" Fortunately this largeness of heart is likeliest to bring to pass just that which we most desire, *viz.*, the abandonment of the "Come-ye-out-from-them" attitude.

Toleration of the dissimilar is no "volunteer" virtue. Not that the bigoted quickly learn out of their experience that the harvest from intolerance is bad. Far from being a hardy perennial that shoots up of itself and can flourish even on a sand bank, tolerance is a delicate plant which needs to be watered and tended if it is to spread. It is an attitude begotten by varied contacts with those different from us in cultural background, by wide travels, by intimacy with foreigners of diverse cultures, by digesting the "teachings of history" respecting the use of force to bring about uniformity.

The educated and cultivated may be expected to arrive at the tolerant outlook much sooner than those cramped by rearing and circumstance. They are among the first to espouse, to exalt and idealize, tolerance, while the crude and ignorant are the last to yield to it. City dwellers, used to putting up with differences, soon learn to "make the best of it," but the hill billies of the brush counties like to "have fun" at the expense of whatever weak tangent groups lie within their radius of action. Respect for the rights of deviant minorities wins a place in the statute book long before it has become an accepted folkway. All political leaders with a redeeming dash of statesmanship urge tolerance of the unlike; only unscrupulous demagogues beat the ancestral tom-toms and egg on the uncouth to give rein to their primitive impulses. Almost anywhere in the world, when a sudden breakdown of constituted authority gives anonymous crowds an opening to do about as they please, they promptly fall to harrying weak groups within their reach who offend them by being different. The yokels may serve none of their rational ends thereby but they *do* have "a corking good time."

A system of public education bearing on *all* of school age insensibly assimilates the children from the most uncompromising separatist groups by providing them with a common cultural heritage. In this way the ground has been cut from under some of the most inveterate feuds between population elements. Suspicion and mistrust quietly fade until members of such groups are willing to see more of one another, enter on practical dealings together, perhaps even engage in mutually profitable team-work. Thus quietly *socialization* goes on until the old rifts and cleavages have become but a painful memory.

That the inculcation of *right views* or *the orthodoxy of the day* should

be the ruling aim of a system of public education finds no favor with the sociologist; for if there is not *some* diversity of thought and outlook people are likely to settle into a state of mental stagnation. Complete identity of patterns of living and thinking causes human intercourse to revolve about gossip and trivialities. Those of each generation who despise the banal and show themselves disposed to tackle fundamentals should receive every encouragement. Provided there is an ample background of agreement, difference of opinion is stimulating, stirs people to their best thinking, makes life more delightful.

Toleration not for the anti-social. While the sociologist insists that in a community of composite make-up the social trait most in need of being cultivated is *toleration of differences*, he does not urge a Job-like patience with behavior and attitudes palpably anti-social. Any society that is weak or tardy in repressing types of conduct that are plainly damaging to it and its posterity is begging for trouble. Failure to single out, disapprove, and menace types of conduct which unquestionably harm shows that it has lost its instinct of self-preservation. One object in promoting tolerance of *irrelevant* differences is to be able to rally people to bear down with all the more conviction, all the more emphasis, on differences which from the viewpoint of the community's well-being *are relevant*.

It is possible that in the next future the dread of dissident minorities may become *too* rife. Society's capacity to assimilate its diverse population components when it "holds the scales level" among them all is likely to be under-rated. In view of the wonderful improvement in the means of communication, travel and migration in our time, it would be an infinite pity if this great facilitation of long-distance movement were to be counteracted, and made of slight practical effect owing to the growing inhospitableness of nations towards immigrants of a different culture, tongue, or nationality.

A wise and far-sighted nationalism will limit immigration. At the same time we might just as well recognize that the day of mass migration from country to country is about over. The high-standard-of-living peoples will feel they have to protect their members from huge influxes of dime-a-day job-seekers from the low-standard-of-living peoples. Then we can be sure that, before the close of this century, eugenic measures will be taken by the more enlightened peoples, on a scale and with a determination no one now living can imagine. In time the lagging peoples will take notice of what is going on and will try to steal a march on the improving sections of humanity by dumping upon them

their human refuse. Against such tactics the progressive peoples will have to protect themselves by sharply restricting the flow of immigrants and imposing selective tests. So it may be centuries before are seen again such floods of overseas migrants as were common before the World War.

CHAPTER LI

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF HEALTH AND DISEASE

Altogether new-age is the notion that people's health is a *public* concern. Personal ailments however distressing posed no social problem so long as there appeared to be nothing that society could *do* about them. But when, in the wake of the discoveries of Pasteur, Koch, and Roentgen, a sudden flood of light on the nature of communicable disease showed that there are many things which the local community or the state government may do to prevent it *that the individual cannot do for himself*, then society found itself facing the problem: "Shall we, or shall we not, take on this job? If we do, how far shall we go with it?" Sixty years back no sociologist felt that it was "up to" him to wrestle with this topic—any more than he feels called upon to-day to tackle the topic of personal cleanliness! But, now that a long series of discoveries in the laboratories have dropped the health question into his lap, he has to consider what we ought to do with it.

Before the rise of such human-life sciences as physiology, pathology, and medicine, the maintenance of health and the avoidance of disease, always a matter of deepest concern to every grown-up, had become entangled with magic and were encrusted with a lot of superstitious observances. This opened to quacks, charlatans, and "medicine men" a golden opportunity to play upon and prey upon the fears of the ailing and their families. An account of their wiles and exploits would make one of the dismalest chapters in human history. This loathsome traffic is by no means extinct yet, but its foes are now very powerful and constantly its scope is being narrowed. War on "healer" humbuggery is a public concern of major importance.

In the last half-century our knowledge of the nature of human disease, its avoidance and its treatment, has grown at such a dazing rate that a wide gap yawns between the insight of the physician and the understanding of the ordinary person. In view of our increasing dependence upon sanitary and medical skill, there is dire need of widening and multiplying the channels by which essential health knowledge is gotten out to the general public. Fortunately the health experts stand ready

to coöperate whole-heartedly in broadcasting this knowledge, so the sole limiting factor is the readiness of the people at large to absorb it.

Changing rôles of individual and society in holding disease at bay. Every discovery of a means of staying disease which society can employ but not the individual, expands society's functions with respect to public health; but every discovery of a prophylactic which the individual or his physician can readily make use of lessens our dependence on public health administration, therefore slows its rate of growth. Discoveries of both types are made constantly, but, on the whole, the former preponderate in number. When, in the field of human pathology, there has been a quick succession of wonderful discoveries which only a centralized organization wielding authority can put to their best use, public responsibility for fighting disease may be expected to grow. In the degree, however, that the new knowledge gets out among the people and they find that they can make practical use of it, their dependence upon the health authorities diminishes.

Far from being able to generalize confidently as to the relative shares of public effort and private effort in future health maintenance, we find that in fact each infectious disease poses its own problem. The holding at bay of typhus or bubonic plague or Asiatic cholera may be wholly a responsibility of the governmental authorities, no help at all being expected of the ordinary citizen. On the other hand, the keeping clear of disorders arising from one's own negligence or bad habits may be altogether "up to" the individual. The standing off of other ailments presents every imaginable sharing of rôles between the public authorities and the private individual or his family.

In any case, since the triumph of the germ theory of infectious disease the task of fending off microbic maladies from ourselves appears in a quite-new light. Ever more clearly the health level of the community is seen to hinge on what the public authorities do (or neglect to do) in such matters as water supply, sewage disposal, fumigation, inspection of hotels, lodging houses and restaurants, insistence on pure food, milk control, maternal hygiene, surveillance of school children, compulsory vaccination and inoculation, control of communicable disease—particularly tuberculosis and venereal diseases—and the like. In comparison with the competency of the community the competency of the ordinary family to shield its members from infection is but a reed to an oak.

The necessity of recourse to authority. Many precautions necessary for the protection of public health fail of their purpose if a few surly, fanatical or "cranky" individuals feel free to "turn balky." Hence,

the need of arming our health guardians with authority to deal summarily with the resistance of the one in (say) half a thousand who pig-headedly refuses to comply with needful measures. There is no call to be alarmed over these invasions of the obstructionist's liberty, for the number of persons affected is very small and their recalcitrance does not even *claim* to have a rational basis!

Compare the suffering from a single non-fatal case of typhoid with the trifling annoyance to a few persons of submitting to the inoculations by which that case might have been avoided! Never do you hear bright, good-tempered people complain of the requirements laid upon them in the interest of public health!

Is one's sense of responsibility for keeping well being weakened? There is no call to worry lest in this new situation the citizen become slack in safeguarding his own health. No one looks upon stumbling blindly into a nest of cobras as a prized personal privilege of which the health authorities are depriving him! Whatever malign diseases they succeed in holding away from him, there are still plenty of risks for him to look out for! Is he being "coddled"? Oh no! Suppose a life-time ago the individual's ability to keep himself clear of a particular infection could be rated as 15%, the public agencies making in those days no contribution at all. In other words, nothing he could do would lessen by more than one seventh his chances of being infected. Today, perhaps, the power to hold that disease at bay should be figured at 65%, of which 40% is owing to what the public authorities can do, while 25% is owing to what the individual himself (or his family) can do. This, surely, is tangible progress!

That the technique of disease-prevention is now at last surely "on the right track" is set beyond the reach of doubt by the astounding drop registered in the incidence of particular diseases that in selected areas have been singled out for eradication. Study of the figures for sickness and death makes certain "that there has been a fundamental revolution in the conditions of human life resulting in the lifting of over one third of the total burden of disease and death which rested upon the shoulders of the human race fifty years ago."¹

In comparison with the pain-worry-and-expense burden sickness imposes on the patient and his family, the cost of preventive measures is but trifling. Apparently in no country is the annual *per capita* cost of furnishing public-health protection *so much as the fee of an ill-paid doctor for one house-call!* The cost of two first-class battleships would

¹ C. E. A. Winslow in volume 12, *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.

meet the public health outlay of all the governmental agencies—Federal, State and local—in the United States! Almost any department of health can cite hundreds of helpful things it would do *if only it had the money!* Armament-building is *competitive*, public health promotion is not; hence, the pace is forced in the one but not in the other.

Popularity of child-saving. No health measures win such general favor as those for the benefit of children. The reasons may be:

1. We are touched by the appeal of the small and helpless. In his heart one feels, "Every child should have its chance."
2. Many grown-ups have only themselves to blame for their ailments;

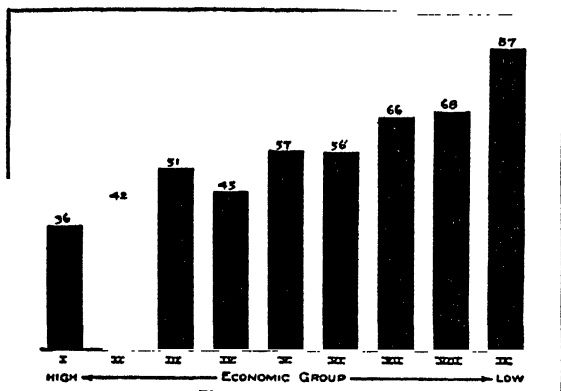


FIGURE 32

INFANT MORTALITY AND ECONOMIC STATUS IN CLEVELAND, 1928

(Figures over bars are infant death rates per 1,000 live births. Economic groups are differentiated according to rental and market value of dwellings. From Edgar Sydenstricker, *Health and Environment*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1933.)

but no child can be held answerable for the state of its health. No ailing youngster is "only getting what's justly coming to him"!

3. Some adults wreck their health by vicious indulgence; but if a child becomes a vice-addict, someone else should bear the blame.

4. You have devoted parents quite "at their wits' end" as to how to keep their children well, while the means of doing so are well understood by specialists. It is heartbreaking that, for lack of a little money, the distracted parents cannot have the succor of the latter. (Fig. 32.)

5. Since not *overpeoplement* but *population shrinkage* looms on the horizon of the advanced peoples, there is no longer fear lest children come to be a "drug in the market."

Health aims in education. The dissemination of sound ideas as to

personal hygiene has to go hand-in-hand with public health measures if the latter are to prove effective.

Of what value is it to have pure drinking water supplied by the city if the consumer drinks it out of a glass used by a typhoid patient? What signifies it if the inspection of the milk supply be ever so good if the mother feeds it to her baby from an unclean bottle? Of what value are quarantine regulations against children's diseases if the mother whose child is quarantined believes every child ought to have these diseases when he is young? And how surely are the results of hygienic laboratories negated by the personal habits of vicious, gluttonous, and bibulous persons? ²

The Health Education movement aspires to transform the views and attitudes of the young citizen with respect to ways of living. It does not need to build up in him a love of health and a dread of disease; but in everything else it may need to make him over from bottom up. It has to plant in him new ideas of what the well-disposed person can and should do to safeguard himself; procure his acceptance of new ideals and goals for his effort; give him a new view of work on behalf of other people's health, the health of the community, the health of industrial workers, the health of school children; build up in him the courage, zeal, and alertness of the good Scout.

Partial suspension of "natural selection" among humans. As we throttle down the selective diseases we retard—unwittingly to be sure—the elimination of the "unfit." The dull-witted, the scatter-brained, the vicious, the ill-natured, the weak-willed, are enabled to grow up and have children who, for the most part, will "take after" their parents, whereas in the old days some "fool-killer" or other "on the prowl" "got" them ere they had arrived at the age for parenthood. If the agencies which for ages have been sifting out of the population the less hardy and resistant have largely been put out of action in the last half-century, then other means must be devised to give the fitter an advantage over the less fit in reproducing themselves; if not, man's constitution will degenerate but the faster, the greater our success in muzzling the enemies of human life!

Unmet needs. At the 1938 National Health Conference in Washington, D. C., facts such as the following were brought out:

On an average day about five million American citizens are temporarily or permanently disabled by illness, *i.e.*, unable to be at work, attend school, or pursue whatever may be their accustomed activities.

² Gillin, Dittmer and Colbert, *Social Problems*, 1932, p. 408.

Myriads of low-income families live in communities where hospital facilities are limited, where tax-support of hospitals is inadequate, and where the supplementary services provided by out-patient departments and visiting nurses are lacking. In about a third of our counties no public health nurse is employed to serve rural areas.

The gross sickness and mortality rates for the poor in our large cities are as high to-day as they were for the nation as a whole, half a century ago.

Among families "on relief" canvassed in the National Health Survey, acute illness is 47% more prevalent and chronic illness 87% more prevalent than among families with incomes of \$3,000 or over.

Non-relief families with incomes of less than \$1,000 experience twice the rate of disability through sickness that families in the higher-income group experience.

No physician's care is received in 30% of serious disabling illnesses among relief families and in 25% of such illnesses in families just above the relief level.

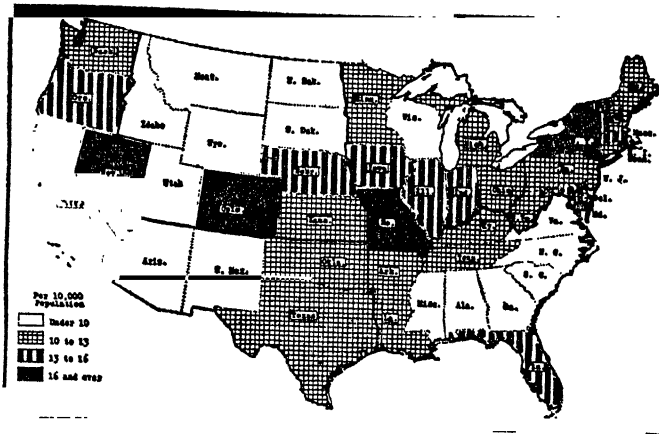
One-half to two-thirds of maternal deaths are preventable and the death rate of infants in the first month of life can be cut in half.

In a northwestern State it was reported that two-thirds of the total population did not have funds for medical and dental care, that few physicians were left in rural areas, and that some counties had no physicians at all! The outstanding need was said to be medical care for mothers and babies.

THE SOCIALIZATION OF MEDICINE

There is no room for doubt that ere long ways will be found to bring the assuaging and healing services of modern medicine within the reach of all the ailing. In comparison with the blessings that can be bestowed, the financial burden to be shouldered is quite too slight for society to boggle at. "In every civilized country," declare Newsholme and Kingsbury,³ "medicine has become more than half socialized!" Whether the doctor's services will be made available to all without fee, as are those of the school teacher, or will be without fee only to the poor, it is too early yet to foresee; but, depend upon it, by one means or another no sufferer will be denied his ministrations owing to lack of money. A community that has gone so far as to make highways, parks, recreation

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 309.

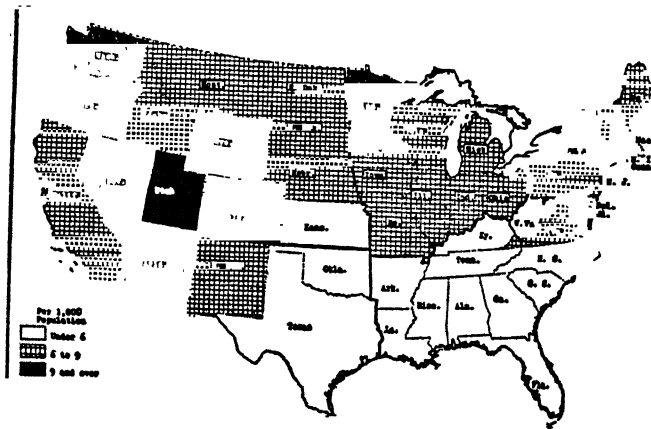


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FIGURE 33

SUPPLY OF PHYSICIANS PER 10,000 POPULATION, BY STATES, 1930

grounds, schools, libraries, drinking fountains and clinics available to all without payment will hardly draw an enduring line against the relief of the sick poor in their homes. Among the ill-paid, sickness creates often an *emergency* for which they cannot reasonably be expected to provide. With modern aids wealth can be produced so easily and speedily that it is poor economy for society to allow a producer to lie for



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FIGURE 34

HOSPITAL BEDS PER 1,000 POPULATION, BY STATES, 1930

months on a bed of pain when a little timely medical care might enable him to be up and out on some productive job. No society will ever lie under a tombstone carved with the words "Died from bestowing undue attention upon improving the health of its people"!

CHAPTER LII

COMMERCIALIZED VICE FROM THE SOCIAL VIEWPOINT

What vice is. Among self-hurtful courses only those become popular vices which strongly appeal to one's nature, *i.e.*, are *seductive*; and are *habit-forming*, *i.e.*, the more they are indulged the more imperious the craving for continued indulgence. The victims may writhe in their toils, but when the craving seizes them anew their will to save themselves turns to water. As a rule, however, *habitués* stoutly maintain that their pleasant self-indulgence is doing them no harm; by the time they realize its harmfulness, it may be too late to mend!

Resistance to vice. Whole primitive groups have been wiped out by an imported vice—usually the drinking of “firewater”—but there is no recorded case of an entire people succumbing. For, as a vice spreads and cankers, always there comes to light a prudent remnant (*e.g.*, the Rechabites) who notice what it is doing to their fellows and veer away. They bring up their children to fear and abhor it; so presently you have a sect that makes it the core of their religion to shun intoxicants, playing cards, dice, bawdy houses, worldly music, dancing, and fashionable attire. Usually they out-prosper all the rest!

How Bacchus got his start. The quenching of thirst with alcoholic beverages was justified in the early-urban stage in view of the growing difficulty in obtaining water fit to drink. It was noticed that those who drank the water at hand sickened, whereas those who were careful to mix it first with wine did not. For a people ignorant of noxious microbes and the germicidal power of alcohol what was more natural than to conclude that the drinking of raw water is dangerous, that wine and its derivatives are good friends to man?

Adaptation to a vice. “Natural selection” has no chance to fortify against a “strange” vice; see how “nature peoples” take to intoxicants on first acquaintance! But, once domesticated, a vice inevitably builds up resistances to itself. Eugenicists think the proverbial sobriety of the Mediterranean races in comparison with those of Northern Europe is due to the former cultivating the vine and having access to wine for some thousands of years longer than the latter, so that their more intemperate

stocks drank themselves extinct ages ago! The Old Testament is full of warnings against wine, but not the New Testament; for in the course of a thousand years of tillage the nomad Israelites had become the wine-proof people we find them to-day. The early Greek lawgivers struck at drunkenness with a severity we have never matched; yet in a few centuries "rummies" had all but disappeared from the Greek strains. In Northern Europe, however, the masses have known grain alcohol only four or five centuries; so, as regards drink, myriads of Americans are "born suckers." *We* have a "liquor problem," the South Europeans do not.

Why a vice spreads. Just as an infectious disease is deadliest at its *first* visitation because people then have in their blood-stream none of those "anti-bodies" which eventually develop, so a vice is most devastating at its *first* onset since it meets then none of the centers of resistance which are bound to grow up. Because of the juicy profits to be reaped from introducing a vice into a virgin field, soon every segment of mankind will have its vice addicts. Hostile legislation may afford protection in some cases, but the one sure defense is to build up in the young a wariness regarding vice, a yearning to stamp on it, and a contempt for the weaklings who yield to it even after their eyes have been opened.

The coming up of the pandering interests. In advanced societies people have almost ceased to gratify their harmful appetites by their own efforts. Rare is the systematic home conversion of apples into hard cider, of peaches into brandy, or rye into whiskey, *for family consumption*. You depend on some dealer for your intoxicants, so that behind every vice there comes to lurk *a business interest*.

Then, combination has been going on among the caterers to vice. The saloon keepers come to be mere agents of the big brewers and distillers. The prostitute is not out for herself, but is "operating" for some "madam" who, in turn, may be under a syndicate that maintains a chain of brothels and recruits its girls through an organized and far-flung "white slave" traffic. The kingpin of organized betting on horse races in the United States gets his "cuts" from so many thousand "bookies" that he is sued (1939) by the Treasury Department for taxes on \$3,500,000 of unreported income!

This is why a pandering interest at bay behaves like a ravening wolf! The public-spirited clergyman, editor, or prosecutor who attacks confidently a noxious local traffic is startled by the array of forces that promptly "line up" against him. He strikes at a groggery and collides with distant brewers, hits a pool-room and finds himself confronted by

a telegraph company, assails a bucket-shop and is met by a syndicate!

For the village vice-caterer has come to be one tentacle of an octopus!

"Developing business." Once rooted in steady patrons, a pandering interest launches "a campaign to develop business." By advertising, circulars, posters and free samples, it seeks to enlist new recruits, especially among the young and innocent. Old-time tobacco was as inert as maple sugar; but trustified tobacco has been known to tempt boys with cigarettes sold under cost and put up in packages containing suggestive pictures! The hard cider of yore was no more pushful than hen's eggs; but presently there came along decoctions that snared the sweat-won dollars from the pockets of the negro field-hand by an obscene title coupled with a picture of a naked white woman on the label. What if this gin does breed rapes and lynchings? "Business is business"!

Those who would block the insidious advance of the moral gangrene quickly find, as did St. Paul at Ephesus, that they are facing a robust commercial interest. A certain society of social hygiene issued decent unsensational pamphlets of warning against the venereal peril. When this society sought to circulate its pamphlets in the "red-light district," policemen interfered on the ground that they were "hurting business" and "scaring away customers." Wean Appalachian moonshiners from their whiskey and nobody objects, "moonshine" is no staple of commerce; but lure patrons from an organized money-making traffic and you will have a wild-cat clawing your back! Essay regulation and you find the profits from a soul-destroying business just as hard to kill as are the profits from a legitimate business. Liquor dealers and dive-keepers, gamblers and "numbers" racketeers will fight proper restrictions quite as desperately as haberdashers would fight vexatious restrictions. And they win sympathizers, too, for after all, "the open vice-shop brings people to town." Commercial Street cheers when the Mayor declares in defense of his "lid off" policy, "I want M—— to be a town where a stranger can have some fun!"

In America in the latter half of the nineteenth century "business" was made a god, to be bowed down to and worshipped like Dagon or Moloch. Accordingly, however dirty their "take," vice caterers posed as "business men" and shrieked to those in respectable branches of trade, "Leave *us* to be ruined by these fanatics and you may find it is *your* turn next!" In some localities muzzy merchants did for a time make common cause with the vice caterers; but presently they came to realize that men in respectable business really have nothing in common with this odious crew and turned a cold shoulder.

Shamelessness and invasiveness of commercialized vice. Whether the victims of a blighting habit should be denied the means of indulging it is one question; it is quite another whether society should tolerate the maintenance from sordid motives of a vast high-pressure propaganda to cozen and wheedle the unwary—particularly youths—into thinking that what demonstrably is bad for them is actually good for them. The costly liquor “ads” met with everywhere indicate that great sums are being spent to persuade that down is up, right is left, black is white! By every trick in the ken of expert psychologists and every artifice known to masters of the literary craft their readers are led to believe that *this* brand of whiskey dispenses rare delights which, as a matter of fact, are but spasms of fancy. Can it be a matter of unconcern to the thoughtful that millions are being expended to put Falsehood at the helm? What respectable business depends for its upbuilding upon pure figments of the imagination? Payment for all this lying propaganda comes out of the profits of the liquor trade—in the end, out of the pockets of its dupes! To offset this unscrupulous campaign, those who care for the truth and love their fellowmen contribute to maintain a temperance propaganda which at its best can spend only pennies against the dollars at the beck of the liquor people.

What should be Society's attitude toward the vice interests? Thanks to the perfecting of the means of communication, the raising of the plane of popular intelligence by means of public education, and the kindling of human sympathy by masterpieces of literature and art, people are coming to be *a little* knit together by feelings akin to those which unite brothers and sisters in a normal family. As things are, the fate of no worthy element is altogether a matter of indifference to the rest; so we may expect public concern over the ravages of a popular vice to grow. Is it consistent for society at great expense to multiply and constantly extend the operations of public agencies for cutting down the people's morbidity and mortality, yet leave “in full blast” aggressive, deceitful businesses which constantly *add* to this morbidity and mortality?

Vice interests vs. social interests. Since every major popular vice is lining some pockets, it never lacks defenders. Those concerned form a “ring,” fill a “war chest,” and watch all moves which threaten the source of their profits. Upon the public-spirited trying to set bounds to the spread of devastating habits they pour ridicule, stigmatizing them as “nosey Parkers,” “old women,” “wowsers,” “kill-joys,” “sour fanatics,” *etc.* They do their utmost to turn the edge of every admonition

and appeal which might rouse the poor thrall of a vice to break his bonds. If there is anything one hundred per cent anti-social, it is the stuff put out by the banded vice interests to make harmful courses look innocent and to persuade the weak that their weakness is a fine manly trait which ought to be given a loose rein!

How differently these interests are dealt with where Business is not a god!

In Soviet Russia

there is active official propaganda against drinking. In workshops, factories, schools and parks exhibits warning against the evils of vodka are common, as are also cartoons and dummy figures throwing contempt on the drunkard. In each factory there is a wall display of the name and photograph of the drunkard and a description of his fault . . . Disciplinary action follows on the initiative of the committee of the shop in which the drunkard works. . . . Liquor shops near factories can be closed if the workmen vote for it . . . every obvious inducement to drink has been abolished in premises where vodka is sold, and we saw no advertisements of alcoholic drinks.¹

Anti-narcotic policy. A model social policy anent the traffic in habit-forming drugs is presented by our national attitude towards the importation or sale of opium and its derivatives. Here there has been no doubt or hesitation—the law hit early and hit hard. The poppy had never been grown in the United States, so there were no popular consumption habits to make uproar; nor had there yet sprung up a huge lucrative trade that could offer a formidable resistance. Accordingly, with full popular support, Congress has enacted every law necessary to insure that opium and its derivatives should be imported only for medicinal use.

Why have not like vigorous blows been struck at the traffic in alcoholic beverages? Because it is less a social menace? No, intoxicants do far more kinds of harm to Americans than opium-smoking ever did to Chinese.² But with us the number of moderate drinkers is so great and the organized liquor interests are so strong commercially and politically that drastic measures cannot hope for success.

Nevertheless, if the more intelligent fifth of us harden their hearts as much against popular self-damaging habits in the next sixty years as they have in the last sixty years, the more reckless vice interests are likely to meet some day with "thumbs down"! Not will all their hypocritical outcry about "personal liberty" gain them clemency.

¹ Newsholme and Kingsbury, *Red Medicine*, 1933, pp. 134, 135.

² Ross, *The Changing Chinese*, 1911, Ch. VI, "The Grapple with the Opium Evil."

Alcohol and gasoline. In this age of motor vehicles, crowded highways and high speeds, popular drinking habits gain a new and sinister significance. The alarming frequency of fatal highway accidents is notorious. Now, careful investigation has shown that the likelihood of accident rises rapidly with driving under the influence of alcohol and that a driver with enough alcohol in his blood to be pronounced "intoxicated" is *fifty-five* times as likely to have an accident as the driver who has not been drinking. Nevertheless, in some jurisdictions the testing of an accident driver for the amount of alcohol in his blood is construed as "compelling an individual to testify against himself," therefore forbidden by the old legal maxim aimed at the use of torture to extract confession!

The regulation of vice. Measures intended to curb a grave social evil do not yield always the hoped-for results. The agents entrusted with the duty of applying regulations to vice interests may become corrupted in time by the glittering financial temptations strewn in their path. When among such regulators "Gather ye roses while ye may!" has come to be the accepted maxim, only the vice caterers able to pay the bigger bribe survive unmolested and these may be just the most conscienceless, lawless and greedy of their kind. So a plan of vice control which goes awry may ultimately force the whole business to a lower plane.

Political corruption from attempted vice regulation. Legislation against prostitution, gambling and the liquor traffic offers an opportunity to a politically controlled police to levy tribute upon the "under-world." By winking at the law violations of those who pay and by rigorously enforcing the laws against those who do not, they can "milk" those engaged in the outlawed activities. The Vice Commission of Chicago in 1911 estimated the annual profit from prostitution in that city at \$15,000,000, of which \$3,000,000 went to the police. After the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment the illicit liquor business grew to staggering proportions. There is evidence that in some years as much as 39,000,000 gallons of bootleg liquor were disposed of which even at four dollars a quart would be worth over \$600,000,000. And this does not include profits from brewing, distilling and smuggling. With such profits well could the bootlegger afford to be open-handed in buying protection. Former Mayor Dever of Chicago said in 1926 that when he took office there were between 15,000 and 20,000 places openly selling liquor and that 60 per cent of the Chicago police were engaged directly or indirectly in the liquor business. Before a Philadelphia grand jury in 1928 it was disclosed that police and enforcement officers in that city

were collecting about \$2,000,000 annually from bootleggers and their allies as the price of "protection."

Educating the public about vice. Since a "demand" backed by money is a powerful evoker of an answering supply, we cut at the roots of a vice "business" when we persuade its addicts to "reform" and make the young shy at the first steps which lead to the formation of a bad habit. The building up of a public opinion against a particular form of harmful self-indulgence is achieved by a process of *public education*. The agencies available for this purpose are ever more numerous and telling. After an enlightened state of public opinion has been brought about, it is possible to instruct children in school as to the deleterious consequences of the use of alcohol and narcotics; make college students acquainted with the causes and consequences of diseases like gonorrhea and syphilis.

The outlook. Now is no time to despond over the growth of self-destroying habits. Under the set-up which is in prospect normal persons will not stupefy themselves in sheer resentment at a grinding joyless existence. With the 40 hour working week, a free recreation center and loan library in every community, motor vehicles cheap, superb highways to all points of the compass, noble public parks or forests perhaps but a morning's drive away, speech and music to be had out of the air anywhere at any moment by the mere turn of a knob—who but a madman, weakling, or hopeless invalid, will put his head into a noose like the alcohol or the narcotic habit?

CHAPTER LIII

CRIME

From time to time new categories of acts seen to be anti-social in their outworkings are prohibited. Consider the restrictions laid on highway traffic since fleet motor-driven vehicles came in. Look how, in the interest of public health, we get quarantine of the home which harbors a contagious illness, enforced fumigation, the padlocking of houses "not fit to be lived in," the banishment of the common drinking cup and roller towel, food inspection, the testing of dairy herds. The law penalizes the nurse who fails to report a case of sore eyes in a "new" baby, the baker who bakes bread in a basement, the hotel keeper whose sheets are not long enough to protect the blankets, and the passenger who spits on the floor or fails to cover up a cough. Inevitably, then, as society develops "crime" presents new facets and poses fresh problems.

Swelling volume of crime in the United States. The warfare against acts or neglects deemed anti-social is waged on an ever-wider front and Americans have small cause to feel satisfied with the way it is going. About 4,000 major crimes are committed among us in the average day. Our general crime rate is over seven times that of the English. Our homicide rate is 4-5 times what it was in 1890. It is (1937) four times that of Italy, five times that of Switzerland and Australia, six times that of France, fifteen times that of Ireland, Denmark and New Zealand, nineteen times that of Great Britain and the Netherlands!

This bad preëminence undoubtedly comes from the distracted state of the public mind brought about by the enormous flood of immigrants (13½ millions) that was permitted to pour into the United States, 1900-1914. This "new immigration" was far less able to understand or speak English, less literate, less ready to respond to or share in an intelligent public opinion than was the "old immigration" (before 1893). From the resulting increase of heterogeneity came a state of confusedness in the public mind very unfavorable to the instant and general condemnation of criminal acts. Public opinion no longer discriminated promptly and firmly between right and wrong or else, wrecked by linguistic and cultural diversity, "gave up the ghost." American society can hardly be

expected to recover from the shock much before the last quarter of this century. All the sociologists of the day warned what would happen from the unlimited inflow, but the "cheap-labor" exploiters operating behind a "front" of social settlement sentimentalists had their way.¹

We should not leap to the conclusion that society's chief buckler against crime is its net of agencies for catching and punishing law-breakers. It is true that for the hardened, calculating law-breakers who live off crime there is no deterrent like the prospect of speedy, certain and condign punishment. This is why any noticeable let-up, fumbling, or bungling in the warfare on crime results promptly in an alarming upswelling of illicit enterprise and criminal activity. But the proportion of "habituals" in a given prison or reformatory population is rather small. Most of the inmates committed their offense on the impulse of the moment or under the influence of stronger personalities. So the invisible but really major bulwark against the spread of crime is *the general disapproval of certain offenses by the community and its unhesitating condemnation of offenders*.

Lose this and you have little left!

Owing to deep-seated changes going on the fabric of society, temptations appear to be multiplying faster than restraints. There have come into being valuable forms of property, *e.g.*, those serving electrical transmission—which cannot be brought in and locked up at night, but have to be left out of doors unguarded! With greater mobility of the population the close acquaintance and intimate relationships which characterized a simpler society have largely "gone by the board," so that the natural ethical controls no longer grip as once they did. Formerly, when everyone knew everyone else in the community and attitudes toward other folks' property were regulated largely by custom and tradition, few disregarded property rights. But with social relationships growing all the time more impersonal and a sense of financial insecurity mounting in great numbers owing to the yawning abyss of unemployment, these time-honored controls have lost much of their force; and what substitute is there but criminal laws and police?

What would measure criminality. The true index of a people's criminality is not *the actual volume of crime*—which fluctuates with the efficiency of the repressive agencies—so much as *the extent of the willingness to commit crime*. This is the *quantum* that would tell the tale if only we could somehow get at it and measure it! How it would help us to know in what degree (if any) it is correlated with:

¹ E. A. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, 1914, Chs. X, XI.

- (a) the racial and cultural heterogeneity of the people;
- (b) whether the people are in a static phase or in a dynamic phase;
- (c) whether times are "booming" or "bad";
- (d) the plane of popular education—whether high or low;
- (e) the current distribution of income and wealth;
- (f) the firmness of grip of orthodox religious beliefs;
- (g) the diffusion of drinking habits and gaming;
- (h) the access of the masses to means of wholesome recreation;
- (i) the confidence the public feels in their courts of justice;
- (j) the reverence of the people for the law.

For the present we have to confess that the roots of right intention and law-abidingness have not yet been laid bare!

Crime can be cut down, but never wiped out. Not with a whole heart can we endorse the old saw, "*Every society has the crime it deserves*"! The best society imaginable would still have its criminals, for in every population stream are borne along subnormals too dull to catch the point of many latter-day prohibitions or to foresee the trouble they cause other people. Others lack the self-control to inhibit their lawless impulses; or are over-endowed with hate, spite, envy, malice, jealousy and vengefulness. Then there are *psychopaths* who from causes not well understood have come to misinterpret, suspect and fear their fellows. After these have been allowed for, it is likely that the willingness to transgress *does* vary with the inherent soundness of the social order, and with the wisdom (or folly) of legislatures, courts and prison authorities.

As the inner constitution and make-up of society alter, certain disapproved types of misconduct need to be rerated or redefined, new species of misdeed have to be recognized. The faster society is transformed, the more nimble this process ought to be. This is why, in a society changing at such a rate as ours, there can be no pause in law-modifying and lawmaking; every new legislature finds many such jobs facing it.

With the social structure ever more involved, with novel types of human relationship coming into the picture all the time, less and less is the individual lawmaker equal to hammering out laws that will produce the results hoped for. He needs to have the benefit of the findings and recommendations of special "commissions of inquiry" that in a limited field will make elaborate investigations with the aid of experts and keep at their task for years. This is why certain European parlia-

ments are far ahead of us in getting their lawmaking on to a scientific foundation.

How can society keep its repressive system effective and up-to-date without forfeiting popular sympathies? For one thing, the spectacle of unpunished crime "in high places" is terribly demoralizing to the on-looking public—it dissipates the precious myth that crime is, of necessity, shameful, leaves the law-reverers speechless before the scoffs of the indignant masses.

If it is widely believed that the Big Fellows enjoy for their interests a fullness of protection that cannot be had by the Little Fellows for *their* interests, the law will lack moral dignity. The public notices the short-term sentences imposed on embezzlers as compared with bank-robbers, the short term given to the rich man who kills his wife's lover compared to the long term given to the poor man who does likewise. Once he has come to look upon the law as "a jug-handled proposition" a fairly decent citizen feels no scruple as to any infraction he thinks he will be able "to get away with"!

When things are punished which the people at large do not regard as shameful or heinous, *e.g.*, expression of unconventional views, membership in an outlawed church or political party, or hiding members of one's family who are "fugitives from justice"—a split develops between government and public opinion which cripples the war on crime and adds greatly to the difficulties of law-enforcement. The police are jeered at as "cops" and sent maliciously on many a "false scent." Crime-fighting and public opinion should keep in step.

Criminals become more formidable when they and their kin, women, onhangers, patrons, "fences" and sympathizers have become organized into an "underworld" that mocks and jeers and sneers at the law-abiders; justifies, admires and hides evil-doers; grades them according to the scale, risk, "nerve" and success of their crimes. Thus the individual criminal comes to command an unwavering moral support which enables him steadily to think well of himself and spares him twinges of conscience and moments of compunction. In the slums, where there are organized societies with a code of conduct the reverse of that of the general society represented by the law, youngsters grow up in an atmosphere of law-defiance which seems to them perfectly normal. The heroes in these groups are criminals; the police and other law-enforcing agencies hounding them are looked upon as spiteful persecutors. The criminal's code of conduct is approved by everyone who belongs to his

"crowd." How can such diversities of attitude between the great society and these small intimate groups be "ironed out"? Certainly the present law-enforcing agencies cannot do it.

If all convicts were out-and-out *bad*, the concern of some tender-hearted for their sufferings while pent up might seem ridiculous. But many of them are, in fact, victims of early conditions for which they are in no way to blame. They may be anti-social *only in spots*; in altered situations they might have turned out to be decent, even heroic. Some of the respectables who love to lump together the penitentiary's inmates in block condemnation may be quite without moral scruples, yet too prudent ever to run afoul of the law! Again, those who staff the prisons and handle the prisoners, unless they have been selected with great care, are likely to become callous and brutalized. On these accounts there is every reason to encourage and support Prisoners' Aid Societies, who inspect and criticize the management of prisons, look into the convict's complaints, and reach him a "helping hand" when he emerges from prison with the intention of "going straight."

It is not clear whether our society is gaining or losing in its war with crime. On the one hand it may be pointed out:

1. More of us live in cities and in cities develop plague spots which make the proper upbringing of children well-nigh impossible. In the city, moreover, youth circulates among a thousand temptations geared to the resisting power of adults.

2. The spread between the fortunate and the unemployed despairing millions is widening.

3. Current left-wing criticism of the existing social order and of the monstrous economic contrasts which it begets cannot but undermine the moral position of the possessors of inordinate wealth.

On the other hand:

- a. Where political democracy functions as intended, law and law-enforcing agencies are not allowed to get out of step with public opinion.

- b. The wide diffusion of education enables the claims of the legal system on the good citizen's loyalty to be made apparent to most.

- c. No unfortunate class is left to feel that society really does not care what becomes of it.

We Americans certainly have no cause to cherish very rosy hopes of an early tapering of crime. To be sure, whatever would diminish unemployment would lessen law-breaking. All the evidence at hand indicates that many of those in reformatories and prisons had been out of work for quite a spell before committing the offense for which they were con-

victed. The great majority come from the ranks of unskilled labor, *i.e.*, the stratum of workers likeliest to suffer from industrial stagnation. Nevertheless, no recasting of our economic system, however thorough and successful, can wipe out that considerable volume of crime that does not arise out of economic distress or the consciousness of having suffered injustice in matters economic.

CHAPTER LIV

THE WHOLESALE MANUFACTURE OF MISCONCEPTION

If all political power were lodged in a narrow permanent class—which has been the case times without number—there would be no deep scheming to control what the public shall know and shall think regarding matters of general concern. So the Herculean underground efforts that are made in the United States of late to determine what the public shall *hear about*, to make sure that what it hears about shall be presented *in a certain light*, and to suggest what the public ought to *think* about it and what, if anything, it ought to *do* about it—all are called forth by the prevalence among us of *political democracy*, are a part of the price we have to pay for a government “by and for the people.” If the ordinary person had no vote, what point would there be in going to so much trouble to influence his attitude on public questions?

Growing reliance on propaganda. The winning of elections by so crude a technique as free beer, barbecues, stage-managed spectacles and open vote-buying appears to be largely “a thing of the past.” The law has penalized giving or offering electors anything of value, while the closed voting booth has discouraged the buying of votes. About all there is left in this line is to whisk your political friends to the polls in cars and slyly hire your foes to stay away! So to-day the recourse of those aiming to control the machinery of government for their own ends is to sway mass opinion by means of elaborate veiled propaganda and cunningly to suppress whatever may run counter to their design. It is, above all, against this formidable new enemy that the friends of people-rule have to be on the *qui vive*.

With a public library in every town, with the level of popular intelligence rising constantly owing to university extension and other agencies and the leaven of college graduates in the community rapidly growing, the old cheap-John methods of corralling votes are out-of-date. New methods of winning support had to be devised and of these the most promising is *propaganda plus censorship*.

Not long ago the word “propaganda” was respectable, even venera-

ble; it meant *sowing the seed*. Christian foreign missions were styled *Propaganda dei fidei* (propagation of the Faith). But among us of late the word has acquired a bad flavor. *Agitation, promotion, missionary work* are still in good repute but not *propaganda*, which now savors of the sly and sinister.

Typical procedure. To be obnoxious propaganda needs not resort to falsehoods and misrepresentations; it may employ nothing but the truth, yet be anathema to the decent because under its fine professions it hides or suppresses the counter-balancing truth. *Education* takes care to distinguish itself from it by aiming always at the enlightenment of the recipient, not his blinding; therefore it lets out *all* the truth it has. In the course of four centuries *scientific inquiry* has made a great name for itself by its rare scrupulousness in never slurring over or belittling adverse facts, but always assigning them their due weight in comparison with favorable facts.

In certain situations heavy outlay on propaganda has the lure of a highly remunerative investment. Suppose some five thousand major capitalists became convinced that control of their state's policy respecting public utilities during the next few years will bring them extra profits of a billion or more. In such a case there should be no difficulty in inducing them to get together a fund of ten million dollars—but a hundredth part of what they hope to make—for the purpose of bamboozling the less wary section of the public respecting the comparative merits of private ownership and public ownership in the sphere of utilities. With such a "war chest" behind them they can spend millions for advertising in order to win newspaper "good-will" so that the news and editorial columns will be censored in their favor.¹ They can maintain a staff of bright speakers who seize every opportunity to address without

¹ Among the "exhibits" of the Federal Trade Commission is a letter from an official of a big Pacific Coast public utility to the president of a Philadelphia company in which he states that the "Committee on Relations with financial institutions" many years ago "discovered the country bank." "We came to the conclusion about fifteen years ago that as a practical incentive to get the banks to work with us there is no substitute for deposits. A worth-while account has, therefore, been the keynote of our policy." "We have at this time accounts with 230 country banks scattered all over our territory, and while our policy keeps an average of around a million and a half dollars tied up in balances in these country depositories, we believe it is well worth while . . . because it cements their friendship and cooperation."

During the public utilities' campaign against the water-and-power act, "a scheme to put California in the power business," these bankers sent out "literally hundreds of thousands of personal letters and pieces of literature to their depositors and stockholders as well as campaigning against the act personally." "The other power companies in California follow pretty much the same policies I have outlined."

fee clubs and other influential bodies; whatever the occasion, whatever their topic, they contrive always to get in a "dig" at public ownership. Debates on public utility policy will be fomented between high schools; the team supporting their view will be furnished, of course, with stacks of data and helped to win. Ill-paid university professors will be engaged to make "investigations." Researches thus made by supposedly independent authority invariably show public ownership a failure or on the way to failure, and the reports will be given wide circulation. Textbook "surveys" will be set afoot, which result in revision of the offending text or the substitution of one preferred by the public utility executives. In their avowed effort "to change and direct the economic thought and economic practice of the American people" they will reach the minds of school children by subterranean channels. On the laudable pretext of furnishing information a "catechism" or other pamphlet prepared and furnished free by their publicists will be slipped into the public schools where school heads are naïve enough to allow it. Women employees secretly in their pay will be trained for platform work and placed in grade schools to lead children to regard private ownership of public utilities as synonymous with the "American" system of government and to fear the results of public operation. Such women will join clubs and attend social affairs as a part of their day's work and spread public utility propaganda without any knowledge on the part of their associates that they are mere mercenaries.

The irony of it all is that the hoodwinked public when it settles its bills for electric light or power furnishes the millions of dollars, charged to "operating expense," which pay for all this bamboozlement and befuddlement!

A sample of propagandizing. That this is no mere brain figment appears from disclosures made in 1928 regarding the campaign against public ownership conducted by the National Electric Light Association, an organization built up of numerous individual lighting and power companies in many states. With the American Gas Association and the American Electric Railway Association, each similarly constituted, it set up a Joint Committee in Washington. Their aim was to save the fat profits from their non-competitive business by keeping government out of these fields. In influencing the public they relied on (1) advertising and news editorials, (2) text books and teachers, (3) public speeches, (4) pamphlets.

See how the first of these worked. In Georgia,

Our greatest distress before we started the Committee was the printing by the newspapers free of charge of propaganda written by public ownership fanatics. We answered these articles with paid advertisements and then insisted that the newspapers require the public ownership fanatics to also pay for the space they wanted. The result is that out of 250 newspapers in Georgia only four will publish anything at all from the public ownership people.

So public policy is to be settled not by fact and weight of argument, but simply by depth of purse!

Another device is to win newspaper good-will by buying advertising. The director of the Ohio bureau reported,

The entire cost of operating the committee is between \$20,000 and \$28,000 a year. The Committee is getting many times that much result in mere newspaper space, more than they could buy for that amount. If we bought that space in advertising columns it would cost them \$100,000.

It has been estimated that the utilities laid out \$28,000,000 a year on advertising.

By such tactics many newspapers were lured away from their natural loyalty to their readers and degraded into secret tools of monopolistic business. Said an Illinois director,

We are trying to promulgate the idea rapidly among the newspapers that public utilities offer a very fertile field for developing regular, prompt-paying customers of their advertising columns. When that idea penetrates the United States, unless human nature has changed, we will have less trouble with the newspapers than we had in the past.

An old-fashioned legislative briber would sum up the outcome of his operations in just about these terms. In more decorous phrases a New York director observed: "Steady persistent advertising, steady furnishing of information week in and week out will help materially to get any utility the place in public esteem which its policies and performances deserves." The Pennsylvania director told his people that the country newspapers "regard paid-for advertising as manna-from-heaven."

And so we had a country-wide press influence exerted on the public in favor of private ownership of public utilities; we had a country-wide influence away from public ownership because there was no money to buy advertising space and what went along with it; we had an avalanche of one-sided statements on important public questions; we had this from sources assumed not to be interested; we had it by methods open and

above-board as far as appearances were concerned, but in reality in thorough accord with the characteristic methods of propaganda.²

It is needless to add anything here as to the contriving of financial embarrassment to independent newspapers by inducing their banks to "shorten their credits" or the outright purchase of such newspapers by "stooges" of the private interests.

Thus is conscienceless propaganda set up to defend a source of lush unearned profits; and it circulates *tons* while its opponents are circulating *pounds*! To this general pattern conformed the endeavors to sway the public against government regulation set afoot by the railroads; the banded liquor interests; the "patent medicine" trade; the food adulterators; the oleo-margarine makers; the mendacious advertisers; the stock exchangers; the "power" network; the interests opposing restriction of immigration.

How to combat propaganda. When propaganda takes the stage in the noble guise of *education* or *public enlightenment* it requires clever work to discredit it in the eyes of its intended victims. One manœuvre is to prove it disloyal to the truth in a particular instance; then on the old Roman principle, *falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*, the public will disbelieve its other assertions. For this reason all conscientious agitation stresses its unlikeness to propaganda by its extreme care not to hide or distort unfavorable facts.

The most effective tactics to employ against a fat, sly propaganda with an engaging aspect is to wave aside its allegations and demand: *How much does all this cost? Who is paying its bills?* Sincere movements to enlighten the public on a matter of general concern are started by those as to whose disinterestedness there can be no question; already many a time they have fought for good causes and they bear scars from battle after battle on behalf of the public. But when, as often happens, a many-sided and well-financed propaganda can be shown to emanate from a lately-launched high-sounding association, with lofty scientific pretensions, which on investigation proves to be but a "front"—consisting of a secretary and a couple of typists—behind which operates a little knot of opulent greedy profiteers out to "do" the public, the battle is "as good as won."

It becomes a rout when you can show just who are speaking and testifying and publishing on behalf of these schemers and what each is receiving for his services. When evidence has been produced that these

² F. E. Lumley, *The Propaganda Menace*, 1933, p. 171. The previous citations are from this work, pp. 166, 167.

field propagandists are but *mercenaries*, to whom the fooling of the public is just a source of livelihood, their power to convince undergoes a sudden slump.

Public-spirited agitation has it over crooked propaganda in that public favorites, well-known figures of "light and leading," may be induced to share in or sponsor the former, but will have nothing to do with the latter. Even when these enjoyers of popular confidence are too busy to be active in a worthy agitation they will support it by lending their names and giving forth occasional clarion utterances which its friends can quote.

Imagine that certain lumber companies get together a big fund for the purpose of "putting over" a propaganda for "liberalizing" the administration of the public forests, so that they can again make the "clean sweep" cuts that insured them juicy profits in the days before Theodore Roosevelt became President. With myriads of convinced and trusty "conservationists" in the land, well conversant with such methods and eager to thwart the foray, how far will the exploiters' staff of hired workers and speakers get them?

So, while selfish propagandists have an initial advantage in the "big money" at their disposal, more and more they are slowed down, even stopped, by the sudden rally of "minutemen" who know every aspect of the matter under discussion and are identified in the public mind with the championship of worth-while causes.

The radio and propaganda. Radio broadcasting, which reaches great numbers in their homes with the human voice, contributes to deflate unscrupulous propagandas. Formerly a leading public man could reach directly only an audience in his actual presence. Whether his address should receive eventually a wider circulation depended on the attitude of the newspapers. If, owing to their secret tie-ups, they ignored or garbled his utterances, there was nothing he could do. Over the radio, however, his ideas reach his listeners right from the lips, with no opportunity for opponents to twist or garble them, and the size of his audience depends solely on the volume of popular attention and confidence he commands. If in his field of interest there is operating a propaganda to hoodwink the public, a few blistering comments from him will suffice to put his listeners on their guard. For the spoken word can be more inflammatory than the written, and the human voice can stir emotion quicker than the printed page.

The newspaper costs so much to put out that it can make a very plausible demur when confronted with the demand, "Now let us hear

the other side." But a broadcasting station requires little capital, its chief asset is the "cleared channel of the air" which has been granted it for a brief term on the ground of "public interest, convenience and necessity." Stations putting on a program involving a controversial issue may properly be required to "extend equal facilities to at least one important contrary view immediately after the original discussion."

The National Council on Freedom from Censorship urges the Federal Communications Commission (May, 1939) in considering applications for licenses to give preference to an educational institution, a labor organization or a municipality over a profit-making enterprise, particularly in communities which already have commercial radio stations.

The Council criticizes the policy of the large networks in refusing to sell time for non-commercial programs,

This policy results in an unfair handling of public issues, for commercial sponsors have used the time they buy for the discussion of controversial public questions which cannot be presented by the other side unless it too has goods or services to sell. Thus a labor organization may not buy time on the networks while employers and employer-industry groups through commercial advertisers may state their case without restriction. The only remedy for this unfair situation is to prohibit a discussion of public issues on commercial time.

The outlook. On the whole, the trend is adverse to the easy triumph of designing hypocritical propaganda. The publicity media it has to rely on are ever more recalcitrant, while the agencies for deflating tricky schemes to mould mass opinion do terrific execution when unhindered. The public's resentment of campaigns to gull it is mounting and a growing contingent of citizens are willing to "line up" on the side of the truth no matter what effect it may have upon their pocket-books. Loathing of insidious falsehood and unselfish devotion to the imperilled cause of truth are waxing rather than waning. Even leading capitalists frown on the use of lie and gag in defending the capitalist system and perceive that sober fact may be employed to vindicate it.

The victories over nature which are the glory of our day rest upon scientific discoveries, which flow from *the direct interrogation of reality* regardless of venerable received opinions or the pet preconceptions and prejudices of the inquirer. Less and less can the student of social progress concede that *any* worth-while institution or policy needs rest on popular delusion or beneficent lie. Resentment of any manipulating or tampering with the truth and stern demand for strict fidelity to fact

in all declarations and utterances addressed to the public are, no doubt, more general to-day than ever before.

Torturing or twisting or withholding the truth or any part of it is looked upon with less indulgence; accordingly the tricks and wiles of the propagandist recoil more damagingly upon his own head once he has been shown up. If sixty years ago one in a hundred adult Americans possessed a college education, it is safe to say that one in twenty possesses it today. This should greatly multiply the possible unmaskers of missionaries of deceit. So we need not quail before the sinister possibilities which lurk in well-financed propaganda.

CHAPTER LV

SOCIAL SECURITY

Why the problem of old-age security heaves up. Thanks to the strangling of whole dens of serpents by modern medicine, an ever-larger proportion of adults are living on into the stage when they can hardly expect to retain a regular job in competition with much younger men. The proportion of us above age 65 is now twice what it was fifty years ago and the quota "not gainfully employed" is much larger. Before the arrival of great-scale units of production there were many more opportunities than there are now for an elderly person to do something to bring in money. Then about the "home place" there was no end of "chores" the old folks could do. To-day far fewer home plots have domestic animals or kitchen gardens to be looked after, while "home nursing" plays a slighter rôle than once it did.

In the days of our great grandparents big families were common and the numerous children shared among them the responsibility of caring for their parents when the time of their needing care arrived. Now there are, perhaps, not more than half as many grown children to the average couple and the number of years their parents survive after giving up a regular job is, on the average, several times what it was a century ago. Consequently, we are called upon to provide for old age in new ways. Since parents now, as a rule, invest less of their income in rearing a big brood, they are more able to devote a part of their current earnings to building up old-age security on an entirely different plan. Formerly a fore-looking couple, undertaking to provide for their declining years, were not perplexed by the problem of what to put their savings into. There was, first of all, the acquiring of a *home*, then of a *good home*, then the enlargement of the *home place*, finally the owning of the *farm, shop, store, or place of business*. However, with employment so uncertain as often it has come to be to-day, the prudent wage-earner feels that he must be prepared at all times for lay-off or shut-down. Under the circumstances he can hardly afford to let his savings be "tied up" in a home when, in case he loses his present job, the nearest

similar job open to him may be a hundred miles or leagues away! He will be a freer man if his savings are in a form "easy to get at."

When it comes to so investing his earnings that they will surely yield him an income when he is old and badly needs it, there has been hardly anything for him to do but to put them into the stocks or bonds of some big corporation of which he knows virtually nothing and over which he cannot hope to exercise any control. The disappointing of the faith and hopes of millions of small investors in the "securities" of great American corporations in the last three-quarters of a century is one of the saddest chapters in American social history. That great numbers of other investors fared better did not mitigate the plight of the losers!

How old-age security may be provided. Since the problem, *How can I invest my savings so that I shall be certain of an income when I am old?* has gotten quite beyond the power of the average wage-earner to solve single-handed, there is no choice but to have a government, controlled by all and concerned for all, step into the situation, see that contributions for "security" from both employee and employer are regularly made, and assume responsibility for the safe-keeping of these accumulations until the time comes for them to be returned in the form of a flow of regular payments to a superannuated, invalid or unemployed contributor, or his survivors. This is what is meant by "social security."

The superiority of "security" over "relief" appears at a glance. Professor Gillin points out¹: "The pensions given in some states are ridiculously inadequate and, more serious than that, in almost all cases some sort of a 'means test,' always a degrading process, must precede the granting of a pension; as long as a pension is accompanied by the odor of almsgiving, it seems little better than plain outdoor poor relief." On the other hand, benefits arriving under a contributory system, such as was set up in 1935 in the United States, are like those from an endowment life-insurance policy; the money *belongs* to the insured person and is paid to him as his *right*.

When an insured home burns down there is ample room for showing neighborly sympathy and practical aid, but the houseless family does not become a burden on the community. Thanks to its indemnity it loses nothing in social status nor is there talk of depriving its adults of the right of suffrage, as is at times proposed in the case of persons on relief! Social security will spare us the dismal prospect of an increasing number of persons who are looked down on by their fellows as failing to "pull their weight" in the boat and who consequently come to suffer

¹ *Social Pathology*, revised edition (1939), p. 397.

from a feeling of inadequacy and inferiority. Our recipients of military pensions have never been looked down on by anybody nor have they been poisoned by self doubt. Now, when the payments coming to invalids or the old are regarded as the reappearance of regular contributions paid in from the recipient's earnings through his entire employed life, no one will look upon him as a social parasite nor will his self-respect be undermined.

Setting up social security does not make private charity superfluous, but prompts it to drop old rôles and take up new rôles. It finds its new sphere of usefulness in eking out or supplementing "security benefits" when they come short of need, in looking after cases of distress which cannot be fitted into the existing set-up, in watching the administering of social security and seeing that it is everything that reasonable social workers can ask for, in detecting the faulty spots in the system and agitating for their correction by law.

Social security compared with life insurance. The arrival of social security was delayed in our country by the growth of life insurance, the classic "American way" of providing for widows and orphans. In 1850 there were 29,000 policies in force; in 1931, 121,000,000! But this protection is expensive; "comparison of the private companies with the state-owned system of savings-bank insurance in Massachusetts shows that the state insurance is not only much cheaper but that the system is more efficiently operated in every way."²

Declares Stewart:

. . . an unbelievably high proportion of American life insurance fails to serve the purpose for which it was intended. Only 18.8 per cent of all *ordinary* insurance policies which were terminated in the eleven-year period 1923-1933 were closed on account of death, maturity, or expiration. This means that four out of five policies were failures as far as meeting the purpose intended. . . . In the case of industrial policies the wastage has been even more appalling. During the eleven-year period cited above, only eight out of a hundred terminated industrial policies were closed in such a manner as to fulfil their function. Since a lapsed industrial policy provides little or no refund to the policy-holder, it is obvious that the poorest section of our population is being deprived of scores of millions of dollars annually for which they receive no return apart from transitory protection.³

Is the vaunted "voluntarism" of life insurance a recommendation? Well, there can be two minds about it! Observes Stewart:

² Maxwell S. Stewart, *Social Security*, W. W. Norton and Company, 1937, p. 68.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

. . . We have seen that few middle-class and fewer workers' families can afford or are likely to purchase adequate insurance under present conditions. . . . Some men are naturally provident and will purchase protection if at all within their means. But these are decidedly the exception, and no reduction in rates is likely to make most men feel that life insurance is more important than the necessities of the moment. Tradition tells us that we should make the improvident pay the penalty for their lack of foresight. But what of their children? Can society afford to handicap a substantial portion of the next generation because some parents were unwilling or unable to take out adequate life insurance? ⁴

Some social consequences of old-age security. Old-age "security" leaves parents less eager to contrive and maintain an emotional grip on their children. They will live with their grown children when such an arrangement is agreeable to both parties; when not, they will live by themselves. Thus both parents and their grown children will be freer than they were to do as they like. This should make for harmony and add to happiness.

When, for the great bulk of workers old age, as well as such hazards as unemployment and death of the bread-winner, are insured against under a comprehensive compulsory system calling for a percentage of pay rolls and proportionate contributions from employers, some very interesting social consequences may be expected:

1. When grown children are no longer responsible for the maintenance of their "retired" parents they can lay out their resources on *their own* children, so they may be more willing to have a fair-sized family.
2. Feeling less need of constantly "keeping on the good side" of their grown children, many couples without property will gain a delicious and unwonted sense of independence.
3. Among low-income people financial worry over approaching old age will cease to darken life.
4. The pressure upon the well-to-do to contribute to current charity enterprises will be appreciably lightened.
5. Since millions of citizens will be looking to the government to return their contributions in the form of "benefits," revolutionary attitudes and ideas will meet with extreme popular disapproval; confidence in democracy, "the American way," will be strengthened.
6. Achievement of social security will confute the "left-wing" argument that nothing of solid benefit to the working class can be achieved until there has been set up "a dictatorship of the proletariat."

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

7. In case a "social-reform capitalism" is found able to provide adequate security against the major risks industrialism involves, the demand for *public capitalism*, i.e., *communism*, will be weakened. So it is safe to predict that the proposal to spread security by means of social action will not meet with unanimous and uncompromising opposition on the part of capitalists. The farther-sighted will hail it as a means of insuring capitalism against mass revolutionary movements.

Why social security is opposed. Those who advocate social security are in the closest touch with the actualities of the day. Upon the positions of their opponents they keep up an incessant barrage of *facts*. They uncover and expose to light certain very ugly realities, as Professor Gillin does when he says⁵: "Towering above all other causal factors in old age dependency is the simple fact that most people, in their productive years, do not earn enough to permit them to provide for their declining years."

The opponents of "social security" will not abandon their "anti" position even under the pitiless barrage of figures and facts. They balk at looking steadily at *current* situations, are ever harking back to what was possible under frontier conditions that have passed away. They love to cite what some sturdy ancestor did two lives ago, before the advent of industrialism and concentration, the implication being that we all might do the same had we the "intestinal fortitude" of our forbears. Stubbornly they refuse to take into account the immense breath-taking transformations going on in our society—hardly to be matched elsewhere in the world—causing folkways and laws which were serving us fairly well less than a century ago to come quite "out of joint" with the situations and needs of to-day.

We should be naïve to lay this stressing of *by-gone* rather than *present* conditions, this insistence on looking back to a stage of society that in large measure has disappeared, to sentiment distorting clear-eyed vision. There is something more here than ordinary human error. Many capitalists and employers "line up" against the social security program because in it they see a threat to the magnitude of their profits. For they would be required by law to contribute, according to the size of their pay roll, to the reserves out of which invalid or superannuated workers will receive their benefits. Either they are quite unconcerned over the fate of their laborers after they have lost the power to be of any value to them, or else they want the financial responsibility for caring for the old needy worker to be rolled upon the shoulders of so-

⁵ *Social Pathology*, Revised, 1939, p. 61.

ciety in the form of poor relief, rather than fall upon particular industries according to the dimensions of their respective fields of employment!

It can hardly be doubted that our society's measures and policies will ere long be adapted to the realities of our time rather than to those of a past which has been swiftly but silently transmuted into something very different.

Prospects. Compulsory contributions will secure the old age of many an irresponsible who, left to himself, would spend his every dime above sheer necessities with the saloon-keeper or the book-maker; so social security blurs the line between the lot of the man who has practised thrift and that of the thriftless. It will enable spendthrifts and moral weaklings to pass their declining years in a serenity they could not have achieved had they been left to themselves. But this type will raise no more children than formerly, so old-age insurance will have practically no influence upon the survival of stocks weak in character.

It is worthy of note that forty-two nations now provide some sort of security for those past their working time. Thirty-two have gone in for a system of contributory insurance, while ten grant pensions only on the basis of need. Since the World War compulsory insurance measures have been adopted in 23 countries in addition to the United States. Fifteen of these countries are in Europe and eight in Latin America.

Social security will have the effect of reconciling the working class to capitalism and in a way immunizing this class to the appeal of the Communists. Far-sighted leaders of the capitalist class (*e.g.*, Bismarck) devised it to take the wind out of the sails of the Marxists. If in itself it is a good social policy sociologists will favor it regardless of its effect upon the strife among political parties. It is not solely owing to low wages that the masses do not make adequate provision against the hazards which beset their path.

CHAPTER LVI

FREEDOM

Will society concede a member "the right to go to the devil in his own way"? How about his dependents? But if he has no dependents? Well, even then we do not leave the sot lying in the gutter to freeze; ere long he may represent quite an investment of public medical attention and hospital care. So the time comes when the "hop fiend," drug addict or confirmed alcoholic is picked up as a simple mental invalid and confined in a public institution until he has been restored to health!

In industry, of course, freedom "on the job" is dying. Compare the dictated movements of the worker "on the assembly line" with the self-direction enjoyed by the old-time craftsman in his workshop! More and more, the power-driven machine strips the worker of control over his movements. But rapidly the 30-42 hour week is replacing the 48-72 hour week; and outside of his working hours he is rich as never before. Not only is he as free from constraint as any other citizen, but there are open to him a ravishing array of accesses and options of which his grandfather knew nothing—the social center, the civic center, the city park, the state park, the free library, the recreation center, the bathing beach! The annual two-weeks' vacation with pay is probably not far away. When practically everybody with a stable job owns a car and a "receiving set," what becomes of "the cramp of circumstance"?

In view of our growing dependence on the "boughten," stern measures against defrauders are called for. Long ago, at the instance of the trading community, the circulating medium was so regulated and standardized that now, under normal circumstances, every piece of money is exactly what it purports to be. Why should not what passes across the counter to the customer in exchange for this honest money likewise be required to be just what it purports to be? Nevertheless, even to dream of such a thing now is Utopian owing to the determined hostility of certain business elements, furious at the prospect of their profits being curtailed. Inasmuch as the advertising which business places yields two-thirds of newspaper revenues, the consuming public cannot expect to win a "square deal" very soon.

Constantly the advance of technology imposes on us "don'ts" which we bow to as inevitable. Speed limits, stop-go lights and "one way" thoroughfares are cheerfully acquiesced in, as plainly in the interest of both car drivers and pedestrians; not otherwise can we have the privilege of skimming the highway at ten times the pace of Old Dobbin! Stringent sanitary regulation of homes in which lie victims of contagious disease is placidly accepted because so obviously necessary for the protection of the public's health. Rare is the sportsman who resents the numerous limitations on the taking of fish or game and on the use of the state or national forests.

On all hands such gyves are recognized as functional, serving purposes all good citizens are interested in; no one hints that they have been "put over on us by fellows with an axe to grind." But restrict the freedom to form religious societies, engage in public worship, or maintain a religious propaganda, and mark the flare-up! Or propose to shackle the circulating of ideas, curb the forming of political parties, or censor the newspapers!

But what diversity there is among us in attitude toward compulsory public-health measures! Observes the *Statistical Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company for May 1939:

New Jersey, with a population of about 4,400,000, has not had a single case of smallpox in a period of more than seven years—since 1931. On the other hand, the States of North and South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Oregon, Wyoming, and Utah, whose combined population is less than that of New Jersey, reported during the same period 12,666 cases of this loathsome disease. Why?

Chiefly because in New Jersey the people readily accept the principle of vaccination as a preventive of smallpox, while in the other seven States compulsory vaccination is generally opposed by the population, and little help is given the health authorities in their efforts to stamp out the disease. Strange as it may seem, three of these Western States actually prohibit compulsory vaccination by statutory regulation, regardless of prevailing circumstances.

Look how much more we know as to the conservation of wild life, forestry, and soil upkeep than our grandfathers knew! And this gained knowledge warrants hundreds of restrictions which everyone of intelligence accepts. In case we shall learn as much in the next sixty years about the handing on of human traits as we learned in the last sixty years about the care of natural resources, barriers will be set up against the parentage of persons with this, that, or the other defect in their germ plasms. And the bulk of the people will accept them as amiably as

now in the national forests they accept the obligation to put out their camp fire before "hitting the trail"!

CONTEMPORARY RÉGIMES DISREGARDING PERSONAL FREEDOM

A cherished freedom is the right to "a fair trial" in case one is accused of crime. Now in the authoritarian régimes which have been set up in post-war Russia, Italy, Germany and Spain we find:

1. Condemnations and executions without open trial, and wholesale sentencing to concentration camps of such as are suspected of disaffection toward the existing régime.

2. Making wives and other relatives of political offenders and suspects hostages. In the Soviet Union the principle of punishing innocent individuals for the deeds of relatives has been formally incorporated into the nation's legal code.

3. More and more, permission to go abroad is granted only suspiciously and grudgingly and is denied if the applicant is suspected of holding "unsound" political views.

4. Making likely individuals scapegoats for the blunders of the government.

Monster parades and demonstrations are staged to attest the popularity and strength of the existing régime. "But in Germany as in Russia, the individual, unless he is completely identified with the ruling group, prefers not to discuss politics, looks around with apprehension if he is talking in a public place, not infrequently is definitely indisposed to meet a foreigner!"¹

Among the great pillars of political liberty are freedom of speech, press, and assemblage. As for the first, the only issue in really "democratic" societies is whether the addresser of a public assemblage can say *anything* (not obscene or slanderous) for which he might be held legally responsible; no account can be taken of what one says in private. As for the press, it can with impunity print anything not libellous and is under no pressure to print what officials desire it to print, or to ignore what they wish it to ignore. On the other hand, of course, there are secret intimidations by advertisers or other powerful business groups, of which its readers rarely learn. As for assemblage, the trend is toward letting citizens come together for any lawful purpose, the only limitation on their right being the grave prospect of immediate public disorder.

¹ W. H. Chamberlin, *Collectivism, A False Utopia*, The Macmillan Company, 1938, p. 37.

Compare, now, the attitude of the one-party dictatorships. Observes Mr. Chamberlin²:

If the high-flown claims of unparalleled national achievement and national regeneration which are so constantly and stridently voiced by Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, and their lieutenants and sub-lieutenants were founded on fact, one might imagine that the dictators would positively welcome public criticism, merely for the pleasure of bowling it over by exposing its weaknesses. . . . Alas, nothing of the kind is within the realm of remote possibility. Nothing is more eloquently suggestive of the real state of affairs under the dictatorships than the extraordinary nervous care which is taken to prevent the least breath of criticism from reaching their subjects. Régimes that have built up huge standing armies and police forces fly into a mixture of rage and panic if they discover that a few copies of some critical pamphlet have been smuggled across their frontiers, that a few of their subjects have been secretly meeting for free discussion. In order to prevent such developments, they resort to the most subtle espionage, to the most brutal terrorism. This incontestable fact, equally applicable to the Soviet Union, Germany, and Italy, scarcely fits in with the pleasant pictures, so zealously painted by the propaganda agencies, of happy, contented, united peoples.

There can be no general enjoyment of security when great numbers realize that they may be dropped from employment and lose their livelihood without fault, explanation or notice. This, alas, is among the ordinary hazards of life under private capitalism. On the other hand, in the "totalitarian state," "No one goes to bed . . . uncertain whether he may not be waked up in the middle of night, dragged away to a police cell, perhaps beaten and tortured, probably held for weeks without knowing of the charge against him, with a final prospect of being sent to a concentration camp for an indefinite term without any kind of fair and open trial. This is just part of the normal routine of life for the Russian, the German, the Italian."³

Under such a régime there must be many who are made acutely unhappy by being "corked up."

Experience in all the three countries that have adopted the new technique of government by unlimited propaganda plus unlimited terror indicates that a part of the population becomes converted to a belief in the existing order, that another and probably larger part learns the wisdom of keeping its collective mouth shut, that obstinate dissidents who are not killed outright are cowed and crushed, and that the credulous foreign visitor who comes to see and to admire has unrivalled chances for making a fool of himself.⁴

² Chamberlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

³ *Ibid.*, pp., 112-13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

In the earlier phase of the revolution its friends, at least, enjoy freedom; in the later phase even *they* are intimidated.

The evolution from the genuine idealism and enthusiasm which marked the first phase of all three revolutions to routine bureaucratism has been further hastened by the fact that in practice implicit obedience to the party leader has been a surer guaranty of advancement in the party than devotion to the original ideas of the movement. All three parties have had their heretics, who were not infrequently among the more thoughtful and idealistic party members. And in all three parties heretics who questioned the supreme authority of the party leaders have been quickly and firmly suppressed.⁵

. . . a revolutionary leader, who may be troubled by splits in his own ranks while he is still struggling for power, tends to become increasingly absolute and irresponsible after he has at his disposal all the resources of the modern state. Any opposition to him, even though it may be headed by influential veteran party members, is foredoomed to failure.⁶

In a society of the "liberal" type, personality is very often a product of the interplay of several independent, even conflicting, forces. *Home* may impel in one direction, *school* in another, *church* in a third, *vocation* in a fourth. The outcome may well be a personality *unified*, because in it the main demands of one's nature have been harmonized; *stable*, because all manner of influences have been met, rated and reconciled; *happy*, because nothing fundamental in one's make-up has been denied or disowned, only re-directed.

In the collectivist state, on the other hand, every influence within the control of an omnipotent government is mobilized for the purpose of creating a uniform type of personality, disciplined and regimented to the last degree, trained to regard anything "the leader" advocates as right and to change its mind as quickly as the leader may change his.⁷

The National Socialist Party organ *Völkischer Beobachter* in its issue of May 21, 1934, served the following uncompromising notice on the German artist to get into uniform and march in step: "So long as there remains in Germany any unpolitical, neutral, liberal, or individualistic art, our task is not ended. There must no longer be a single artist who creates otherwise than nationally and with a national purpose. Every artist who withdraws from this preoccupation must be hunted as an enemy of the nation until he gives up his intolerable resistance."⁸

In extenuation the point may be made that a people experiences a crisis when its social order needs to be rebuilt on a wholly new foundation. This cannot be brought about without a fight for power between

⁵ Chamberlin, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 235-36.

the friends and the enemies of revolution, during which many freedoms undergo temporary eclipse. But English society is far from being stiffened and behind the times; yet no battle has been fought on English soil for two-and-a-half centuries! Their privileged classes observed the French Revolution and profited therefrom. The forces making for social change have not been dammed; therefore England missed the horrors that come *when the dam breaks*. However great the change contemplated, it could always be approached by a succession of steps; for some of which public opinion was ready, but not for all. Hence, emerges the social philosophy of *gradualism*, which insists that society may be adapted to new situations without sacrificing the precious freedoms that have slowly and at the cost of heroic sacrifices been built up.

Among Americans the Old World idea of a fixed and foreknowable "lot" against which it is vain, even impious, for the humble man to murmur, has all but disappeared. The poor man's children have been rescued from toil and obliged to attend school, in some states up to age 16. Not only can free public education be had clear to the top, but the means of part-time earning for the ambitious, energetic youth whose parents cannot support him in school are multiplying and the number of scholarships open to bright, moneyless young people eager for advanced study is ever larger. More and more one reflects, "No 'lot' has fallen to me; I myself make (or find) the place in society I shall occupy." This, of course, is still far from true for all, but it is much nearer the truth than it was formerly (save on the open frontier), and nearer the truth than is the idea that one's place in life is fixed by the social status of one's father!

In the degree that one's destiny is determined by one's own traits and decisions and not by inheritance, circumstance, or accident, the ill-placed cease to repine. They recognize their own limitations, or else concede freely that they did not apply themselves, played their cards poorly, threw away good chances that were in their hands. This view forbids envying those who have gotten ahead of you, railing at the social system which does not crown with laurel so good a man as you are!

The fewer the capables who feel that they "never had a show," that the poverty of their parents barred them from ever getting a "look in," that constantly they were elbowed aside by competitors who enjoyed better school opportunities, had "Dad's influence behind them," or wielded political "pull," the stronger is the social order in the affections of the natural superiors, the fainter is the murmur from the ill-placed and disappointed.

The more often we hear of the winner of a coveted post having started "at the bottom" and gone through a hard struggle, the larger the number of gifted and ambitious poor youths who develop faith in the existing social order and will have nothing to do with the "sore-heads" who gird at it. The more generally the talented and deserving are seen to "rise in life," the more friends the social order has, and the harder it is to overthrow it.

A society as broad-based as ours is needs not go in terror of "leftist" utterances provided they express honest convictions. It can without risk permit anyone to discuss a public question before whatever audience he has been able to get together. The proportion of enlightened has become so large that there is no menace whatever to public order in the voicing of the most Utopian ideas. The public utterance of malicious falsehoods or direct incitements to break the law or "overthrow" the constituted authorities is, of course, another thing. Furthermore a propaganda by agitators proven to be in the secret pay of a foreign power is not entitled to the protection of the free speech and free press safeguards.

CHAPTER LVII

EQUALITY

From the big close-knit family the socialists drew their famous formula: *From each according to his capacity, to each according to his need*. But are people willing to organize themselves on this principle? Instead of speculating how society should be constituted the true scientist considers what people *crave* and what they *dislike*. Here are the members of a typical family who for years have been eating at the same board, sharing the same accommodations, and dressing on the same scale; yet in every case, as soon as they feel able, they go apart and set up independent households. Fond as they may be of one another, they don't care to have everything in common with their grown brothers and sisters.

The case for equality of pay. A growing number of good things are coming to be held and enjoyed in common—highways, navigable streams, bathing beaches, streets, parks, national forests, playgrounds, recreation centers, schools, clinics, hospitals, *etc.* Yet, for all this, great disparities in private economic income persist and may last indefinitely; for between sheer capitalism and downright communism scores of intermediate forms are conceivable.

Advocates of equal pay deny that it would leave the extra-capable without incentive to "let themselves out" and do their best on the job. For there are other rewards to stimulate them.

1. *Inequality of power.* They will do their utmost for the sake of the power that can be wielded from the more responsible posts.

2. *Inequality of honor.* Graduated honors and distinctions may reward outstanding performance. For these the more talented might cheerfully consent to forego a salary corresponding to the actual worth of their services to society.

3. *Inequality of influence.* The conspicuously successful have an attractive dividend from the growth of their renown and the expansion of their opportunity to sway others. Who would not enjoy being a Cræsus in influence?

This argument suggests two comments:

1. If inequality of *pay* is so odious how can inequality of *power*, of *honor*, of *influence*, be so innocent? Why condemn one kind of merited inequality while approving other kinds?

2. Signal achievement on behalf of society can, of course, be rewarded by generous social recognition. Heroic deeds are fitlier acknowledged by decorations or medals than by cash. But social recognition, scrupulously graduated according to merit, might become too heavy a tax on public attention. Once a year, perhaps, the public may consent to come together, hearken to the presentation of unusual records and greet with a round of applause outstanding merit. One fine performer in a hundred might be paid in such coin; but how about the other ninety and nine?

The U.S.S.R. backs away from the principle of equal pay. States a sympathetic observer of Russian Communism:

The piece-work system of payment for labor, against which trade unions all over the world have carried on a relentless war, was introduced throughout Soviet industry, and even on collective farms. A complicated system of prizes, bonuses, and other cash rewards for better work was instituted. Shock-brigadiering or pace-setting on the job had been from the beginning stimulated by tangible privileges, but painstakingly draped in pretenses of undiluted patriotism; much of the pretense was now dropped and the emphasis placed more frankly on the material rewards.

The common denominator of these and related changes was the abandonment of "equality"—in income, living standards, social privileges, etc.—as a socialist objective. It had never existed, of course, as a practical reality, but had been accepted as a motivating ideal, as one of those patterns of perfection which all societies set up. Even during the Nep period, when disequality had been as wide as in any capitalist land, and a lot more vulgar, the central star of socialist idealism—"from each according to his capacity, to each according to his need"—had been undimmed. The few isolated "communes" in various parts of the Soviet Union, where all were expected to give their best work and then drew from the common wealth according to their needs, had been the pride of the Soviet leaders, the ultimate hope in functioning in miniature.

With the end of Nep, that hope had been intensified. The impetus behind the Five Year Plan and the ruthless drive for agrarian socialization had been collectivist. Among the members of the Communist Party themselves the ideal ever since Lenin's days was symbolized in the "party maximum"—a ceiling on income reminiscent of the Christian vow of poverty in certain monastic orders.

Early in 1931, this ideal was thrown overboard. These anticipations of collectivism were not merely liquidated but drenched with ridicule. Marx and other socialist prophets were re-interpreted; the "party maximum" was raised and ultimately abolished; wage differentiation was not

only recognized but made obligatory. Plays and novels which celebrated equality were suddenly out of date and even "reactionary." Those foreign books which stressed the theoretical economic equality of commissars and ditch-diggers became obsolete and rather preposterous.

It was, of course, the practical needs of industrialization which caused the revision of fundamental faith. To make the newly created industries more productive, to reduce spoilage, to extract more labor from its people, the Kremlin had decided to bring back the driving force of personal gain. To make the Communist Party members more ambitious, the limitations on incomes were removed and membership converted from a semi-religious vocation into a profession, like politics in other countries.

I am running considerably ahead of the story. Though achieved by fiat, the change, amounting to a reversal of philosophy, took years to deepen and harden and to systematize its justifications in brand-new theories of socialism. Higher productivity of labor, more "profitable" conduct of state trusts—in short, efficiency—could not be raised above the older and traditional socialist ideals overnight. Factory output could not supersede the well-being of the workers as the primary socialist goal without a term of violent mental adjustment. Thousands would be punished as "Left deviationists" and "petty bourgeois romanticists," before the new pattern of perfection would be fixed upon the nation's mind and spirit. Vestiges of mankind's ancient dream of equality—that dream running through all religions from Christianity to essential communism which, for all its "impractical" and "utopian" character, has molded mankind's history—would have to be stamped out.

It required a year or two of ideological jugglery before the absence of equality, once an evil to be faced and mitigated, was turned into a positive Bolshevik virtue. It was Stalin who made the word *uravnilovka*—the equalizing of economic returns—a term of contempt and one of the major Soviet sins from this time forward. It was Stalin, too, who in February, 1934, would characterize equality as "a piece of petty bourgeois stupidity, worthy of a primitive sect of ascetics, but not of a socialist society organized on Marxian lines."¹

Testifies a veteran American correspondent in the U.S.S.R.:

The Soviet Union today repudiates most emphatically, in theory as well as practice, the idea of equal wages and salaries for all. The manager or the chief engineer in a Soviet factory now is likely to receive about ten times as high a salary as the average worker. The spread in income between the skilled and the unskilled categories of labor has also been growing and is deliberately stimulated by the Government.²

Stakhanovism under state capitalism in the Soviet Union leads to very much the same results as an intensive piecework system of payment under private capitalism. The stronger and more capable workers increase their

¹ Eugene Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia*, published in 1937 by Harcourt, Brace and Co., pp. 419-421.

² W. H. Chamberlin, *Collectivism, A False Utopia*, The Macmillan Company, 1938, p. 210.

earnings to some extent by straining their physical efforts to the utmost, perhaps at the expense of their future health. The amount of the increased earnings is limited by the tendency of the employer, whether he be a private owner or a state manager to raise the quotas of work for a given wage as soon as a number of workers have shown ability to raise their productivity. The weaker workers under this system are pushed to the wall. Their wages are reduced if they cannot stand the accelerated pace; they are dismissed in large numbers as it becomes evident that they are superfluous.³

Some forces making for economic inequality. In a communistic society there will be strong objection to paying the higher public servants salaries of $10X$ while X , the wage of an able-bodied, full-time common laborer, fails to provide his family even a *decent living*; they will have to content themselves with salaries of (say) $5X$. But when X affords a decent livelihood, the pressure to signalize society's appreciation of rare services by raising the pay of those who render them will be hard to withstand. All who object on principle to being paid a salary of $10X$ can easily quiet their consciences by giving the excess to deserving persons or causes. Finding a certain satisfaction in selecting the objects of their generosity, they will be loath to see their salaries put back to the old figure of $5X$. As for the others, salaries of $10X$ certainly give room to enrich life and excite more zeal in ambitious youth. They bedazzle and spur on many who would remain unresponsive to a salary scale apexing in, say, $3X$.

Since those whose pay ranged from X to $2X$ may be a thousand times as numerous as those paid from $8X$ to $10X$, we might expect the views of the former to win by sheer weight of numbers. But the latter hold certain winning cards.

1. With them will stand many who command only a low salary now, but count on being some day among the top men. These hoppers, of course, will far outnumber those who eventually "arrive."

2. The well-paid can easily show that they are rendering services which greatly promote the success of the entire organization. In many instances it might be impossible to find substitutes capable of making such valuable contributions as they are actually making. Think of such "key" persons as the inventor, the research man, the machine designer, the skilful surgeon, the creator of new art forms, the successful general manager, the adroit bureau chief!

3. Thanks to their extraordinary abilities, the cohort opposing equal-

³ Chamberlin, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

ity of pay will exhibit rare ingenuity, resourcefulness and persuasiveness in justifying apical salaries against their critics.

4. They will show that there is little point in removing handicaps and training the largest possible number to run well enough to get into the race, if there are to be no prizes for winners, or if all runners are to get small prizes! Those who most tower in gifts and ambition would find the prospect bare of charm. Mediocres and sub-normals might "fall for" it; but in almost any field of endeavor front-rankers would be repelled by a flat economic landscape. How the frontals would ridicule a social order so blind to the comparative value of the contributions made to it! Soon a policy of equal pay for services of very unequal worth could be upheld only as revealed dogma!

That the situation is working out just this way in the U.S.S.R. is beyond question. Says Chamberlin:

The Soviet Union now seems to have entered on something like a Thermidorian period, with authority reestablished in factory and school-room, with divorces discouraged and a high birth rate demanded, with old titles for military officers restored and a steadily growing inequality between the well-to-do and the poorer classes.⁴

The Soviet bureaucracy is constantly improving its material position by comparison with the "proletariat," the theoretical sovereign of the country. Marriage and frequent childbearing are strongly recommended to the "emancipated" women. Army and navy officers receive old resounding titles instead of the simple "comrade commander" of revolutionary days. The manager in the factory, the parent in the home, the teacher in the school, all are being vigorously strengthened in authority. The dictatorship of the proletariat has never been anything but a play with words, an unreal and unrealizable conception; and now it becomes increasingly clear that the true beneficiary of the Russian Revolution is not the manual working class as a whole, still less the people as a whole, but the military, police, political, and economic bureaucracy that is firmly entrenched in the seats of power.⁵

The push for economic equality puts people-rule in peril. Among advanced people the principle of representative democracy has been accepted, sex discrimination is disappearing, equality of all before the law approaches, property qualifications for the suffrage are no longer in force. These abandonments of privilege meet with no desperate resistance from the capables because experience has shown that few workers are disposed to vote down all inequalities of income and fortune. But, if it came to be apparent that people-rule is going to be exercised in a

⁴ Chamberlin, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

“radical” spirit, a combination might be formed which would overthrow political democracy as it has already been overthrown in the fascist states. So it would be suicidal for democracy to identify itself with any principle so distasteful to ordinary human nature as economic equality.

CHAPTER LVIII

THE ISMS AND SOCIOLOGY

Before the advent of the objective scientific view of things social, new and helpful thought about society often resulted in the vogue of an ism. Some fresh appealing doctrine as to human relations or institutions together with practical proposals based thereon would make their appearance in an able and persuasive book which for a time gained the attention of most detached minds. Presently came along another powerful book which assailed this doctrine, swept it aside, and emphasized some essential factor or feature of society which up to then had been overlooked. Thereupon a new ism rode triumphantly onto the field while certain old isms receded into obscurity. A few decades later, thinking about society having considerably ripened in the meantime, a more plausible and engaging ism leaped upon the stage and pushed its somewhat battered occupants into the wings.

Now in the modern era this rise and fall of isms can be traced back more than four hundred years! Look at the thought currents and social movements associated with the names of More, Hobbes, Locke, Grotius, Rousseau, Adam Smith, Malthus, Kant, Bentham, Fourier, Proudhon, Robert Owen, Marx, Bakunin, Henry George, Nietzsche. Down to the last quarter of the nineteenth century most of the signal contributions to social thought took the form of modifying or overthrowing an existing ism or launching a new one. Recall in this connection paternalism, individualism, anarchism, socialism, collectivism, communism, syndicalism, pluralism, Malthusianism, utilitarianism, liberalism, radicalism, conservatism, organicism, authoritarianism, pacificism, egalitarianism, nationalism, racialism, *etc.*

Each of these social isms develops truths about society, but none of them is dedicated to finding and bringing out the *whole* truth. In order to stress or exalt some one ingredient of the truth each ism feels justified in ignoring or belittling other ingredients. For, whatever its professions, its governing purpose is not to establish truth, but to provide an intellectual underpinning for certain changes—in social institutions and policies—deemed highly desirable.

The spread of systematic inquiry into society is unfavorable to the continuance of these dynasties of isms. Fired by the brilliant success of the older sciences, the genuine sociologist addresses himself to bringing out all the important aspects of society he is able to detect, not merely those which for the moment engage his attention or enlist his sympathies. He aspires to present the social reality *entire*, under its normal aspect and in its natural symmetry, nothing significant being added or omitted, overlooked or exaggerated. By allowing no single feature to dominate the picture of society he paints, the sociologist misses, to be sure, the simplicity and appeal "social reform" literature has; but his product stands up longer!

Sociologists give all their strength to building up an integrated body of tested knowledge which shall possess that solidity, reliability and authoritativeness which characterize an authentic science. Granted that in one way or another they all fall short of realizing this ideal; nevertheless, every year sociology looks more rounded and trustworthy, so its cultivators see no reason why, in a generation or so, it should not command public confidence in the same degree as (say) *geology* or *biology* does now.

In its early stage a promising branch of thought or inquiry is likely to throw off many isms. One original thinker magnifies *this* factor or process; his successor makes much of *that* factor or process. But, in the degree that a body of knit verifiable knowledge forms, isms find it more difficult to strike root and flourish. No one truth is allowed to pretend that *it* alone needs to be considered, that *it* must be made the cornerstone of the whole structure.

Until seminal minds are seized with zeal to build a science where nothing of the sort yet exists, the motive for launching a new doctrine is to bring about a change in personal or social policy, the aim is to persuade people to follow other courses of behavior than they have been following. But when many intellects, fired with the same captivating vision, devote themselves to rearing a new wing to the temple of knowledge, they are more eager to find and establish new truths than to re-direct social policy. They may even leave it to others to draw justified practical conclusions from the truths they have established and to settle in what way public policies need to be modified.

As well you might expect, the founders of isms invariably exaggerate the competency of the particular reform or principle of social organization they advocate to usher in a new era. Always they picture society as becoming completely harmonious and happy once it has got itself

established *on the right lines*—which, of course, are the lines which have been revealed to them! They anticipate that, once society has been made over on the principle they champion, its further development will cease, seeing that men are at last wholly content in their social relations and further improvement is out of the question. None of them realizes the terribly slow evolution of man and of his culture, which may have stretched through hundreds of thousands of years, or foresees a future of humanity which may extend to eons upon eons, during which a thousand things may happen which no one living to-day is able even to imagine!

Sociologists, on the other hand, see no reason why fruitful discoveries and inventions may not continue to arrive at as rapid a rate in the next future as they have arrived in our own time. Since some of them are bound to alter human relations or even impose the setting up of new social institutions, we are not warranted in looking for finality in any pattern of social organization whatsoever. All that sociologists aspire to do in a practical way is to be helpful in settling the problems which press upon us *now*. The remote future will have other problems to meet than ours, also it will have the benefit of a more matured sociology than we can look to to-day! Therefore let us have done with the millennial dream of setting up in our time a society so rational and perfect that it will last “until the crack of doom.” Let social engineers, rather, follow the example of their brethren, the electrical engineers or chemical engineers, who make the best use they can of their underlying science *at its present stage of development*, well knowing that the inevitable advance of that science will cause many of their intricate and costly installations to look grotesque to their successors.

The launchers of isms were filled with the zeal of the evangelist. They expected to save society in the sudden mystic way in which the evangelist saves souls. They had—could have—no perspective of the millennia upon millennia of the coming life of man on this globe. It never occurred to them that on many matters social our grandchildren will be much wiser than we are. What is difficult fine print to us will be blazoned capitals to them! In their day the public will accept as self-evident truths which so far have not dawned upon more than one or two per cent of us. And among them will be commonplaces many insights, psychological and social, that, as yet, no man living has arrived at!

CHAPTER LIX

SOCIAL EVOLUTION

In the field of organic life "evolution" quite supplanted the "special creation" hypothesis of the origin of species. In the sphere of human society it locks horns with the notion that a given institution discloses God's will as revealed through prophets or founders of religion, or else sprang full-grown from the mind of some culture hero or law-giver. For it *may* have developed without intention, out of something quite different, by a long series of numerous small unperceived changes—and this is *evolution*! The deeper we dig among the roots of institutions and social forms, the more use we find for this concept.

How often the sociologist sees some thing "work itself out" along lines nobody contemplated, *i.e.*, *evolve*! For example:

1. A speech or folkway common to a whole nomad people is sure to become gradually differentiated into local variants after that people settles down and comes under the influence of *place*. This diverging is neither intended nor conscious.

2. In early times, as generation followed generation, a custom or institution became more venerated, therefore less criticized. If it adapted itself to new conditions it *evolved*; for none dared change it!

3. The greater the strain conformity to a given institution imposes on the average person, the larger will be the stock of dodges and subterfuges resorted to in order to enable individuals to *appear* to meet the requirements of the institution without actually doing so.

4. However lofty the aims of its founder, a fresh social movement—say the launching of a new monastic order—that fills "a long-felt need" will presently gather to itself riches, influence, and power. Hence, it comes to be run by careerists rather than by idealists, so that its original lofty aims are subordinated or dimmed.

5. Unless very carefully hedged a generous grant of resources or authority to an idealistic organization—say a religious or a charitable body—is certain to be abused; for such a grant tempts schemers and wire-pullers to worm their way into the organization and manage it for their own ends. Consequently it deteriorates.

6. In the absence of strong countervailing influences, a religion which, at its birth, stressed conduct and ignored ritual, insensibly ceases to emphasize manner of living and becomes ritualistic. For worship, be it never so elaborate, is less burdensome than living up to the Golden Rule in relations with one's neighbors!

7. Continued help from an impersonal source causes some recipients to lose the will to take care of themselves by their own exertions when they have an opportunity to do so. It *pauperizes* them, an effect unforeseen and undesired.

8. Control of a political party founded to advance a great moral cause, and for that entrusted by the electors with long leases of power, is likely to be captured secretly by selfish economic interests and used for their own ends. Only years of "wandering in the wilderness" can restore its pristine temper.

9. In recent times we have seen the well-intended "common law marriage" and the award of money damages to a woman for "breach of promise to marry" develop into something that nobody foresaw and few desired.

That hundreds of such trend patterns come to light when social history is scanned shows the folly of trying to steer society on a plotted course without heeding the bent of particular institutions to evolve on lines of their own. This is why the wise social reformer insists that social customs, institutions and organizations, no matter how glorious their past, be tested from time to time as to their fitness to fulfil the purposes for which they are maintained. Some prove to be "going strong," others are "past their peak," a few are found "no good at all." The last should, of course, be "scrapped."

No venerated feature of society deserves to be approached in a "flip" spirit; age-stricken and futile as it may appear now, it would not be here at all had it not at one time appeared useful, at least to the element then dominant. Nevertheless, *every social arrangement should be just as subject to critical inspection, test, modification or discarding, as any other human contrivance*. Let not antiquity exempt a hoary institution from thorough investigation from time to time by experts actuated solely by the will to find and report the truth.

"Evolutionary" we ought to call those changes in a people or a society which respond to slow unapparent alterations in its *physical* setting—land elevations or subsidences which hardly admit of notice, much less of measurement, within a single lifetime; gradual climatic changes owing to shifts in aerial or marine currents; shrinkage of fertile

land in consequence of the loss of tilled humus by wind drift or water erosion; the stripping of age-built soil from steep slopes by rain wash (erosion) after the tree cover has been destroyed by reckless axe work. Regarding such a process the question is, "Can anything be done about it?" If it admits of being controlled, then control it; otherwise let us study to *adapt* ourselves to it. For timely adaptation to the inevitable lessens the havoc and grief an adverse process will work.

As one by one obscure social processes are dredged up and examined, it becomes possible to calculate whither a social evolution is taking us and to block drifts in a direction other than we wish to go in. For why should we fold hands and yield ourselves to a course of development we do not like? About an objectionable social trend there is nothing "sacred"! Why not make ourselves, so far as possible, architects of our own fortunes?

Nevertheless it behooves us to recognize that some features of society are far more tractable than others. *Education, recreation, social intercourse, the inheritance of property* can be moulded to almost any pattern; look how greatly they have differed from age to age! On the other hand, *sex relations* are very hard to canalize; wherever we set their bounds, there will always be a dismaying amount of "breaking over." The like holds true of society's endeavors to curb *private vice*, make decent the *dollar chase*, regulate *inter-group conflict*, repress *feuds*. So we have to recognize that there is a *plastic* side of society and there is a *tough* side!

Once we junk the idea that society's key institutions fulfil some Divine Plan, the theory looks plausible that society is undergoing an evolution that is the inevitable outcome of "the co-working of unknown resident forces." According to Herbert Spencer and William G. Sumner, it would be presumptuous of us (petty, myopic mortals!) to aspire to direct or suspend this evolution. Either we *must* yield to it because the forces behind it are far too powerful to be withstood; or we *should* yield to it because in the end it will somehow prove to be the best thing for us!

Such passivity is dead against Ward's doctrine of Social Telesis, *viz.*, that, *due regard being had to the nature of the materials and forces we have to deal with*, we are entitled to "have a shy" at whatever type of society we like. Which, I take it, is the rational attitude! There is no social institution (whether divinely appointed, man-devised, or slowly-evolved!) which we are not at liberty to alter or drop. Nothing forbids revamping a decrepit institution until it has been brought to function to

our satisfaction. When he overhauls and "tinkers" marriage, the penal system, or the right of inheritance until it suits him, man runs no more risk of Divine punishment than he does when he alters a breed of milch cow or a type of motor vehicle until it suits his purposes!

With inquisitive sociologists every year more numerous and venturesome hundreds of little-noted but perhaps important social processes are brought to light, studied, measured and evaluated. In the social body as fruitful discoveries are being made as the discovery in the human body in our time of "allergies," of the rôle of vitamins, of the services of the secretions of the ductless glands. What new light has been shed in the last half-century upon the experiences and influences which mould the child's social character during its earlier years; upon the conditions and antecedents which lie back of a juvenile's stubborn bent toward delinquency; upon the reaction of a young incarcerated malefactor to the features of the reformatory's régime; upon the causes and forms of maladjustments between husband and wife; upon the throwing up of social classes and class mentalities under contemporary capitalism!

Thanks to such accrual one of us who should tackle the treatises on sociology that will be coming out near the close of this century would not be able "to make head or tail" of them. He would be bewildered by the fresh distinctions drawn; the new words and phrases that will have come into use, the tendencies, now overlooked, that by then will have been noted and formulated; the many new relationships that will have been defined and taken for granted. By the time our grandchildren are at the helm scores of "native bents" will have been recognized and named which have been noticed by the shrewd players upon human nature from the Athenian "demagogue" to the Tammany politician, but up to now have found no place in the literature about society.

A postal system, a mechanized army, a forestry service, or a fire department are not the outcome of "the interaction of resident forces" any more than is a mail-order house or a motion-picture theater. To be sure, not one of them is a single creation; they are *developments* in the sense that each represents a synthesis of hundreds of fruitful original ideas contributed at different times by many fertile minds. Besides the improvements resulting from the incorporation of such creative ideas, each is from time to time intelligently *adapted* to the changing ideas and desires of the people it serves, to alterations in the list of tasks committed to it. But this is very different from what is properly called *social evolution*. The contrast is almost as great as that between a ship drift-

ing about, the sport of winds, waves and currents, and a well-handled vessel—with engine, helm, charts and compass—able to lay a course and hold it!

No alert intelligent people should yield itself supinely to the eyeless, aimless processes that add up to "social evolution." No assurance whatever has it that these will actually get it where it wants to be; if they *do* bring it out at the desired point, the goal is reached only after a sickening waste of time, effort and resources. Take a concrete case. Ages ago the prehistoric horse was evolving fleetness in order to get away from its enemies on the vast grassy plains of Eurasia. Now, compare in costliness Nature's way of adding (say) a quarter to the natural speed of the animal with man's way of developing, by controlled selective breeding, in the course of a century and a half, a racer that can get over the ground a quarter faster than his ancestor of twenty generations back. Nature's way is to let the less nimble colts of each generation be overtaken and pulled down by swift carnivores; man, on the other hand, selects and pairs the speediest stallions and mares, releasing the rest to serve other purposes. Nature requires, perhaps, a hundred times as long to get results, at ten thousand times man's cost!

Take an institution like *marriage* as we might find it evolving among a preliterate people that, having settled lately in a new region, is no longer in the vise of ancestral tradition. Various elements in it are trying to modify marriage in different ways. The men would like it more *this* way, the women would like it more *that* way. The young people would like to have marriage *thus*, the old prefer it *otherwise*. The undistinguished many may wish the marriage bond *looser*, the superior few may wish it *tighter*. The outcome of all this pushing and tugging will be settled by the comparative size, one-mindedness and determination of the various groups in the *mêlée*. But do any of these groups have in mind the well-being of the *whole* people? Make the welfare of the *children* a major consideration? Feel much concern for the interests of *posterity*? Know how marriage is actually working out in the average case? Have a "line" on the experience of other peoples with the various types of marriage?

Contrast with this the way in which nowadays a religious denomination, a legislative committee, or a scientific body tackles the proposals touching marriage which come before it. It has access to past recorded experience with the institution. At its elbow are the elaborate reports of parliamentary commissions in other lands, to say nothing of hundreds of monographs embodying the findings of local studies of marriage. Rich

statistical information is available to it—data as to births, deaths, infant mortality, juvenile delinquency, wife desertion, separation, divorce, remarriage. The fact basis for its decisions is not unlike the basis on which a board of engineers or architects arrives at its decisions.

What among preliterates amounted to *social evolution* is now to a considerable degree *social planning*. I see no escape from the conclusion that one business of the intellectual element of a people is to do its utmost to narrow the scope of blind social evolution and to broaden the scope of clear-eyed social planning. Otherwise why toil to build up our knowledge of society?

If *planning* instead of *drifting* is to be the watchword, the planners must be able to agree on the objectives to steer toward. While no pattern of ideal society has yet been presented so alluring that all right-minded folk wish to make for it, there are in sight certain goals of social endeavor that command the approval of about all who are at once intelligent and disinterested. Among them are:

1. Clearing away all the non-serviceable shackles imposed on personal liberty.
2. No irrelevant artificial privileges of any kind to be bestowed or tolerated.
3. Narrowing of the rich parent's power so to endow his descendants that they are enabled to take life lying down instead of standing up.
4. Every individual to have definite and substantial legal rights in which he is protected by society.
5. Raising to a maximum the social deterrence of persons from crime and from the wronging of others.
6. Hampering to the utmost the achieving of personal success by anti-social means.
7. Bringing the largest feasible number of essential social services within the reach of all.
8. Encouraging the strong, well-favored, good-dispositioned and gifted in every generation to leave more children than those of opposite traits.

In view of the gratifying convergence of present leader opinion upon such goals, it would seem reasonable to look for a narrowing of the rôle of haphazard, undirected evolution and a broadening of the office of foresight and intention in society.

CHAPTER LX

SOCIAL PROPHECY

We of the new age have little better prospect of becoming successful social prophets than had Plato, or St. Augustine, or Sir Thomas More, or Voltaire, or Charles Fourier. We can see clearly just why *their* shrewd and brilliant prophecies frequently went amiss, but it is impossible for *us* to see just what it is that will falsify *our* cleverest predictions; nevertheless, posterity will have no difficulty in seeing why!

Who a lifetime ago predicted the coming of the internal-combustion engine, the airplane, the submarine, the motor car, the motion film, the radio, the petroleum era, the conquest of microbic diseases, the discovery of the rôle of the endocrine glands, the recognition of the workings of the inferiority complex? Who foretold the rise of Japan, the Russian Revolution, the spread of anti-Semitism, the invention and dissemination of Fascism, the diffusion of birth control, the numerical preponderance of the aged in modern populations, the "youth" movement, the enfranchisement of women? Well, our grandchildren will have just as much reason to marvel at *our* inability to foresee what the future has in store for us.

All the outstanding nineteenth-century social reformers held that there are God-given and immutable principles upon which alone society can be successfully constituted and, once society has been reconstructed on these principles, there will be an end forever of all wholesale injustice, all calamitous embitterments and conflicts, all social convulsions and wars. One proposed to replace throughout society the competitive principle with the coöperative principle. Another recommended giving up private dwellings in order to live in great artificial households—phalansteries! A third wanted to take for community purposes the rent accruing to land (aside from that paid for the use of past improvements). A fourth proposed to get rid of the exactions of the class of private capitalists by substituting public ownership of production capital for private ownership.

The inevitablists. All these proposals and many others aiming to do

away with gross and obvious avoidable wastes and injustices in the actual social order gave rise to fruitful discussions. None of them is wholly devoid of merit. Their common fault is that each is advanced as a *panacea*—and the sociologist distrusts social panaceas because he perceives that the ills of society are too diverse in type and source to yield to *one* remedy. The resistance to any one of the above proposals is not all due to mental inertia, nor yet to the natural opposition of the social classes whose economic interests are bound to suffer from the proposed reform. Part comes from disinterested and serious students of society convinced that the treatment social ills call for is far less simple and uniform than most reformers imagine.

Think of the health “fads” we have seen rise, flourish for a time and pass—blue glass, deep breathing, graham bread, vegetarianism, fruit-and-nuts diet, raw food, cold baths, water cure, “internal bathing,” *etc.*! Perhaps *all* of them have some virtue; but while the eager cocksure health reformers were rousing the public and launching “movements,” a few men of scientific bent and training were questioning, observing, checking, experimenting. Thanks to their attitude and procedure, persisted in for centuries but coming to an amazing fruition in the last sixty years, we have been privileged to witness such a routing of the chief scourges of humankind as was anticipated by nobody two generations ago. Unfortunately, panaceas and fads in the social field cannot be so promptly tried out and disposed of as those in the field of health. Claims made on behalf of a social nostrum are not promptly put to the test because no society is willing to let itself be a guinea pig for social experimenters.

Long-range prophecy is rash. For the sake of our good repute we sociologists should refrain from putting forth confident and specific forecasts reaching into the future more than two or three decades. We might safely venture further in forecasting developments along particular lines; but we should be rash indeed to go so far as to put forth prophecies as to the future of society, say a century hence. The fact that no one now alive will be able to “bring us to book” by confronting us with a reality that confounds our predictions is no warrant for indulging ourselves in such prophecy. If we would win and keep public confidence it is necessary for us to draw away entirely from the horde of Swamis, astrologers, star-gazers, inspired prophets and revealers who infest every field of keen human interest before science takes it over. We have nothing in common with this ancient but disreputable crew, and we can dramatize the difference by practising the strictest reserve as to the

distant To-Be. Our rôle of "men of science" requires it and, in the long run, our credit with the thinking public will be the greater for it.

In explaining why the Rockefeller Foundation did not aspire to perpetuity but spent principal as well as income and why its trustees were not restricted to specific purposes, its President, Raymond B. Fosdick well observes (1938):

To establish under a permanent endowment in some university or research center a department or chair of psychiatry or organic chemistry may seem, with such light as we have at the moment, a rational and socially desirable step. But what wisdom have we today to determine that a century or more hence psychiatry and organic chemistry will represent the pressing needs or the practicable techniques of that time? In endowing what they thought was of permanent importance, earlier generations made wrong guesses which embarrass us today. How can we assume that our guesses have any greater validity or are made with any clearer foresight?

Anticipating the near future. In imagination we can dissect out, isolate and trace with some positiveness the characteristic conditions, course and effects of perhaps half a hundred social processes; and this should be of immense aid in calculating how tendencies now discernible may be expected to work out. But to foresee correctly what the joint results of these processes will be when they are all mutually conditioning one another and developing according to the impetus, stamp and groove that has been imposed upon each of them in this particular society—that is more than can be expected of any sociologist *yet!* But who will venture to set a limit to the insight and acumen sociologists may arrive at in a generation or two?

Even now there are physicians with such an extraordinary insight into man's bodily system that, after examining an individual's tissues, organs and secretions and observing him for a spell, they are able to foretell with a high ratio of success what will be his susceptibilities, immunities, and pathological experiences in the course of the next ten years. So, in a few decades, there may be sociologists who, after prolonged intensive study of Roumania, Belgium, Sweden or Uruguay, will venture many predictions as to what may be expected in that society—*provided it is not violently disturbed from without*; and enough of these predictions will come true to justify their being made! Just as there are international experts who have made such a name for themselves in the field of public health education or recreation that municipalities and states engage them to come and study their conditions, observe what is now being done and

make suggestions for improvement, so, in case sociology goes ahead in the next forty years as fast as it has in the last forty, it is likely that often eminent sociologists will be invited to visit this or that society in order to investigate and make recommendations regarding a particular matter such as the relations between the sexes, marriage and divorce, the treatment of minorities, the state of civil liberties, the penal system, the drink problem, news purveyance, unscrupulous propaganda.

Such homage to expertness in social science will come only from a highly intelligent element, therefore it behooves sociologists so to conduct themselves as to win the respect and confidence of the most enlightened three per cent of the public. This confidence can be had only by demonstrating that we sociologists follow the same painstaking, cautious methods of truth-seeking that have characterized the natural sciences from their infancy. It is solely by such a procedure that the actual forces and processes that lie back of physical phenomena have been brought to light and means have been found which enable us in many cases to make nature behave as we wish. Only a similar technique will enable us to isolate, identify and perhaps eventually control the forces which lie back of *social* phenomena. So one of our policies for bringing about speedy general acceptance of sociology is to make manifest to all that we have nothing in common with the prophets and soothsayers that for ages have been setting the people agog. In no wise can we afford to imitate them. Iron self-control is called for when we are challenged and tempted to utter sensational predictions that will cause people to "sit up and gape."

Why prophecies as to the social future have failed. In the past attempts to forecast the social future have been futile for several reasons.

(a) There is the assumption that God determines the issue, therefore you can prognosticate the future only in case you have access to God's mind or are able to figure out God's intentions. Invariably non-success was hailed as another proof of the inscrutableness of God's designs!

(b) At a later stage what happens to society is supposed to depend chiefly upon the decisions made by monarchs, statesmen and lawmakers. Few appreciated that unceasingly human experience and the influence of cultural factors are at work altering the people's outlooks, desires and attitudes.

(c) Only in our time has there arrived a realization of how man with his arts and techniques upsets the delicate balance of nature; of the loss of the soil's original fertility once tillage has let loose the forces of

erosion; of how local populations are slowly being modified by natural selection. No doubt there are other deep-lying shapers of the social future of which we have not yet caught the veriest glimpse!

(d) Even if a sociologist foresees correctly how the forces and factors now discernible in a given society will work themselves out, he cannot properly allow for the new discoveries and inventions sure to be injected into the situation, because to anticipate an invention is nearly tantamount to *inventing a thing before it has been invented*—a contradiction in terms. Since no one can certainly foreknow the “epoch-making” discoveries and inventions which will happen along, what solid basis is there for the successful prediction of a distant future? To be sure, the future a decade or two ahead will be determined chiefly by factors already in sight, the characteristic workings of which are known to us, so it is not foolhardy for us to make prognostications extending that far into the To-Be! We might put it this way: Say that 12 per cent of what will determine our society 15 years hence is not yet “in the picture”; 28 per cent of what will stamp it 25 years hence is not at present discernible; 43 per cent of what will give it character 35 years hence is still below our horizon! And so on and on. This is why it is—and will continue to be—foolish and rash for sociologists to prognosticate the remote social future if they aspire to be taken as men of science.

CHAPTER LXI

RETROSPECTS AND PROSPECTS

No doubt the actual course of society will continue to be determined by divers and fluctuating forces, some urging it forward while others retard it, some deflecting it to the right while others deflect it to the left, some elevating it while others depress it.

Social development is not unilinear. We do not see society moving in a regular orbit or a pre-determined path. Not only do familiar forces change in strength or direction, but, from time to time, new forces appear. Nor dare we leave *the human will* out of the picture. To a very considerable extent the social future depends on what we intend that it shall be. *Within limits* men can have the type of society most of them wish to have.

The course of society is extensively conditioned by changes in the *economic* sphere. If the succession of economies in the life of a people be represented by a-b-c-d-e, very likely there will be a series of social forms l-m-n-o-p corresponding thereto. This is why sociologists reject the hypothesis that the succession of social stages constitutes a closed series which is bound to be run through whatever the conditions and circumstances. If society B traverses other *economic* stages than society A, then the succession of *social* stages B will pass through is sure to be different.

Sociology and the Great Enigma. One reason why to-day the voice of the social prophet dies in his throat is doubt as to the economic future. Should you ask the forty thousand eminent persons life-sketched in *Who's Who*: "Of what pattern will be the economy of our grandchildren?" their answers would reveal great mental confusion. Probably fifteen to twenty per cent would show no such serene faith in the future of the current capitalist order as their grandfathers had.

So, with the coming economic order a question mark, how dares the sociologist prophesy as to the position of the propertied class, the social rôle of business enterprisers, the scope of private charity and public "relief," the stigma on manual labor, the social esteem of "conspicuous leisure" and "conspicuous consumption," the status of wife in relation

to husband, the authority of parents, armed with the testamentary power, over their grown children, the degree of security the aged will have, the ruling objectives of public education, the prevalence of the martial spirit, the relations between strong and weak nations and races? Are not these bound to be "conditioned" by the economy of the time?

Of late capitalism gives many signs of breakdown, such as: more extreme prostration in the bad half of the business cycle; sudden and mysterious collapses of credit resulting in calamitous "liquidations"; the rise of standing armies of unemployed; inexorable displacement of laborers by machines; ever greater inequality of fortunes and incomes save as redressed in some measure by taxation; persistent growth of farm tenantry; ruthless exhaustion of irreplaceable natural resources; increasing prevalence of quiet combinations to maintain prices by curbing production; tension and strife on ever-wider fronts between capital and labor.

Nevertheless, private enterprise is still very far from being moribund; in fact, its exploit of equipping Americans in a single generation with near thirty millions of cheap and very good motor vehicles surpasses its best previous performance. Certain of the ugly developments are not in the very nature of private capitalism, but barnacles which have fastened themselves upon it as "rackets" fasten themselves upon legitimate business. Many of them admit of being corrected—at least kept within bounds—by well-tested specific measures. As for the more baffling evils, it is over-early yet to give up all hope of finding remedies. That early "government regulation" often proved disappointing was because the politicians did not intend that the regulatory commissions should succeed; so they were intrusted to those *who would make them fail!* Actually there is no lack of honest, bold and intelligent persons who can make a success of a well-conceived plan of regulation.

As for the Marxian idea of getting rid altogether of a class living wholly on returns from invested capital, I deem it highly chimerical. We may be very sure that under universal public capitalism a whole cohort of fresh evils will rear their heads, though how they will compare in number and gravity with those exhibited under private capitalism is difficult to predict.

The advantages of public ownership and operation of public utilities may be regarded as settled. Moreover, in any essential undertaking in which the capital factor preponderates, it is wise to rely on public capital rather than on private capital, because the latter is made the basis of endless claims of "something for nothing"; but a government dam, levee, park, or school never becomes a pretext for profit everlasting.

On the other hand, can we imagine the ten thousand different ingenious and well-adapted articles offered in the shops of any "county-seat" town being well contrived and fabricated in a phalanx of government factories? No, public enterprise cannot be relied on to supply economically the bulk of the goods which consumers crave. I can imagine twenty-five to thirty-five per cent of a society's productive capital being governmental, but surely sixty-five to seventy-five per cent of all the capital and enterprise required will have to come from private sources and be animated by the prospect of a business profit. That this opens the door to private incomes not based on useful labor should disconcert no one when he realizes that nothing obliges us to accept these capitalists and enterprisers as *a dominating class*.¹

Rôle of population pressure. Population pressure has been a master moulder of social destiny. Of late it has been a *growing* factor because, while miracles of ingenuity were cutting deaths, little was done to cut births. The art of keeping people alive, outrunning the art of extracting sustenance, has intensified population pressure. The fewer the lives lost by disease and accident, the heavier the toll taken by toil, privation, and periodical famine; for, in one way or another, *a balance had to be struck!* Save when food-production was making rapid progress or when emigration afforded adequate outlet, a large part of the people had to live so wretchedly that their heightened mortality would balance fecundity, thereby keeping population in equilibrium with its food resources. It is *population pressure* that accounts for the chronic restlessness peoples have shown, their periodical upheavals and commotions, their overrunning neighboring areas, their encroachments on the range of weaker peoples.

With every new economic epoch the point at which population pressure appears rose. More could subsist on a given area by hunting than by gathering; by herdmanship than by hunting; by hoe culture than by herdmanship; by plow culture than by hoe culture; by a diversified economy than by a simple economy. But giant strides in food production or the industrial arts could not for long spare human groups the recurrence of population pressure. Save for a few peoples that practised infanticide or abstention from conjugal intercourse during lactation, or just after there had been a great thinning of numbers by warfare, famine,

¹ A Sunday forenoon in 1934 spent in conference with the heads of Swedish labor unions, farm tenants' unions and coöperatives convinced me that it is possible for capitalists to be chastened and law-abiding instead of lawless and arrogant, as so often American capitalists have been.

or epidemic, the whisper, "Maybe not enough to eat!" has been with almost every generation!

But spread of the practice of family limitation ushers in a new dispensation under which humanity needs no longer be shadowed by the menace of "too many!"

Sensitiveness to the social future. If society is to thrive it must be directed by types that look a long way ahead. For some see the social future in a perspective of not more than twenty years; whereas others are ready to evaluate present behavior from the point of view of their grandchildren's grandchildren! Now, how do the chief elements in society compare in their feeling for the social future?

Intellectuals, of course, feel the challenge of lengthening vistas and widening horizons. They seek to pierce the haze ahead.

Religionists ever urge the overruling of present desires and interests for the sake of the to-come; but they value everything with reference to something mystical—salvation, holiness, the Last Judgment. In whole-hearted concern for man's mundane future they are not outstanding.

From noting the delayed eventual response of their fields and herds to different treatments, the more intelligent *farmers* come to be willing to take long views ahead.

Business men, used to discounting the future at the current rate of interest, make poor guardians of distant social values. Their first impulse is to extract anything of pecuniary value—petroleum, ore, timber, coal, furs, fish—as speedily as possible, whatever the waste, lest their profits be eaten up by "carrying charges."

Seeing precious stores of natural wealth riotously broken into and dissipated without a thought for the interests of posterity, *geologists* are accustomed to consider the plight of our descendants centuries hence.

Realizing that every form of life is liable to have its destiny altered by the forces playing upon it, *biologists* set great store by upkeep of species' vigor and abhor any trend that spells stagnation or degeneration.

Educators, accustomed to think in terms of the oncoming generation they teach, are ready to hearken to the claims of the future.

Working within a corporation that considers posterity and sometimes plans a long way ahead, the permanent *servants of the State* are likely to develop a feeling for the stage *after* ours.

Accustomed to make sacrifices for the continuance of their blood, *parents* are disposed to respond to an appeal to submit to present inconvenience for the sake of the social future.

The radius of our sensitiveness to what may be below the horizon is likely to be greatly extended by *a higher education*, particularly one in the field of the humanities and the social sciences.

The succession of group loyalties. There was a time when, in view of the relative importance to them of the two groups, men cared *too much* for their local community (parish) and *too little* for their county (district, duchy); later the county drew to itself too much loyalty in comparison with their feeling for province or state. Then the latter came to attract some of the allegiance which should properly have gone to the nation. We are now in a stage when undue concern with parish or county or state, as against the just claims of the nation, is not common. But, while in some contemporary societies patriotism has bloomed into a religion, there is no strong movement for the appreciation of peoples outside the scope of the nation's interests. Thanks to nationalist education and agitation, countless wrongs committed against weaker peoples are justified on the maxim "My country, right or wrong!" Of course, no citizen prefers strangers to his fellow countrymen just as no parent cares more for a neighbor's children than for his own; nevertheless, in our present stage of social development we need more citizens *whose love of country is qualified by a love of justice!* Stigmatized and spat upon by rabid "patriots," "internationalists" should be sustained by the realization that they stand right in line with the historical evolution of the social sentiments and that posterity will justify them.

Break-up of the social foundations of pessimism. Pessimistic judgments as to the worth of human life, which have been so rife in the cultures of Asia, may be expected to vacate healthy minds in time because their social foundations are crumbling.

The Oriental generalization that for the bulk of men existence means little beyond a meaningless round of toil, privation and anxiety is but recognition of what severe population pressure leads to. So long as human beings were produced at about double their rate of natural dying what other lot for the masses was to be expected? But the bringing of population growth under control makes possible a let-up in grinding toil, a broadening of the worker's leisure, a diffusion of opportunities for recreation and play, the freeing of childhood from premature labor, and a great release from worry about one's daily bread. Although so far very few of us have reached these shining goals, we can see plainly that they are attainable by any people.

Owing to the progress in subduing disease, an ever-larger quota are

permitted to live out their natural term and die of some ailment arising from the aging of their tissues or organs. Thanks to the advance of surgery and anesthetics, lives that are but an endless torture are hardly to be found any more. Fatalism, which daunts the human spirit so long as men feel themselves helpless before the fell destroyers, is becoming rare, now that all the great scourges but cancer have been fettered. A disease-free life for most of sound constitution who will observe a rational hygiene seems to be not far away. The ideal of "keeping fit" spreading from the recreation centers and playing fields, bids fair to impose a curb on over-indulgence in food and drink, sensuality and sloth. Eventually human propagation will be restricted to stocks sound in every respect and constitutionally resistant to disease.

Grounds of looking for social progress. Even a tough realist sees solid grounds for expecting a better future for Man;

(a) Birth control banishes the over-population specter, which was drawing nigher with every fresh exploit in saving young life.

(b) The rise in the social position of the female sex and the educating of girls equally with boys drain that vast morass of ignorance, superstition, unreason and reaction which women still constitute in many parts of the world.

(c) The substitution of a modern education for tradition as the guide of life emancipates youths from the prejudices and narrow outlooks of their parents and gets them interested in the possibilities of the future.

(d) The overcoming of disease has abolished the necessity of rearing big families; and mothers of four have vastly more time for cultural interests than mothers of eight! This should swell greatly the contingent that can be looked to for support of rational and constructive measures. Even if but *a tithe* of the leisure that accrues to mothers by being freed from the tale of babies that grandmother bore (half of whom never grew up!) is directed to self-improvement, it will make a big difference in the volume of intelligence that can be brought to bear on social problems.

(e) Our new mastery of disease adds decades to the expectation of life of adults. Myriads who a hundred years ago were passing away in their thirties or forties are now living through their fifties into their sixties or seventies. That this but swells the horde of stupid conservatives is untrue. To be sure, age usually converts *illiterates or ill-educated* into Tories; but, as a rule, the *educated* do not turn bigot as they grow old. Many garner wisdom and come to take the long view.

(f) Down until the last half-century scientific research was individual, haphazard, catch-as-catch-can. Of late, however, we see research, un-

burdened by university teaching, going on in spacious well-equipped research laboratories, directed by the best intellects to be found, and so organized that the researches of a whole team may be centered upon a single problem.

(g) Caught in a whirlwind of change and obliged to make numerous shifts in a short time, many of us find the light gained in school two, three, or four decades back altogether too weak. So we may expect a great blooming of educational agencies for adults. In place of the slops offered by campaign "spell binders," "yellow" newspapers and trash magazines, there will be numerous serious, well-taught courses in university extension, people's institutes, and schools for workers.

(h) Internal peace must be preserved if there is to be rapid social progress. "Dictatorship of the proletariat" is a dangerous doctrine for, if communists may grab power while still a minority, other minorities will claim an equal right to do the same; so you *may* get fascism! All minority dominations suppress the agitative liberties and crush opposition movements or parties. Tactics so high-handed provoke opponents to resort to force to overthrow the arbitrary régime; so the ever-present menace of *revolution: counter-revolution* paralyzes the battlers for a better social future.

Under representative democracy, on the other hand, minority groups vie for power but do not resort to desperate tactics, for they are on equal footing with one another and with the government in appealing to the electorate. When every citizen has a vote and no one has more, you get maximum acquiescence in the electoral verdict. There is felt to be something sacred and final in the will of the voters as registered under "an honest ballot and a fair count." Hence, it is representative democracy that holds the best assurance for the keeping of the social peace.

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TESTS AND CHALLENGES IN SOCIOLOGY

CHAPTER I

THE MAKE-UP OF THE POPULATION

Tests

- A. Show how the dominant occupation of a region affects the proportion of women to men.
- B. How do the sexes compare in bent for long-distance migration?
- C. Compare *residential*, *commercial*, and *manufacturing* cities in respect to the proportions of men and women they attract.
- D. What traits are likely to characterize the he-community?
- E. How does the coming of women, homes, and children affect the temper of the mining or lumbering community?
- F. How can its age composition tell you whether a flow of migrants is a quest for economic opportunity or a flight from persecution?
- G. How does age make-up affect the group spirit?
- H. The wife is less of a help-mate, yet more men marry and they marry earlier. Account for this.

Challenges

1. What traits would prevail in a community as "she" as a mining or logging camp is "he"?
2. Do we need a new type of male resort as a "substitute for the saloon"?
3. Which is more favorable to the genesis of an adaptable progressive local community in a new state—settlement from *one* older state, or settlement from *various* older states? Reasons.
4. How does matrimony "as an economic proposition" appeal to the young man to-day as compared with its appeal to his grandfather? to the young woman as compared with its appeal to her grandmother?
5. Did those who went West to settle upon new land differ in inborn traits from their brothers, sisters, or cousins who did *not* migrate? If they did, what must have been the effect of the greater prolificacy of the frontier in determining the natural characteristics of the American people. Are the American people just Europeans shaped by New-World surroundings?
6. Study of 281 American cities shows that the maximum percentage married is not at the point at which the sexes are equal in number, *but at some point where there is an excess of men*. Account for this.

CHAPTER II

THE MOVEMENT OF POPULATION

Tests

- A. Whence did our species derive its excess fecundity?
- B. How fast can humans increase?
- C. Why has heedless multiplication become more risky than it used to be?
- D. What has put famine "out of business" as a corrector of numbers among the advanced peoples?
- E. What great diseases have been brought under control and by what means?
- F. How has the white man's imperialism affected the rate of growth of the backward races submitted to it?
- G. If mankind has not benefited as much from science and invention as was hoped a century ago, whose is the blame?
- H. What recent development has made population the "hottest" of live questions?
- I. What measures are being taken in some societies to stimulate births?

Challenges

7. Compare in effects upon future population growth: (a) the saving of infant lives; (b) the saving of early-adult lives; (c) the saving of lives of the middle-aged.
8. Does the higher birth-rate of yellow, black, and brown races threaten to overwhelm the white race ultimately by sheer numbers?
9. How could the economist John Stuart Mill deem it "questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being"?
10. What were the chief old-time devices for keeping numbers down? See W. S. Thompson, *Population Problems*, pp. 6, 7; E. A. Ross, *Standing Room Only?*, p. 100.
11. Says R. Kuczynski, *Balance of Births and Deaths*, p. 2: "Let us, for a moment, consider England which in 1927 had 655,000 births and 485,000 deaths. It may seem at first sight that an excess of 170,000 is a proof of considerable vitality and it may even be assumed that from further improvements in public health the number of deaths might be reduced. Yet, incredible as it may sound, those 655,000 births of 1927 mean that on the average each woman during her lifetime gives birth to two children, and if the population is to hold its own not one of the children thus born may die before attaining parenthood. In case then that natality does not again increase, the population of England is bound to die out no matter how low mortality may be reduced. And this state of affairs is by no means confined to England. Conditions are about the same in Germany, and only slightly better in France."

How can England with her broad margin of births above deaths have a fertility and a mortality that will presently cause population shrinkage?

12. Is it unreasonably selfish for a people with abundant room for their needs—the Australians, the Canadians—to bar out the population surpluses continually produced in over-peopled Asiatic countries? See E. A. Ross, *Standing Room Only?*, Chs. XXVI–XXX.
13. How does ancestor-worship affect the attitude toward the large family? See E. A. Ross, *The Changing Chinese*, pp. 69, 96, 110.
14. Does the increasing frequency of famine in British India during the last forty years indicate over-taxation by the British? How otherwise might it be accounted for?

CHAPTER III

POPULATION PRESSURE AND ITS EFFECTS

Tests

- A. What is a sure test of over-populatedness?
- B. Why is it hard to find cases which prove that a people may propagate itself into a state of mass poverty and distress?
- C. Is Malthus confuted by showing that capitalist exploitation is capable of producing all the symptoms supposed to indicate overpopulation?
- D. Set forth five characteristic signs of severe population pressure.
- E. Name seven practices and policies likely to bring on population pressure.
- F. What social conditions and customs are likely to lead to population pressure?
- G. What social conditions and customs act as brakes on the reckless growth of population?
- H. How can population pressure be “a gilt-edged asset in winning the masses to imperialism and militarism”?
- I. What else besides the pressure of numbers stimulates economic progress?
- J. Show that, in case population pressure is severe, people-rule is not likely to result in wise government.

Challenges

15. How must emergence from the hunting into the pastoral stage, in which animal milk was accessible, have affected the average interval between human births?
16. How has petroleum-utilization in the gasoline engine added to the human-food production of American agriculture?
17. What keeps deferring fulfilment of the oft-repeated prophecies of early over-peoplement?
18. Grapple with Henry George’s contention “that nowhere can want be properly attributed to the pressure of population against the power to procure subsistence in the then existing degree of human knowledge; that everywhere the vice and misery attributed to overpopulation can be traced

- to the warfare, tyranny, and oppression which prevent knowledge from being utilized and deny the security essential to production."
19. Does the fact that the mass poverty due to class exploitation or misgovernment is often hypocritically attributed to over-populatedness rule out blind breeding as an independent cause of mass poverty?
 20. React to the following statement by Sumner and Keller (*The Science of Society*, I, 85): "The people of the United States have been living in a state of under-population. Few of them have known anything about it. It is the explanation of their power, wealth, prosperity, liberty, democracy, and all the other happy circumstances which they generally attribute to their institutions and often solely to their political system or even to the party in power. The institutions are a consequence, not a cause."
 21. Should a relief society grant the parents of a large dependent family additional aid every time another infant appears?

CHAPTER IV

FOLK SCULPTURE

Tests

- A. Distinguish, one from another, *lethal* selection, *mating* selection, and *reproductive* selection.
- B. What proportion of deaths appears to be due to defects in natural inheritance?
- C. To what extent does medical advance suspend natural selection?
- D. Show that the fruits of measures of "health socialization" are not all desirable.
- E. What evidence is there that the "tares" multiply faster than the wheat?
- F. Show that birth-control affects first the higher social levels.
- G. Show that victory in warfare is by no means the same thing as "survival of the fittest."
- H. Show that a celibacy requirement in a higher occupation—say religion or teaching—is *dysgenic* in its effect.
- I. What are the chief measures urged by the eugenists?

Challenges

22. Are there more or fewer "naturally good" people in the (socially) upper half of society than in the (socially) lower half? Reasons.
23. Do you think our good people are raising more children per couple than our neutral or bad people? Why?
24. Do great men and women have more distinguished relatives than the ordinary person? See A. E. Wiggam, *The Fruit of the Family Tree*, Ch. XII.
25. The marital state of women graduates of certain Western colleges twenty years after graduation has been found to be as follows:

<i>College</i>	<i>Per Cent Married</i>
Ohio State University	54
University of Wisconsin	51.8
University of Illinois	54
University of California	60
Leland Stanford University	60
Oberlin College	65
Kansas Agricultural College	67.6

Would you attribute this low marriedness to higher education? to college environment? or to want of interest *in* men or of appeal *to* men in the type of girl who goes through college?

26. Is it likely that parents who put their children into the mill have transmitted to their children as valuable a heritage as others in the same community, no better off, who voluntarily keep their children in school? If not, show that a compulsory school law or anti-child-labor law would have a good selective effect.
27. Show that woman's modern ease of self-support may cause the female sex to become more "feminine" with every generation.
28. Would it be eugenically wise to tax bachelors in order to discourage the selfish evasion of one's duty to the race?
29. Would universal access to knowledge of the means of birth-control tend in the course of generations toward a weaker or a stronger love of children? Consider the remark of Dr. Alexander Graham Bell: "The desire to avoid maternity is a characteristic associated with lack of offspring, and cannot therefore go on increasing indefinitely in a community. Its natural tendency is to die out through lack of offspring to inherit it, leaving the more fertile part of the community alone to propagate the race."
30. Says A. E. Wiggam (*The Next Age of Man*, pp. 32-33): "The geographical area of man's lovemaking has always been limited by the distance which he could travel after early supper, the time, as long as possible, which he would spend with his lady love, and his getting back home unobserved before daylight. Primitive man had to walk. . . . Next came the horse and saddle, and next the horse and buggy. To-day it is the automobile and to-morrow it will be the airplane. Perhaps when radio and the transmission of speaking likenesses have become more developed, the area of the humblest man's courtship will be the entire surface of the globe." Would you say that this makes for biologically better matings?
31. Certain owners of apartment houses require their tenants to agree in writing that the lease is void in case an infant is born into the family during the term of the lease. Would you have the courts ignore such an agreement as "contrary to public policy"?
32. Cite the evidence amassed by A. E. Wiggam (*The Fruit of the Family Tree*, Ch. I) that even among human beings, "blood will tell." In the light of this, what are we to think of the comforting assurance that there will always

be enough persons of rare ability rising from the masses to fill the places of the men of success who increasingly neglect to leave a replacing progeny?

CHAPTER V

CITY AND COUNTRY

Tests

- A. Why is the strongest urban growth not found in the most over-peopled countries?
- B. What proportion of the American people are now experiencing the life of the farm?
- C. What are the causes of the stupendous growth of cities in our time?
- D. Show how the age composition of city population differs from that which you find in the open country.
- E. How do city and country compare in marriedness? in fertility?
- F. How do those who quit the farm for the city compare in quality with those who remain on the farm?
- G. What happens to a rural community that has lost too many of its natural leaders?
- H. How do city and country compare as "soul moulds"?

Challenges

33. Explain the fact that in 1920 53 per cent of the married men of the United States lived in cities, and 53 per cent of the married women; but, while 54 per cent of the single men lived in cities, as many as 59 per cent of the single women were found living in cities.
34. In 1920 rural New York had three times as large a proportion of people over sixty-five years of age as New York City. What contrasts between city and country may spring from a difference of this kind?
35. Account for the fact that in the United States in 1920 the number of children under five years of age to 1,000 native white women twenty to forty-four years of age was as follows:

Cities of 100,000 and over	341
Cities of 25,000 to 100,000	390
Cities of 10,000 to 25,000	434
Cities of 2,500 to 10,000	477
Rural parts	721

36. Compare electricity with steam in concentrating many human beings upon a small area.
37. Study and report upon the analysis given by Sorokin and Zimmerman (*Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, pp. 347-353) of the causes of the greater unity and stability of the rural family as compared with the urban family.
38. What might be done to make the country church a bigger factor for good in the life of the rural community?

39. Should farmers have their distinctive organizations—social, recreational, religious, economic, and political—or should they unite for such purposes with the residents of the town in which they do their trading?
40. Compare country people with city people in their readiness to accept leadership. Account for the difference.
41. Take a farm population of 100,000 and an urban population of 100,000. Assume that year after year about 1,000 young men and women eighteen to thirty years of age quit the former and join the latter. How will this affect in each (a) trust in the guidance of tradition; (b) willingness to make experiments; (c) the comparative importance of the elderly?

CHAPTER VI

ASSOCIATION

Tests

- A. What are the characteristics of humans who develop in isolation?
- B. Show how fantasy endeavors to make up for lack of companionship.
- C. How are people affected by involuntary solitude?
- D. What data prove that the presence of others stimulates?
- E. Show that suicide is correlated with lack of social bonds and of social support.
- F. Show that sympathy makes almost any dire situation bearable.
- G. What symptoms characterize the feeling of inferiority?
- H. Show that the long-reigning theory of human nature overlooked its dependence on others.
- I. Show the struggle of personalities in association.
- J. Set forth the nature and office of good manners.
- K. Illustrate our great concern for the "mirrored self."
- L. How does our society give recognition to the "mirrored self"?

Challenges

42. What can you cite from your personal experience or observation illustrating the stimulus given by association?
43. Is there any difference between young men and young women in their response to the fellowship appeal (compare Y.M.C.A. with Y.W.C.A.)?
44. Set forth the socializing features in the play activities of children. See Kimball Young, *Social Psychology*, pp. 255-261.
45. Show that the stimulus to laughter is primarily social. See Kimball Young, *Social Psychology*, pp. 159-163.
46. Comment upon the *mot* of a witty eighteenth-century Frenchman: "The friendship of two women is a conspiracy against a third."
47. Illustrate from your own experience or observation the comfort and encouragement resulting from social sympathy.
48. Cite from Chapter VII of Whiting Williams's *Mainsprings of Men* evidences of the desire for social approval.

49. Why does La Rochefoucauld say: "What makes the vanity of others unbearable to us is that it wounds our own"?
50. Do you think that Emerson had the right idea when he said: "Good manners are made up of petty sacrifices"?
51. What additional instances of the "mirrored self" rise in your mind as you read the passage on pages 70-72 of the text?

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNICATION

Tests

- A. What is the chief of the lines along which communication is being improved in our time?
- B. What are the outstanding traits of an isolated group of people?
- C. Show how improved communication has changed the relation of a Congressman to his constituents.
- D. Show how it gives play for preference in association.
- E. State opposed theories as to how individuality is affected by better communication.
- F. What does it do to local singularities?
- G. Show the decay of neighborhood in the country.
- H. Show its decay in the city.

Challenges

52. How explain the decline of the art of writing delightful letters which so flourished in the eighteenth century?
53. Show how facilitated communication is affecting the seclusion, self-sufficiency, and unity of the family.
54. Says C. H. Cooley (*Social Organization*, p. 99): ". . . Outside of his specialty the man of our somewhat hurried civilization is apt to have an impatient touch-and-go habit of mind as regards both thought and feeling. We are trying to do many and various things and are driven to versatility and short cuts at some expense to truth and depth. 'The habit of inattention,' said DeTocqueville about 1835, 'must be considered as the greatest defect of the democratic character'; and recently his judgment has been confirmed by Ostrogorski, who thinks that deliverance from the bonds of space and time has made the American a man of short views, wedded to the present, accustomed to getting quick returns, and with no deep root anywhere." What is your reaction to this idea?
55. How do the modern facilities for communication (print, telephone, phonograph, motion film, and radio) affect the importance in the life of the people of "secondary" groups—town, industry, party, church, nation—as compared with "primary" (face-to-face) groups, *i.e.*, family, play group, neighborhood?

56. Does improved communication result in better understanding and greater good-will among the peoples of the earth; or does its effect depend altogether upon the kind of impression of another people which international press dispatches are calculated to give?
57. G. Bernard Shaw suggests that the radio and "talkies" will make it possible for our young people to grow up in healthy remoteness from the crowded masses and slums of big cities without also growing up as savages. Are they having this effect to-day? If not, why not?
58. Says C. H. Cooley (*Life and the Student*, p. 24): "The relative uniformity of American life, compared with that of Europe, is due to the historical background of the latter—a complex of ancient diversities, while American is new and assimilative. But since groups, and provinces, like persons, have a natural pride in such differences from others as make them feel superior, we may expect a growth of local ambitions and claims upon renown to accompany the maturing of our order." How can one reconcile this prophecy with the inevitable effects of universal communication?

CHAPTER VIII

DOMINATION

Tests

- A. Why is pastoral life favorable to patriarchalism?
- B. Show that the mother-name system of reckoning kinship is advantageous to the wife.
- C. What is the motive behind the Hindu prohibition of widow remarriage?
- D. Account for the origin of the elaborate politeness of the Japanese.
- E. Show that alliance among unequals regularly develops into domination by the stronger.
- F. Illustrate the use of patronage as a means of dominating.
- G. What is the great vitiating ingredient in the make-up of the male sex?
- H. What are the faults which pervade a clergy not counterbalanced by other intellectuals?
- I. What queernesses show up when business men dominate?
- J. What is grotesque in the outlook of a hereditary leisure class?
- K. What is the chief sapper of domination?

Challenges

59. Is "Spare the rod and spoil the child" out-of-date, or is it as true as it ever was?
60. Is it sheer parental domineering to bar fraternities and sororities among high school pupils?
61. How does the lessening of the economic importance of the home-staying wife (due to filling the home with products of machine industry) affect the relation between husband's will and wife's will?
62. Says a leaflet of the American Socialist Party: "If a majority of Representa-

tives, whom we elect, vote for a law, and a majority of Senators, whom we elect, vote for it too, and the President, whom we elect, signs the law, five out of nine judges of the Supreme Court—whom we do not elect—claim the right to throw that law into the waste basket. When the law is good for the workers they frequently do just that. That is not democracy or rule by the people. It is autocracy or rule by judges. . . ." What is your reaction to this contention?

63. In the light of the statement of a power-trust agent in a private letter—"There is really no expenditure by the companies. They merely allot a certain sum out of their gross earnings to 'educate' the people . . . and charge that sum to operating expenses"—how do you react to the principle "No public utility has either legal or moral right to use its earnings in political campaigns to control elections. Such a course implies excessive earnings, unlawful purposes, or both"?
64. Where would you draw the line between legitimate and illegitimate in campaign expenditures?
65. Says the United States Commission on Industrial Relations: "In Cook County, Illinois, which includes Chicago, it was found by a committee of the Lawyers' Association of Illinois that, although the system of selection by commissioners was intended to produce an impartial selection from all classes of the community, out of probably 1,000 different occupations in Cook County the commissioners confine the selection of the great bulk of the jurors to the following ten occupations: managers, superintendents, foremen, presidents and owners of companies, secretaries of companies, merchants, salesmen, clerks and bookkeepers." Does this seem to you an objectionable species of domination? Reasons.
66. In the ordinary American industrial city the wage-earners and clerks comprise about five sixths of the whole number of gainfully occupied persons. Yet in 1916 the school boards of 104 American cities containing a quarter of our population had only 4 per cent of their members mechanics and 5 per cent of their members clerks and salesmen. Over nine tenths of their members came from the business and the professions, which comprise but a sixth of the people. Is there objectionable class domination here?
67. What elements are responsible for circulating among us, every time there is civil disturbance beyond the Rio Grande, the idea, "Uncle Sam should go in and clean up Mexico"?

CHAPTER IX

EXPLOITATION

Tests

- A. What is the governing principle of personal exploitation?
- B. Define "institutionalized exploitation."
- C. Name three kinds of exploitation which call for the most attention to-day.

- D. What are the chief lines along which there is exploitation?
- E. Bring out specific ways in which wealth may be made an instrument for exploiting others.
- F. Why is the leisure class particularly ingenious in originating devices for living at the expense of others?
- G. Why is exploitation by the direct exercise of the power of government dying out?
- H. Why do exploiters never lose their taste for living at the expense of others?
- I. What is the favorite mask an exploiter wears?

Challenges

- 68. Does cultural advance tend to lessen the desire for egotic exploitation?
- 69. How does the notion arise that it is nobler to be a lifelong parasite than to support yourself?
- 70. Spokesmen of property interests insist there is always great danger of the propertyless Many exploiting the propertied Few, hence call for constitutional checks on freedom of lawmaking and constitutional "guarantees" of "due process of law," "obligation of contracts," "freedom of contract," etc. Is there a real danger here? Or is the outcry designed to draw attention away from the devices by means of which the scheming Few "trim" the guileless hard-working Many?
- 71. Compare the influence upon society of the rich who wish to be useful with that of the rich who follow the ideal of elegant idling and pleasure-seeking.
- 72. Is the difference among bankers, business men, professional men, farmers, and workingmen in respect to degree of organizedness likely to increase or diminish? Reasons.
- 73. In Russia in 1917 the two big popular parties were for taking the landed estates from the nobles for distribution among the peasants without compensation, while the party of property was for doing it *with* compensation; which was right and why?
- 74. Does point 9, p. 105, open up a depressing prospect?
- 75. Cite several social policies—realized or proposed—which would lessen inequalities among the social elements "in respect to intelligence, courage, organization, discipline, or situation."

CHAPTER X

OPPOSITION

Tests

- A. Show how the outcome of conflict depends on the nature of the arena.
- B. Give cases of hatred of supplanters.
- C. Illustrate "imaginative hostility."
- D. How can one contend that "open opposition preserves society"?
- E. What effect has peril or combat upon the fighting group?

- F. Why is the fighting group "likely to end in some one's vest pocket"?
- G. How is one form of opposition related to another form of opposition involving the same persons?
- H. Set forth the means of lessening the sum total of opposition.

Challenges

- 76. Are you like Charles Lamb, who said, "I can't hate anybody I know"?
- 77. What effect does the organizing of antagonistic team games among boys have upon the number of their quarrels and feuds?
- 78. To one whose life overflows which is the better advice: "Forgive your enemies" or "Forget your enemies"?
- 79. Is it possible for the champions of the established and the advocates of change to fight out the issue without developing personal animosity? If so, how?
- 80. Are those who cast into the social mind such seeds of strife as the doctrines of popular sovereignty, lay control of the church, the separation of church and state, the right of labor to the whole produce, the inevitableness of class struggle, *etc.*, to be hailed as benefactors or condemned as trouble-makers?
- 81. In which community are sharp oppositions more likely to develop—a static community, or one rapidly changing in make-up, culture, economic basis, dominant interests, *etc.*? Reasons.
- 82. With the advance of culture, will opposition more and more spring from *imaginative hostility* or from *interference of interests*?
- 83. What do you think of Lasswell's point?

CHAPTER XI

OPPOSITION—GOOD SIDE AND BAD SIDE

Tests

- A. How does *conflict* differ from *competition*?
- B. What does measurement of the stimulus from competition show?
- C. By what means can the unequal be brought into effective competition?
- D. How can rivalry be made a means of preserving *morale*?
- E. Show that standards of living grow out of rivalry.
- F. Define *antagonistic effort*.
- G. Why do most conflicts cost more than was expected?
- H. Show the deplorable outcome of convertibility of resources.
- I. Why does the intelligent aggressor try to force a quick decision?
- J. How should competitive preparedness be viewed?
- K. By what measures is it possible to keep antagonistic effort within bounds?

Challenges

- 84. Is Shakespeare right in saying, "Virtue cannot live out of the teeth of emulation"?

85. Would you wish to see more emulation among clergymen? among scholars? among social workers? Reasons.
86. What would you say to working out a score card for Christian missions in China and publishing annually the comparison of each mission's score with that of other missions and with its own score in previous years?
87. Is there anything objectionable in substituting *the desire to beat for the desire to be well*, as the motive for physical self-development?
88. The Russian Kommissars worked out a method of measuring the performance of railway repair shops so that the laborers of shops a thousand miles apart are eagerly competing, conscious that all Russia is looking on. Is this good?
89. Is there any reason for supposing that, more and more, loss is the portion of both belligerents?
90. Says Professor William B. Munro (*The Invisible Government*): "The justification of elections, referenda, and majority rule is not the wisdom of the multitude, but the pressing necessity of devising some crude makeshift whereby decisions can be reached which the people will accept. A presidential election is merely our modern and highly refined substitute for the ancient revolution, a mobilization of opposing forces, a battle of the ins against the outs, with leaders and strategy and all the other paraphernalia of civil war, but without bodily violence to the warriors. This refinement of the struggle for political control, this transition from bullets to ballots, is perhaps the greatest contribution of modern times to the progress of civilization."

Do you think this, rather than faith in fundamental human equality, is the basis of such principles as "one adult, one vote" and "majority rule"? Reasons.

91. Among the feud-ridden Berdurani of Northeastern Afghanistan "the villages and fields bristle in all directions with round towers. These are constantly occupied by men at enmity with their neighbors in the same or adjoining villages, who, perched up in little shooting boxes, watch for the opportunity of putting a bullet into each other's body with the most persevering patience. The fields, even, are studded with these round towers, and the men holding them most jealously guard their lands from anyone with whom they are at feud. . . . If even a fowl strays from its owner into the grounds of another it is sure to receive a bullet from the adversary's tower. So constant are their feuds that it is a well-known fact that the village children are taught never to walk in the center of the road, but always from the force of early habit walk stealthily along under cover of the wall nearest to any tower."

What is the root of the trouble here; (1) want of reasonableness and love? (2) love of combat? or (3) absence of law?

CHAPTER XII

PERSONAL COMPETITION

Tests

- A. Define competition.
- B. State the function of competition.

- C. What is the chief alternative to competition as a means of assigning to each his place?
- D. What is the main motive that brings social castes into existence?
- E. Upon what does the intensity of competition depend?
- F. What restrictions have been imposed upon competitive methods in business? in the professions? in electioneering?
- G. Compare *merit* with *seniority* as a basis for promotion.
- H. Explain the Principle of Relevancy.
- I. Is competition fatal to good-will and sympathy?
- J. What are the advantages of limiting competition to the first half of an employee's life?

Challenges

- 92. Why have the better sportsmen put the repeating ("pump") shotgun under the ban?
- 93. If you were to compare the current rules of a long-established racing association with its earliest rules, how do you suppose they would compare in number and detail?
- 94. Why should advertising which is untruthful, misleading, or against public policy be subject to attack by a Federal trade commission?
- 95. How would the imposing of suitable tests, to determine in advance whether or not an individual is fitted to meet the requirements of a particular occupation, affect the amount of ill-will generated by personal competition *within* that occupation?
- 96. Two ten-year-old boys are equally crippled for life in an accident due to the negligence of the railway company. One is the son of a day-laborer, the other the son of a successful business man. Shall the damages awarded on the basis of "injury to presumed future earning power" be equal or unequal?

CHAPTER XIII

INSTITUTIONAL COMPETITION

Tests

- A. Illustrate how a menaced institution endeavors to destroy its competitor.
- B. Give illustrations of withdrawal from competition.
- C. What is meant by "constrained adaptation"? Give instances.
- D. Show how an institution may elude competitors by specializing.
- E. What are the peculiar tactics available to the new?
- F. What is the objection to parents enrolling their children in the organizations they belong to?

Challenges

- 97. Is the eagerness to *destroy* the competitor rather than meet his competition due chiefly to laziness, to consciousness of weakness, to reluctance to adapt one's self, or to detestation of him?

98. Why doesn't Science set up an "Index" of anti-Science books which its followers are to shun?
99. Which is the better way to make labor count politically—form a labor party or get the two old parties to bidding against each other for the labor vote?
100. Give instances which have come under your observation of the new making extravagant claims and promises.
101. Give illustrations of your own of the sensationalism of the new.
102. Should the young assume or ignore the attitudes (memberships, friendships, and grudges) of their parents?
103. Should grown children defer to parental wishes respecting mating? occupation? religion? politics?
104. Would you wish to see some restrictions placed upon "the vying for public favor" recommended in the last paragraph of this chapter? If so, what should they be?

CHAPTER XIV

AGE CONFLICT

Tests

- A. How do old and young differ in aptitude?
- B. Why do the old understand the young better than the young understand the old?
- C. What are the chief counts in youth's indictment of age? in age's indictment of youth?
- D. What are the main forms age conflict takes?
- E. By what means do the old men in primitive societies contrive to keep "the upper hand" of the young men?
- F. What are the points about which age conflict rages in our own time?
- G. What current developments are strengthening the old? strengthening the young?

Challenges

105. "Maturation is a subtle process, extending long after gross size and weight have been attained. Lawyers have recognized this and have hesitated to allow young persons the full management of large estates until they have reached the age of about twenty-five years. . . . All studies seem to indicate that the integration of the nervous system is not complete until the middle twenties." (See "Adolescence" in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. I.)
Would we do well to change the age of political majority from twenty-one years to twenty-five years, as it is in some European countries? Reasons.
106. Professor E. L. Thorndike's experiments designed to reveal the educability of adults show that general ability to learn rises until about the age of twenty and then, perhaps after a stationary period of some years, slowly declines: the decline is very slow, perhaps 1 per cent a year. What bearing have these findings on the age-youth conflict?

107. Examine the passages in the Bible which bear on youth and age, and see whether or not they tend to uphold the rule of the elder over the younger.
108. In an address before the Italian Chamber of Deputies May 26, 1927, Sr. Mussolini said:

"How shall we nourish the 'Fascist' party with vital lymphs? With youth.

"I hope that you have reflected on the extraordinary symbolical and profoundly vital significance of the ceremony of March 28; that conscription in mass of the youth which enters the Party and receives a card, as it receives a musket, which is infinitely more. Thus the party renews itself in ten years: thus at a certain time there will be a Council of Ministers in which the President may be from 28 to 30 years old. For it is not true that it is necessary to be old or, for instance, in the second childhood to be able to govern: No. There have been ministers in England 21 years old and they have governed brilliantly what was and is the most powerful empire in the world.

"People ought to feel also—I hope to teach it to Italians—the pudicity of old age."

Do you think the Fascist leaders will be taking this line twenty years hence? Is Sr. Mussolini taking it now that he is nearing 60?

109. In Soviet Russia the Communists have organized those sixteen to twenty-three years of age who believe in communist principles into an organization which in 1930 included two and one-half million members. Its purpose is to train the youth in communist ideas. If our political parties should follow the same line, would society benefit? Would youth be the gainer?

CHAPTER XV

SEX CONFLICT

Tests

- A. Show that each sex finds in the natural ways of the other things which offend it.
- B. Show that the ideals men persuade women to accept and impress upon their daughters reflect men's selfish preferences.
- C. Why is the contemporary trend toward sex equality?
- D. What are the salient features of sex conflict?
- E. Does the peak of sex antagonism correspond to the peak of masculine domination?
- F. What current developments aid in keeping women under the old yoke? What developments tend to release her?
- G. Why is the sweep of sex conflict steadily widening?

Challenges

110. What indications are there that the sexes differ in the strength of their innate tendency to self-assertion? to self-abasement?
111. Shall we think less of the blameless divorced woman than of the blameless divorced man?

112. In the absence of children, should the widow who remarries be held to act in poorer taste than the widower who remarries?
113. Ought judges to be more lenient in letting women off jury service than in letting men off?
114. Should men-only settle what is "manly" and women-only what is "womanly," or ought the sexes to *share* in shaping these ideals? Share *equally*?
115. Do you suppose women are as irritated under masculine ascendancy in society as men would be under a like feminine ascendancy?
116. Looking for a famous radical correspondent in a Petrograd hotel in 1917, I found tacked on his door his own card and that of a woman correspondent. Afterward I learned that they were legally married but that she had preferred to keep her maiden name which through her writing had become well known. Is the custom of the woman taking her husband's name repugnant to the principle of sex equality?
117. Says Jerome Davis (*Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 720-721): "At the present time the most outstanding discrimination against women is the double standard of morality. This permits a boy to 'sow his wild oats' and then marry the girl of his choice and take his place in the world. The girl who has similarly slipped from the path of rectitude is ostracized. At a recent trial in Connecticut of a young unmarried mother who had been drugged and betrayed, the court testimony showed that after the occurrence became known she had been shunned by everyone, even her own family, and had almost starved." "At present practically all the machinery of society is devoted to penalizing the wayward girl, leaving the boy to ply his calling unmolested. . . . Men and women who are sexually unclean should be treated with rigid impartiality. If the man is accepted in church and society, the women should be."

Do you agree that, if the erring woman is to be stigmatized or ostracized, the same treatment should be meted out to the erring man? Reasons.

CHAPTER XVI

RACE CONFLICT

Tests

- A. Show that much which passes for "race conflict" springs in fact from *clash of cultures*.
- B. Show that what is called "race conflict" may be *hatred of the competitor*.
- C. How may *the strain of alien rule* beget race hatred?
- D. Can races be arranged in a definite hierarchy of "superior" and "inferior"?
- E. Explain why the rate of increase of a backward race often rises after it has come into close association with a more advanced race.
- F. Name the chief factors aggravating race conflict.
- G. List the more important means of mitigating race conflict.

Challenges

118. Will there probably be more areas of grave race tension in the world in 1970 than there are to-day?
119. From our census data it can be shown that at least a quarter of a million light-skinned Negroes each decade successfully establish themselves as white. Is this deplorable?
120. Is a person who values the Mexicans inconsistent when he opposes mass immigration of Mexicans into this country on the ground that "We are creating for ourselves a social problem full of dismal prospects, of social ostracisms, and perhaps lynchings, and race wars"?
121. Dr. E. R. Groves took a White Leghorn hen from her flock and colored her with red ink. "When the hen in her bright crimson was put back among her mates she was fiercely attacked by those who had peacefully grown up with her from the shell. . . . Other members of the flock were colored differently, and in each case with the same result." What light does this shed on the origins of race antipathy? Ought we to behave like hens?
122. Says Clarence Poe, an eminent Southern agricultural economist: "The Negro has an unfair advantage for taking the rural South to himself in that white farmers not only will not move into an all-Negro neighborhood, while Negroes do not hesitate to move into any white community, but furthermore it is an almost invariable rule that when he buys out a white man, it lowers land values, injures social conditions and makes it easier for Negroes to get more land, whereas when a white man buys land in a community, the rule is that it increases land values and make it harder for him to get more."
What effect must this have upon the attitude of whites toward Negroes? Can anything be done about it?
123. Is the enforcement of racial segregation in public conveyances and in public places of amusement, in order to avoid friction and brawls, a wrong to the segregated race provided that it gets just as much for its money as the others?
124. Are the public health authorities in a Southern town in which nearly all the taxes come from the white residents morally bound to spend just as much money in order to reduce by a score the deaths of Negro infants as they spend in order to reduce by a score the deaths of white infants? Reasons.
125. What might constitute a justice program even in a bi-racial community in which the races were strictly segregated in hotels, restaurants, street-cars, places of amusement, schools, libraries, churches, and hospitals?
126. Compare American whites of the alleys and slums with upper-class whites in their attitude toward Negro aspirations.

CHAPTER XVII

CLASS CONFLICT

Tests

- A. What precipitates a class conflict?
- B. Contrast epochs of class strife with epochs of social peace.

- C. What is the present state of the conflict between laity and clergy? between the active and the leisured?
- D. What did the "green" rising accomplish in post-war Europe?
- E. What current developments are anti-capitalist?
- F. What current developments are pro-capitalist?
- G. Describe the tactics and weapons of class struggle.
- H. List the stakes of class struggle.
- I. What aggravates class conflict?
- J. What mitigates class conflict?

Challenges

- 127. Justify the maxim, "The minister of war must never be a military man."
- 128. What can be done to lessen the unfair advantage of the moneyed class in shaping public opinion on public questions?
- 129. How does a strong inflow of new useful inventions affect the intensity of the struggle between haves and have-nots? Would it make a difference in this respect if most of the inventions came from salaried men in company research laboratories and the patents were taken out by their employers?
- 130. What would you think of providing by law that of the University Regents not less than two shall be *bona fide* farmers interested in education and two shall be representatives of labor?
- 131. A clergyman writes me: "What proportion of my sermons should be devoted to current social questions?" What shall I answer?
- 132. In the presidential campaign of 1924 three-fifths of the four and one-third million dollars raised and spent by the winning party came from 1,219 individuals with gifts ranging from \$501 to more than \$10,000. In view of the fact that in every presidential election but one since 1860 the party expending the more money won the election, what light does the above throw on the seat of political domination in this country?
- 133. Why do the organized business groups throw their influence definitely in favor of religious orthodoxy and the churches?
- 134. Does Professor John R. Commons make a gloomy prediction when he says (*Industrial Goodwill*, pp. 38-39): "Class struggle will never stop. . . . At one end is consumption of wealth which always wants more of it. At the other end is production of wealth, which always means sacrifice and effort. As long as resources are limited and wants unlimited there will be struggle between individuals and classes."

CHAPTER XVIII

INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT

Tests

- A. Discriminate between *industrial conflict* and *class conflict*.
- B. Show how certain industrial changes are bound to beget industrial conflict.

- C. What is there for employers and workingmen to quarrel over?
- D. What are the weapons available to employers? to workingmen?
- E. Demonstrate that the courts play a major rôle in industrial conflicts.
- F. How can the State affect industrial conflict?
- G. How important is the attitude of the public?
- H. What are the chief means of avoiding industrial conflict?

Challenges

- 135. The Lynds (*Middletown*, p. 80) heard one of the city's industrial leaders say: "Workingmen don't need unions nowadays. There are no great evils or problems now as there were fifty years ago. We are much more in danger of coddling the workingmen than of abusing them. Working people are just as well off now as they can possibly be except for things which are in the nature of industry and cannot be helped." What is your reaction to this statement?
- 136. Says a Tennessee textile manufacturer who is President of the National Manufacturers' Association: "I am proud to say that the morning prayer exercises in my factory have had the finest economic effect, workers are producing far more goods than before the prayer system was started some years ago. We have made it almost impossible for anyone but a Christian to get a job. We examine applicants for work to see if they have any dangerous ideas. We have been able, by that process, to keep our plant free from trouble."
Would you like to see this policy spread among American manufacturers? Why, or why not? Is it a good way of increasing the number of Christians?
- 137. A college student of economics writes from Georgia: "I rode fifty miles with the department head of a mill. Mill hands, so he told me, work twelve hours daily for \$1.50. The mill owners, local men, are spending large sums of money to keep out the union, for the union to them is an ominous threat to their right to run their mills as they please."
Granting that this policy is good for the employer's purse, is it good from any other point of view?
- 138. After the World War workmen embittered by persecution came into Mexico from Spain and strove to infect Mexican laborers with their own rebellious mood. One of them would mount a cart and say to the workmen in the plaza eating their noon lunch:
"Whose toil built these factories and buildings? None but yours. You have produced them and not the men who sit in office chairs and now call these buildings their own. I can but tell you what is yours and what you should have. I can't take it for you. I have told you what should be done. It is now up to you." Is it violation of the right of free speech to check an agitation so subversive? Reasons.
- 139. In Ceylon, thanks to the new temper developed among Singhalese workers by organizing 110,000 of them into strictly lawful unions with aims similar to those of the American Federation of Labor, the nearest laborers now pile onto and thrash the English boss who, following the time-honored practice

among European overseers of native labor, kicks or cuffs an inoffensive native workman. Do you applaud or deplore this new procedure?

CHAPTER XIX

RELIGIOUS OR SECTARIAN STRIFE

Tests

- A. What motives prompt the followers of a religion to break heads in order to make it prevail?
- B. Why is a monotheist likely to be less tolerant than a polytheist?
- C. Show the effect of destructive religious strife upon human quality.
- D. Can religion thrive without State support?
- E. What are the traits of a people-supported religion?
- F. What does complete separation of Church and State involve?
- G. What measures against church control of politics have been taken in Mexico? Do they deny religious freedom?
- H. What are the means of avoiding sectarian strife?
- I. Why is the school a bone of contention between Church and State?

Challenges

- 140. Why does the principle of religious toleration find favor in the great cities, especially seaports, long before it wins in the open country?
- 141. When the State keeps its hands off religion, in the resulting free-for-all competition will the higher forms of religion win the people faster than the lower forms?
- 142. If we send missionaries to Siam to endeavor to convert Buddhists to Christianity, are we not in honor bound to allow Buddhist missionaries to settle among us and make converts to Buddhism?
- 143. What is the harm in a clergyman urging his flock to throw their votes to a candidate for public office because he is a fellow-member of theirs?
- 144. Does the banishing from State libraries and educational institutions of all teaching and books which support the doctrine of the evolution of man from lower forms of life amount to making Fundamentalism a State-recognized and State-favored form of religion? Reasons.
- 145. Do Sunday-closing laws or ordinances, devised to realize an idea of the Sabbath foreign to most of Christendom and unknown for the first fifteen centuries of Christianity, violate the principle that secular power should not be put behind a religious doctrine?
- 146. Does the enforcement by gunboats, or threat of gunboats, of treaties with the government of China which provide among other things that Christian missionaries may travel, live, and work in China and enjoy the protection of the authorities, amount to "forcing Christianity upon the Chinese"?

CHAPTER XX

CONFLICT BETWEEN LEARNED AND IGNORANT

Tests

- A. Compare a society of aristocratic traditions with one of democratic traditions as regards the security of the man of learning.
- B. Show how precarious was the status of the independent thinker in ancient Athens.
- C. Why are the intelligent in this country peculiarly exposed to the intolerance of ignoramuses?
- D. What restrictions have been imposed upon teaching that our species is descended from some lower form of life?
- E. What senseless requirements have popular bigotry and intolerance imposed upon public school teachers?
- F. Show the comparative status of scholars the world over.
- G. By what means can intellectuals be protected in their functioning?

Challenges

147. Cite four or more doctrines once condemned by ecclesiastical authorities which are now generally held by enlightened Christians. Consult an encyclopedia or A. D. White's *History of the Warfare of Science and Theology in Christendom* (2 vols., 1896).
148. After consulting A. D. White, or T. H. Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*, or H. G. Wells's *Outline of History*, estimate about when was the peak of risk for astronomers; for geologists; for biologists; for social scientists.
149. Which group of scholars stand the more in jeopardy in *public* educational institutions? in *private* educational institutions?
150. Should a scholar who has arrived at unpopular conclusions within his specialty refrain from speaking out in order not to bring his institution into "trouble"? What if all scholars followed such a policy?
151. Do you judge that school-teachers will have to organize themselves if they are to enjoy the ordinary rights of civil employees?
152. Who are the people that are rousing the ignorant and setting them on religious progressives and on teachers of evolution, of debunked American history, of economic "heresies"?

CHAPTER XXI

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT—WAR

Tests

- A. Illustrate one-dimensional, two-dimensional and three-dimensional warfare.
- B. Show that war is constantly more capitalistic.

- C. What important consequences flow from this?
- D. Show that the all-important thing about each stage of warfare is the comparative strength of Attack and Defense.
- E. Which of these would you deem the more desirable?
 - (1) Defense no stronger than Attack
 - (2) Defense twice as strong as Attack
 - (3) Defense ten times as strong as Attack
- F. Are modern wars prompted chiefly by our instinct of pugnacity?
- G. Why is modern warfare no remedy for overpopulation?
- H. What is promoting international conflict?
- I. What may allay international conflict?

Challenges

- 153. In the modern economy unemployment is becoming chronic. How does this affect a nation's willingness to go to war?
- 154. Compare with one another from all points of view *land warfare, sea warfare, air warfare*.
- 155. If by a right turn of your hand you could *double* the intensity of the nationalistic spirit the world over, while by a left turn you could *halve* it, which would you do and why?
- 156. What is the relation of waging modern war to the realization of democracy in government?

CHAPTER XXII

SOCIAL ADAPTATION

Tests

- A. Give illustrations of our ethnocentrism.
- B. What are some of the conditions of religious toleration?
- C. How may cultural toleration be promoted?
- D. What is the proper sphere of application of federal government?
- E. What are the chief forms of accommodation?
- F. List the factors promoting accommodation.
- G. What are the chief means of assimilating the immigrant?
- H. Cite the hindrances to assimilation.
- I. What is amalgamation?

Challenges

- 157. P. 206. Which is better—the Oriental way of “having it out” or the Occidental way? Reasons.
- 158. If by a turn of your hand you could increase or lessen your community's toleration of anti-social lawbreakers, which would you do? Why?
- 159. Should native American farmers *show* or *hide* their scorn of their Slavic neighbors who with no greater need make their daughters work in the field?

160. Would you cast off a friend who disinterestedly advocated something you consider noxious, *e.g.*, Negro lynching or free love; or would you tolerate him on the ground that his motive is good?
161. Would it make a difference to you if he were doing it just for money?
162. Says Chester K. Rowell in the *Survey* for May 1, 1926: "When Japanese move into a city neighborhood, in California, Americans move out . . . they will not live where persons of a different physical race live. American farmers sell out when Japanese buy their neighbors' farms because they will not have their children in a school where the other children are mostly Japanese. There is nothing else against these children. They are just as bright as American children, speak as good English, and have the same manners and impulses; they are American citizens; and there is of course nothing economic in which to compete. It is sheer racial caste. But it makes the American farmer move out even at an economic loss."

Do you consider this attitude due chiefly to (1) ignorance? (2) bad early training? (3) anti-Japanese propaganda? (4) natural aversion to the physically unlike? (5) incompatibility of cultures? or (6) dread of eventual inundation from the "man-stified" Orient? Do you wish the attitude to disappear? Reasons.

163. A national advertising medium boasts that through it "4,500,000 families who eat advertised food, wear advertised clothes, drive advertised automobiles, use advertised tooth-pastes, wash with advertised soaps, buy advertised furniture, and believe in advertised products, may be told and sold effectively." Does the lessening of exterior unlikeness by means of such standardization deserve to be ranked with the factors of accommodation brought out on pages 213-214?

CHAPTER XXIII

COÖPERATION

Tests

- A. Why is coöperation in defense usually the earliest of coöperations?
- B. What was the motive for founding the Icelandic Republic?
- C. Account for the early appearance of the authoritative State in the great river valleys.
- D. Why do we often find compulsion used in a coöperation which is really advantageous to all participants?
- E. Explain why the lower social classes take more readily to mutual aid than do the upper social classes.
- F. Under what circumstances is voluntary coöperation replaced by compulsory coöperation?
- G. Account for the differentiation between the governing class and the rest of society.

Challenges

164. Explain why, in general, men succeed better in coöperating with other men than their wives in coöperating with other women.
165. Show how the coming-in of improved and costly farm machinery forces neighboring farmers to coöperate.
166. Why are Americans, in general, by no means such good coöperators as certain other peoples? See Professor Jerome Davis's *Contemporary Social Movements*, pp. 579-581, "Obstacles to Effective Coöperation in America."
167. Compare farm family with town family in the amount of coöperation called for among its members. See Sorokin and Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, pp. 339-352.
168. If most of the things once done by voluntary coöperation come to be looked after by the organized community or by the State, our chief duty being to pay taxes, what is going to socialize us in the future?
169. Does not the enfranchisement of women reintroduce the old dangerous distinction between the fighting and the non-fighting citizenry?
170. When for generations there has been a path of escape (free education and maintenance) into the intellectual occupations for every bright son or daughter of farmers or workingmen, will the classes working with their hands enjoy *more* social consideration than they do now, or *less*?

CHAPTER XXIV

THE ORGANIZATION OF EFFORT

Tests

- A. Show how the nature of its task determines the character of an organization.
- B. Show that the military type of organization has been taken into fields where it does not suit.
- C. Show how the character of the organized determines the character of an organization.
- D. How are volunteer workers disciplined?
- E. Show the significance of the spacing between the organized.
- F. What are the benefits of organization?
- G. What are the wastes of organization?
- H. What are the abuses of organization?
- I. How may freedom be preserved under organization?

Challenges

171. Can routine workers in the cities stand the strait-laced Sabbaths which their farming ancestors endured? Why or why not?
172. Do you think fondness for "camping out" for a spell each summer is likely to become more prevalent? Why?

173. What was wrong with the idea so much in vogue here about 1900 that a successful business man ought to make an ideal university president?
174. A newly appointed Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York found that the service at Ellis Island, which comprised 1,500 persons, was organized on the military plan, *i.e.*, orders and reports. Promptly he had the fifteen heads of departments lunch with him every Thursday; after lunch some one aspect of the service was taken up from the viewpoint of "How can it be improved?" Any one present could make criticisms or suggestions, but the Commissioner still retained his right to decide. What would be the advantages of such conferences?
175. What are the "outside forces" (p. 232) which "keep an organization in proper relation to its work and to other interests in society"?
176. What might be urged against the position taken in paragraph 3, page 233?
177. What might be urged against the view presented in the second paragraph under "centralization"?

CHAPTER XXV

ORGANIZATION IN MIND

Tests

- A. Show that, the more essential an organization is to its members, the more they will submit to control by the few.
- B. Show that the young society will be ostentatiously "democratic."
- C. Show that majority rule is more natural in temporary than in perpetual associations.
- D. Show that custody of a sacred lore concentrates control.
- E. Why does the fighting group centralize decision?
- F. Show that languages, proverbs, riddles, myths, and ballads are of collective origin.
- G. Why is there no longer any folk product?
- H. Why has formal disputation fallen into disrepute?
 - I. Why are parliamentary debates less influential than formerly?
 - J. What was the origin of Plato's Academy?

Challenges

178. Comment upon the syndicalist theory that in a meeting of strikers voting should be not by ballot but by acclamation, the idea being to draw out an expression of the collective will with more "bang" and enthusiasm in it than balloting could give.
179. What considerations caused the party nominating convention to be discarded in favor of the direct primary?
180. A writer on political science says that a study of the interaction between individual and crowd is the basis of politics and that "the will of nations or

states is the sum of individual wills fashioned in accordance with crowd psychology." Show that as a rule this is untrue.

181. When at a Royal Society Dinner it was suggested to Huxley, the great biologist, that he should stand for Parliament, he replied: "All my life I have been consumed by a passion for the discovery of truth, and not for its obscurity; hence I have never had any ambition to enter on a political career."

Do you think that here to-day following a political career involves insincerity? Reasons.

182. What are the good points (and bad points if any) of the "open forums" which have been spreading over the country?
183. Should cities be governed by commissions of experts, provided always that any commissioner is subject to recall at any time by the voters?
184. Would you want the State to be governed by such a commission? Reasons.
185. In what ways is Science democratic? In what ways is it undemocratic?
186. Is Religion as much addressed to the expert as Science is? How does it compare in this respect with the Drama? with Art?

CHAPTER XXVI

STRATIFIED SOCIETY

Tests

- A. Show the pyramidal structure of the later Roman Empire.
- B. What legal restrictions prevented the free circulation of individuals among the different callings and grades of life?
- C. How did the members of the senatorial aristocracy regard the classes below them? How did they feel about the future of society?
- D. What are some of the disabilities of the "untouchables" in India?
- E. What traces of stratification are to be found in an Iowa community?
- F. Show how far society in the Deep South has been stratified on a race basis.
- G. Why does the genesis of caste present a "problem"?

Challenges

187. Have you ever found looking down on some people from a coign of vantage a pleasurable experience?
188. In a stratified society what type of individual is content to give up all chance of pushing anybody above him "off his perch" on condition that nobody below has any chance of pushing *him* off *his* perch?
189. Account for the fact that often the lower strata in a caste society are not deeply and actively resentful of their lot in life.
190. How meet the argument that a highly competitive society is not so favorable to happiness as a stratified society because satisfaction from the opportunity to rise is more than offset by incessant struggles either to get still higher, or else to maintain one's social position against new competitors?

191. So saintly a man as Mahatma Gandhi, the great Indian leader, who "considers untouchability a heinous crime against humanity," opposes, nevertheless, any attempt to destroy the caste system. "Interdrinking, interdining, intermarriage, I hold, are not essential for the promotion of the spirit of democracy. I do not contemplate under a most democratic constitution a universality of manners and customs about eating, drinking and marrying. . . . I decline to consider it a sin for man not to drink or eat with any and everybody." This position might be (1) a rationalization of the customs he had been reared in; (2) a concession to the religious prejudices of millions of his followers; or (3) the outcome of a sound social philosophy. Which do you think it is?

CHAPTER XXVII

THE RISE OF GROSS INEQUALITIES

Tests

- A. Under what conditions are persons and sexes rated from the point of view of fighting capacity?
- B. Show how *booty* may give a class its start.
- C. Describe how first-comers may exalt themselves above later-comers.
- D. Cite cases of grants of land becoming a foundation for enduring inequality.
- E. How were the public lands of Spanish America and Australia alienated?
- F. How did land-hogging go on in the English colonies in America?
- G. How does monarchy create privileged orders?
- H. What institutions and laws serve as props to support a social hierarchy?
- I. Bring out the great difference between *static* times and *dynamic* times in their influence upon fixity of social position.
- J. How do fortunes of disreputable origin become legitimated?

Challenges

192. If the American Revolution had never taken place, would our public domain have been disposed of as democratically as it was? But for American example, is it likely that Canada would have handled her public domain any better than Australia handled hers?
193. React to the suggestion that the real motive for the huge propaganda against public ownership of public utilities is to keep one more sea open to financial buccaneers.
194. What precisely is the issue between conservationists and exploiters in respect to water-power?
195. What grounds are there for doubting whether large blocks of agricultural land will ever again constitute the economic basis of a dominant social class?
196. Show that a highly dynamic time (like ours) is favorable to popular toleration of large fortunes.
197. Oppression of workers by great employers may be prevented (a) by strong unions, (b) by laws and state regulation, (c) by the development of con-

science and sense of responsibility in the employers. Compare these methods in value.

198. Should high school texts in American history include an authentic account of the crimes, frauds, corruptions, and treacheries which have so much contributed to produce the present astounding concentration of ownership of wealth in the United States?

CHAPTER XXVIII

GRADATION

Tests

- A. Why has fighting almost always been an "honorific" employment?
- B. Account for the prevailing high status of the clergyman.
- C. What is the root of the disdain usually felt for manual labor?
- D. Why has wealth inherited been more honorific than wealth personally acquired?
- E. Why is ceremonial cleanness associated with social superiority?
- F. Is good breeding cause or badge of social superiority?
- G. What will be the characteristics of a purely ornamental culture?
- H. What are the results of long-established gradation?

Challenges

- 199. Look over *Vogue* or *The Delineator* and note advertisements which encourage snobbishness.
- 200. What is the effect on snobbishness of (1) the tooth-brush drill in elementary schools? (2) the private fitting school? (3) the custom of manicuring? (4) cooking classes for school girls? (5) Ingersoll watches? (6) the parlor-car? (7) the dancing academy? (8) the vacuum cleaner? (9) the cafeteria? (10) the college fraternity?
- 201. Outline a school program designed to rid children's minds of the stigma on manual labor.
- 202. What are the factors which fix the initial social rating of the first entrants into a new occupation, e.g., social workers or county agricultural agents?
- 203. A trade-union official, in a conference on curricula for continuation schools, said heatedly to the "genteel" members of the committee who were advocating the type of training they thought adapted to the needs of the working class, "We don't want our children taught trades. They can learn these on the job. We want them to learn to see what you see in a museum, and to enjoy a symphony concert, and to like to read books the way you do."
What do you think of his contention?
- 204. In Shakespeare's play, *King Lear* and his daughters have an argument as to what is enough. His idea of enough is having a hundred knights to wait upon him. His eldest daughter thinks that fifty would be enough. Her sister does not see what he wants with any knights at all when her servants can do for him all he needs. Lear retorts that if she cuts life down to what can-

not be done without, she had better throw away her fine clothes, as she would be warmer in a blanket.

Show that two quite distinct forces—culture and snobbery—keep raising our standards as to what is enough.

205. In order to keep one's name among the 6,000 in the Social Register of Chicago, one must not be "employed." Besides living within certain blocks and being "well-groomed," "personal cards and notepaper, invitations are matters which demand absolute conformity to the approved styles. . . . It is unsafe to carry a package or an umbrella. . . . Apologies, handshaking, introductions, should be used with great caution. . . . The manner habitual must be self-possessed; there must be an air of well-being and success. Graciousness in readily adjusted degrees, which at one degree warms and at another cools the recipient is indispensable. An air of complete self-confidence, of easy assurance, with an occasional glint of *hauteur*, is requisite to social success."—H. M. Zorbaugh.

What is the philosophy underlying these requirements?

CHAPTER XXIX

SEGREGATION AND SUBORDINATION

Tests

- A. Why is difference of occupation or wealth replaced by birth as basis for inequality in social status?
- B. Show that the presence of inferiors taints the air unless they are engaged in rendering service.
- C. How does the hereditary economic dependence of one class upon another arise?
- D. What happens to the inferiors when the social superiors "run" government?
- E. What was the status of the precarists in later Roman society?
- F. Describe the status of the peon.
- G. Show the close connection between subordination and fixity.
- H. What are the traits of character of hereditary dependents?
 - I. Why does a closed upper class always degenerate?
 - J. How do degenerating aristocrats keep up the illusion of superiority?

Challenges

206. Is the principle of caste gaining in American society? Give evidence.
207. What are the beneficial functions of social inequality and what are the limits within which it should be confined?
208. When a European works manager beckons to a laborer, the man is likely to come running. What has prevented such a subserviency developing here—economic conditions or the democratic spirit?
209. Discuss the comparative power and security of an upper class (1) under a caste system, (2) under a system of open classes. See C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 233–240.

210. Consider whether such class organization as we have in our society affirms or denies the dictum of Thoreau, "A man is rich in proportion to the number of things which he can afford to let alone."
211. In feudal Japan, "A farmer with a property assessed at 20 *koku* (of rice) was not allowed to build a house more than 36 feet long or to use in building it such superior qualities of wood as *keyaki* or *hinoki*. The roof of his house was to be made of bamboo-thatch or straw; and he was strictly forbidden the comfort of floor-mats. On the occasion of the wedding of his daughter he was forbidden to have fish or any roasted food served at the wedding-feast. The women of his family were not allowed to wear leather sandals; they might wear only straw sandals or wooden clogs; and the thongs of the sandals or the clogs were to be made of cotton. The women were further forbidden to wear hair-bindings of silk or hair-ornaments of tortoise-shells; but they might wear wooden combs and the combs of bone—not ivory."—L. Hearn, *Japan: An Interpretation*, p. 182.

What, probably, was the motive for such sumptuary laws?

212. Declared the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations in 1914:
- "1. The conditions existing in typical industrial communities which are either wholly or in large part owned or controlled by a single corporation or individual employer, present every aspect of a state of feudalism except the recognition of specific duties on the part of the employer. The employees in such communities are dependent on a single corporation, or employer, for their livelihood. Furthermore, the employer in many cases controls the social and political life of such communities, either by the complete absorption of local political powers or by domination of the local authorities.
 - "2. The fundamental rights of citizens in such communities are, as a general rule, seriously abridged if not actually denied. Among the rights most seriously violated are the right of free speech and assemblage and the right of public highways. . . .
 - "3. Such feudalistic conditions tend to develop principally in connection with the private exploitation of natural resources, being most frequently found in mining camps, lumber camps (including turpentine camps) and large plantations. There are, however, striking examples even in the case of manufactures, as, for example, the textile towns and steel towns."

Try to find out whether such industrial feudalism is waxing or waning in this country and why.

213. Says L. T. Hobhouse (under "Aristocracy" in Volume II of the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*): "The note of aristocratic manners is a security in the inner and outer life which is too deep and untroubled to be called a conscious assurance. A certain code is inbred from birth and as a matter of course governs each man's own actions and those of his kind. He is aware of a coarser kind, but it serves only as a foil to teach him what to avoid. He knows without formulating it what he has to do, and that is what he will do and what all his peers will do, and it includes the knowledge of dealing with those whose code is different. Moreover he is born free

from worry about material necessities, with the sense that he has enough and needs no more. Men outside his class are appointed to serve him, and this too he takes for granted. This last point is the element in that repose stamping the caste of Vere de Vere which galls the outsider. It is the basis of the quiet voice, and even tones and easy manner which carry so much further than passion, vehemence, and shouting."

What is the "note" of plutocratic manners? of democratic manners?

CHAPTER XXX

EQUALIZATION OF OPPORTUNITY

Tests

- A. Show that the privileged are rarely the "best" people.
- B. Why is it *the middle class* that leads the fight on privilege?
- C. Show that every enlargement of personal freedom has been resisted as a blow aimed at the foundations of society.
- D. Interpret and justify the phrase, "Men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights."
- E. How do the superior defeat organization of the inferior when it is no longer possible to deny them the right to organize?
- F. How does the diffusion of leisure add to the political and social weight of the laboring class?
- G. Show that free tuition does not suffice to diffuse educational opportunity.
- H. What may the State do to encourage the formation of little properties?

Challenges

214. "Walk from the people," runs a French proverb, "and you walk into night." What truth do you see behind it?
215. Declares a British Labor Manifesto: "Not only must we assure to all workers an income on which a reasonable life can be led; we must also create conditions in which work ceases to be mere drudgery under a ruling class, whether of bureaucrats or of capitalists . . . the demand of the British democracy is that the mass shall be partners instead of servants, even though as partners their material condition is not better than it would be as servants."

Which of the above two demands is likely to meet with more strenuous resistance and give rise to sharper conflicts?

216. Would it be well to make the privilege of inheriting property depend upon *ability*, as ascertained by mental measurement, *i.e.*, to let the capables inherit as now, but restrict the fools to merely enough to live on?
217. Is there any difference between the "open shop" policy and an anti-labor-union policy?
218. What might we do to hinder the growth of agricultural landlordism?
219. Should public money be loaned to superior but moneyless high school graduates to enable them to take a university course?

220. Which of the following are anti-class and which are merely ameliorative?
 (1) State grain elevators, (2) public dispensaries, (3) the farm loan board,
 (4) day nurseries, (5) mothers' pensions, (6) county agricultural agents,
 (7) consolidated rural schools, (8) municipal band concerts, (9) university
 extension, (10) asylums for the feeble-minded.
221. The following taken from adjoining pages of *Punch* advertise respectively
 an English and an American car of well-known make.
- (1) The English car. "There are men and women whose cultivated tastes
 admit of no pretense or insincerity; whose trained minds judge values
 fairly; who demand, simply and decisively, the best. They may be
 few, but it is for them that the _____ is built."
- (2) The American car. "Constantly striving for the goal of perfection, never
 resting on past laurels, _____ again forges ahead. The spirit
 which led to the introduction of the first Twin Six in 1915 and the
 Eight-in-line Motor in 1923 moves on to greater achievement. In the
 two new eights which have just been introduced, _____ pre-
 sents to the public the concrete result of thirty years of manufacturing
 fine motor cars. Your inspection of the new models is invited."

What significant contrast do you notice in the sales-objectives of the two
 appeals?

CHAPTER XXXI

THE SOCIAL CIRCULATION OF INDIVIDUALS

Tests

- A. Show that migrancy has greatly increased.
- B. Give evidence of an accelerated circulation of ideas.
- C. What are the factors of the growing horizontal mobility?
- D. Distinguish between *horizontal* mobility and *vertical* mobility.
- E. What are the great channels of vertical ascent?
- F. Show that increase of mobility needs not lead to greater equality.
- G. In what way does mobility tend to produce versatility? breadth?
- H. Why is a mobile society likely to be free from acute discontent and the spirit
 of revolt?

Challenges

222. Said Thomas Wentworth Higginson: "Nothing works better in America
 than the promptness with which the degenerate scions of honored parents
 are dropped out of sight."
 Is this "promptness" growing or diminishing?
223. Show that high social mobility is unfavorable to depth and thoroughness and
 tends to beget superficiality.
224. Are abrupt and frequent changes of fashion favorable or unfavorable to
 vertical mobility among women?

225. "It is a great advantage," wrote Pascal in seventeenth-century France, "to be a man of quality, since it brings one man as forward at eighteen or twenty as another man would be at fifty, which is a clear gain of thirty years." Is, then, a society without privilege tardy in recognizing and utilizing youthful genius?
226. From the British *Dictionary of National Biography* it appears that from the earliest times to 1800 the sons of craftsmen, artisans, and unskilled laborers furnished nearly 12 per cent of Britain's eminent men. These same classes during the next quarter of a century furnished just over 7 per cent; and, during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, barely more than 4 per cent of Great Britain's eminent men were born from the working classes. How would you account for this fall?
227. Frederick A. Woods finds that in seventeenth-century New England the very richest man was not more than fifty times as rich as the average. By 1750 he was 300 times as rich; by 1850 he was 600 times as rich. "If we consider the United States as a whole, the very richest men today, those that are worth \$100,000,000 or more, are certainly as much as 10,000 to 100,000 times as rich as the average. . . . There has been in America a process of conification. The average wealth has risen somewhat, but the point of the cone has risen faster than the mass."
- Do such extreme results of past vertical mobility tend to lessen vertical mobility in the future?

CHAPTER XXXII

SOCIALIZATION

Tests

- A. What is socialization?
- B. What lies back of the bond of community of birthplace?
- C. Show that intense common emotional experiences socialize people with respect to one another.
- D. Why is feasting together a socializing experience?
- E. How is the spirit of loyalty generated in boys' gangs?
- F. Show how the permanent owned home supports family feeling.
- G. Why does playing together socialize the players?
- H. What kinds of plays socialize best the players?
 - I. Who coined the phrase "consciousness of kind," and what does it mean?
 - J. Prove that collision of interest desocializes.
- K. What forms may the expanded self assume?
- L. What are the chief obstacles to socialization?

Challenges

228. Discuss Professor H. Münsterberg's idea that a moderate drinking of alcoholic beverages on convivial occasions, by loosening temporarily the in-

- hibitions which rule our daily lives, releases the innate social self and thus promotes good fellowship.
229. What from your own experience confirms the proposition, "Sport is a socializer"?
 230. How does a "good mixer" use touch as a means of evoking friendliness?
 231. Compare baseball with schooling as a means of Americanizing the Porto Ricans.
 232. In the coming together of neighborhood people at a social center which will contribute more to produce "we-feeling"—the discovery of unnoticed resemblances or the discovery of new common interests?
 233. Should the parent strive to attach his child from its early years to his religion, or should he allow the child later on to face the religious problem independently and to choose in freedom?
 234. There are two rival theories as to the genesis of civic spirit in a city: (1) that it develops in proportion to the common *possessions* of the citizens, *e.g.*, parks, playgrounds, schools, filtration plant, lighting plant, bacteriological laboratory, and bathing beaches; (2) that it develops in proportion to the common *efforts* of the citizens, *e.g.*, to win the State capital, overthrow boodlers, or down malaria. Give your view and reasons therefor.

CHAPTER XXXIII

ESTRANGEMENT

Tests

- A. What are the concrete manifestations of family disorganization?
- B. What influences and developments split the community?
- C. What was thrusting apart North and South during the half-century before the Civil War?
- D. How do discordant types develop in society?
- E. Show how estrangement may occur in consequence of unequal appropriation of culture.
- F. How can the economic oppositions developing in society be overcome?
- G. Show that laws and policies have to be differentiated in order to take care of differentiated interests.
- H. How can the granting of "home rule" tend toward social peace?
- I. Why is it unwise to protect like-mindedness by barring foreign intercourse?

Challenges

235. Have you anything from your own experience or observation throwing light on the causes of community discord?
236. What influences have you noticed which thrust apart parents and adolescent children?
237. What influences are pushing city and country apart? What influences are pulling them together?

238. Why is religion today less separative than it was in our colonial period? Are people's feelings about religion less intense? or have they arrived at a different idea of it?
239. What might be done by a competent mayor or governor to prevent the development of trouble between whites and Negroes, *i.e.*, "race riots" and "race wars"?
240. Show the value of the institutions of free speech, free press, and free assemblage in hindering estrangement.

CHAPTER XXXIV

SOCIAL CONTROL

Tests

- A. Show how the development of capital necessitates a firmer social control.
- B. Why does strong government develop in a mining state?
- C. What is extending social control?
- D. What are the motives behind social control?
- E. Name the elements in society from which social control radiates.
- F. What are the least costly and galling means of social control?
- G. Why should government abstain from trying to mould opinion about itself or its functions?
- H. How may the School be made independent of the State?
- I. Show how class control masquerades as social control.

Challenges

241. Discriminate between *socialization* and *social control*.
242. Can a dairyman who will slyly put water into the milk he sells contribute to the general feeling that the "watering" of public utility securities is wrong?
243. If the wronged man ought to forgive the wrong-doer "seventy times seven" times, ought the wronged society to do the same? If not, why not?
244. Ought the good citizen to obey what he deems a bad law (*e.g.*, the fugitive slave law) even while he condemns and protests against it? How about obeying a "gag law" which cripples his power to protest against bad laws? How about obeying a muzzling police order which, if tested in the courts, may turn out to be unconstitutional?
245. What are outstanding traits of "the good sportsman" ideal?
246. Show why "more quickly than public opinion or religion law can be twisted to suit the designs of a dominant social class."
247. What anti-crime policy promises the most results for next year? for the next decade? for the next generation? for the next century?
248. Should the high school teacher of history, civics, or economics be free to use his own judgment as to choice of text and method of presenting the subject? Or should these matters be settled for him, by higher educational

authorities? If the latter, should it be the local board of education or a State authority?

CHAPTER XXXV

ANTICIPATION

Tests

- A. State the principle of anticipation.
- B. Illustrate it in the treatment of crime.
- C. How does taxation differ from pillage?
- D. Illustrate the proposition: "In time everything dishonest is discounted."
- E. Show how charitable relief will be anticipated.
- F. Why do conservative professors insist upon academic freedom for their radical colleagues?
- G. What is the great objection to heresy-hunting?
- H. How can we make sure that our charity and mercy will not be abused?
- I. Contrast charity and social reform.

Challenges

- 249. Under what circumstances will pardon not encourage a repetition of the offense?
- 250. Why did the adoption of scientific principles of taxation begin long before the people came into the control of government?
- 251. Should the indemnity received by a man crippled in an industrial accident be diminished to the extent that the man by acquiring skill in another occupation recovers earning power?
- 252. Discuss the problem raised as to old-age pensions.
- 253. Discuss Malthus's contention that dependence ought to be held disgraceful.
- 254. Show that the wise social policy is: Privacy for every benefit that is *relief*, publicity for every benefit that is *reward*.
- 255. Why is there less danger in the free dispensing of medicine to the sick than of food to the hungry?
- 256. Why do free meals and shelter pauperize, but not free libraries and swimming pools?

CHAPTER XXXVI

INDIVIDUALIZATION

Tests

- A. Show that the factory locksteps its workers.
- B. Compare as to strain *collective* labor with *go-as-you-please* labor.

- C. What justification is there for the phrase *the army machine*?
- D. What machine-like features can be noted in the educational system?
- E. In what respects has the penal system been heedless of essential individual differences?
- F. How can you individualize education?
- G. What should be done in order to individualize criminal justice?
- H. Show how we can individualize government.

Challenges

- 257. Discuss the prospect of go-as-you-please labor ever recurring in industry.
- 258. What sins of lumping have you seen committed by teachers and educators?
- 259. What might be done to individualize the bestowal of primary political power, *i.e.*, the suffrage?
- 260. If of the varieties of Christianity in this country we might keep *five*, which five would you consider most worth while in respect to satisfying the chief types of intelligence and temperament in the population?
- 261. A Pullman porter G was arrested on the charge of stealing a pocket-book, but the charge was not substantiated. Thereupon he brought suit against B who had caused his arrest and obtained a verdict for \$2,500 in damages. The Supreme Court of New York reduced the damages from \$2,500 to \$300. Upon an appeal by G the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court sustained the order reducing the damages. The following is a part of the opinion of Judge D, whose order was sustained: "You cannot say that G is just the same as a white man when you come to say how much his name will suffer. He might suffer more. But, after all, what are the probabilities about it? Is it likely that when a colored man is arrested and imprisoned he feels just as much shame as a white man of any circumstance might?" Is this offensive "lumping" or "reasonable generalization"?
- 262. What sins of needless lumping have you observed in the attitudes of churches and clergymen?

CHAPTER XXXVII

SOCIETY AND THE OCCUPATIONS

Tests

- A. Contrast *private* with *social* viewpoint as to occupations.
- B. Why would it be folly to allow occupations to assume whatever character they tend to under the forces of supply and demand?
- C. Show how plastic is the social rating of the occupations.
- D. Account for occupational pride.
- E. Show how one may be warped by his occupation.
- F. What is the best safeguard against becoming biased in this way?
- G. Show the folly by applying business standards of success in situations which they do not fit.

Challenges

263. Why is it a part of the sociologist's job to analyze the various occupations and rate them from the social-welfare point of view?
264. List in order of importance seven features of an occupation which have most to do with its rating by the public.
265. "If it were desired," say Dostoevsky in *The House of the Dead*, "to reduce a man to nothing—to punish him atrociously, to crush him in such a manner that the most hardened murderer would tremble before such punishment—it would be necessary only to give his work a character of complete uselessness," *e.g.*, pouring water from one vessel into another or carrying earth from one place to another and back again.

What is the psychology back of this trait?

266. "There is no other service in all the world," said a Chicago mail-carrier at the end of his forty-fourth year of work, "which gives a man such a spiritual gratification as mine has given me."

How would you explain his coming to feel thus about his work?

CHAPTER XXXVIII

COMMERCIALIZATION

Tests

- A. What higher motives may inspire one's vocational activity?
- B. Set forth the effects of the relations between producer and consumer becoming less direct.
- C. What results from capital becoming more important in the practice of an art or a profession?
- D. Account for the commercialization of the newspaper.
- E. Account for the commercialization of amusement.
- F. What is meant by the "corporation collar"?
- G. How has mating been decommercialized? religion? government?

Challenges

267. How do you account for the fact that with us, more than with most peoples, what is generally meant by "opportunity" is *freedom to make money*?
268. Compare the tone of the ordinary "business college" with that of the commercial department of a public high school. How account for this difference?
269. Why is it that the communal provision of means of recreation gives far better results than the regulation of commercial recreation?
270. Why do the authorities recommend barring from intercollegiate athletic contests any student who has ever taken money for playing?
271. Why do the best physicians try to stamp out the practice of "fee-splitting," *i.e.*, the specialist sharing his fee with the doctor who sent him the case?
272. What are the objections to the State leasing the labor-power of its convicts?

to a commercial company which will board the convicts and pay the State a profit besides?

273. The clergyman has no income but the fees for his sacerdotal service. What is the effect of this on his interpretation of religion?
274. What is the significance of the hymn, "I'm glad salvation's free"?

CHAPTER XXXIX

PROFESSIONALIZATION

Tests

- A. What kinds of occupations need to be professionalized?
- B. Illustrate *formal* recognition of a calling.
- C. Illustrate *social* recognition of a calling.
- D. Describe the professional spirit.
- E. Show the anti-social character of certain canons of the medical profession; of the legal profession.
- F. What will happen if the unworthy are not expelled from a profession?
- G. How may the professions be purified?
- H. Set forth the limits to the extension of the professional spirit.

Challenges

- 275. Why is it held "unprofessional" to query the abilities of a fellow-professional to a possible client?
- 276. How can we lessen the freemasonry which causes judges to allow exorbitant fees to lawyers looking after the estates of decedents?
- 277. What would have to be done in order to professionalize in your State the occupation of soliciting insurance?
- 278. Some branches of trade have been dealing with the public for centuries. Why is it that only in recent decades have they become conscious enough of their obligations to their patrons to organize and formulate an ethical code?
- 279. Give pros and cons of maintaining a State police to enforce anti-liquor and anti-gambling laws, rather than relying on local elective sheriffs.
- 280. What is the "professional manner"? Show how it becomes an obstacle to dealing helpfully with dependents.
- 281. Will the time come when plasterers and nurserymen and motormen will have been systematically trained at the expense of the public? Reasons.

CHAPTER XL

OSSIFICATION

Tests

- A. What is ossification?
- B. How does mental laziness make for ossification?

- C. Show that the long-established becomes a fetish.
- D. Show how worthy private interests block advance.
- E. Illustrate how the self-interest of the dominant class may stand in the way of needed change.
- F. Compare the chief social elements in their attitude toward change.
- G. If religion should govern individuals, why shouldn't it govern institutions?
- H. What does freedom of inquiry imply?
- I. How may methods of exact measurement aid society's self-criticism?

Challenges

- 282. Why do college traditions become fixed in a much briefer time than those of the world outside?
- 283. Are unconventional literary and artistic Bohemias (*e.g.*, Greenwich Village) harmful or beneficial to society?
- 284. It is said that no Charleston (South Carolina) family has been admitted to the highest circle of Charleston society since 1824. React to this.
- 285. What is the motive of the suggestion that the decisions of courts of equity be not published?
- 286. Why are we better off with a Common Law than we should be if our law were based on the Bible?
- 287. Shall we some day have religious surveys, morals surveys, and family-life surveys of communities, as now we have health surveys and school surveys?

CHAPTER XLI

DECADENCE

Tests

- A. What is the concept of social decadence?
- B. What evidence of adverse climatic change can be cited?
- C. How does reckless tree-cutting lead to economic decline?
- D. Show how the soil may lose its valuable properties.
- E. What trends result in deterioration of the racial basis of society?
- F. Illustrate the demoralization from shift of cultures.
- G. What damage may be done by sacrifice of future to present?
- H. Show how the *élite* are frustrated.
- I. Show how the rise of caste and privilege results in decadence.
- J. Illustrate decadence of a social culture.

Challenges

- 288. What do you consider the gravest symptom presented by American society?
- 289. Do you notice signs that more of us are becoming luxury-loving and soft?
- 290. Is there evidence that the crowd spirit is gaining on the sense of individual responsibility?
- 291. In your part of the country is community sentiment—as against egoism,

- familyism, churchism, lodgism—growing or declining? What appear to be the causes?
292. Set forth the conditions most favorable to providing society with an adequate supply of competent leaders.
293. From the point of view of checking the growth of caste, which is more essential—the diffusion of educational opportunity or the heavy taxation of large inheritances?
294. Which of the following opinions do you consider decadent, *i.e.*, injurious to society itself rather than to certain reigning dogmas? Why?
- (1) Children hinder a woman's self-development.
 - (2) Art is for art's sake.
 - (3) Economic changes furnish the key to social history.
 - (4) Life is not worth living.
 - (5) The truth of a statement depends upon whether you can safely act on it [Pragmatism].
 - (6) Marriage is a failure.
 - (7) The practice of religion is a form of fire insurance.
 - (8) Worldly success is a matter of "pull."

CHAPTER XLII

TRANSFORMATION

Tests

- A. Set forth what *static-dynamic* processes are and how they modify society.
- B. Give illustrations of *transmutations*.
- C. Draw a distinction between *social evolution* and *social growth*.
- D. Show how growth of population causes changes in society.
- E. Show how the accumulation of wealth brings about social change.
- F. Give cases of a society being thrown out of its groove in consequence of being acted upon by other societies.
- G. Explain what is meant by "cross-fertilization of cultures."
- H. Cite social changes brought about by the innovating individual.
- I. Account for the transformations of our time.

Challenges

295. What social changes going on in this country are attributable chiefly to the increase of population?
296. Name four mechanical inventions of the last fifty years which have had important social effects, and point out these effects.
297. Name four others equally important in their economic effects but relatively unimportant in their social effects.
298. Show in what ways scientific advertising is a factor of social change.
299. Show in what ways the radio is a factor of social change.

300. What are the social consequences of the easier access of women to the industries and professions?
301. Is the average American intellect more dynamic or less dynamic now than it was a century ago? Reasons.
302. What unwilling factors of change are likely to dominate the near future of American society?

CHAPTER XLIII

RECONSTRUCTION

Tests

- A. Show that an understanding of the causes of social phenomena is bound to beget attempts to modify them.
- B. Was *laissez-faire* a slogan invented by spokesmen of the capitalist class for its benefit?
- C. What are the chief successes to be credited to the interventionist policy?
- D. What changes have recently been brought about authoritatively in Turkey?
- E. State five canons of social reconstruction.
- F. Why should every social reform be the outcome of a social movement?

Challenges

303. What may a society consciously do in order to prevent the race intellect from becoming arrested and unfruitful under the spell of admiration for past achievement and past success?
304. Can you cite any reforms urged nowadays which run counter to human nature?
305. Are society's interferences (by public opinion or by laws) with human matings, child production, and child rearing likely to multiply? Reasons.
306. Would you agree with John Morley when he says: "The world only grows better, even in the moderate degree in which it does grow better, because people wish that it should and take the right steps to make it better"? Reasons.
307. Should two world wars, with a peace interval of but twenty-two years, beget despair as to the near future of mankind? If not, why not?

CHAPTER XLIV

REVOLUTION

Tests

- A. What is a revolution?
- B. Out of what sort of situation is a revolution engendered?

- C. Why cannot a social explosion be brought on by persistent seditious agitation and propaganda?
- D. What is meant by "transfer of the allegiance of the intellectuals"?
- E. Illustrate "the social myth."
- F. Why do revolutions usually cost more than their leaders expected them to cost?
- G. What does a revolution consist in?
- H. How can a society insure itself against revolution?

Challenges

- 308. What is the objection to omitting the word *abrupt* in the definition of revolution on page 404 of the text?
- 309. Does the quick and easy circulation of individuals from one social level to another (pp. 292-296) afford security against social explosions?
- 310. Writes Lenin: "The fundamental law of revolution, confirmed by every revolution, and particularly by the three Russian revolutions of the 20th century, is as follows: It is not sufficient for the revolution that the exploited and oppressed masses understand the impossibility of living in the old way and demand changes; for the revolution it is necessary that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule as of old. Only when the masses do not want the old régime, and when the rulers are *unable to govern them as of old*, only then can the revolution succeed. This truth may be expressed in other words, *Revolution is impossible without an all-national crisis* affecting both the exploiters and the exploited."

Look into the conditions in France prior to the Revolution of 1789 and see whether they fit into this formula.

- 311. Report on the sequence of the changes in behavior during revolution as brought out in Chapter III of P. Sorokin's *The Sociology of Revolution*.
- 312. Should an alien have all the rights to discuss public questions before an audience and criticize our government that are enjoyed by an American citizen?
- 313. Can membership in a party on the official ballot properly be made a basis for the charge of "advocating the overthrow of government by force and violence"?
- 314. Is a malcontent morally estopped from advocating revolutionary action against a government based upon universal suffrage which consistently respects the rights of free assemblage, speech, and press?

CHAPTER XLV

CULTURE PLANES

Tests

- A. Show how the homogenizing forces have triumphed in the historical period.
- B. Show the extension of planes of uniformity.
- C. Show how the diffusion of a higher culture is associated with the out-reach of empire.

- D. What kinds of superior elements of culture need to be pushed?
- E. Does the extension of culture planes interfere with the growth of individuality?

Challenges

- 315. How is air navigation likely to affect the sharpness of nationality consciousness? the relations of classes? the relations of religions and cultures?
- 316. Will it increase or diminish the likelihood of war?
- 317. Will the building up of ever-wider cultural uniformities be checked eventually by enduring differences in the reactions and aptitudes of races?
- 318. As the spatial barriers to human intercourse become negligible, what surviving barrier becomes more and more conspicuous?
- 319. What is tending to weaken the sentiment and consciousness of nationality? What is tending to strengthen them?
- 320. Explain why ordinary unthinking Americans who would cheerfully vote a billion dollars to "clean up" Mexico by military force would be shocked at the proposal to "clean up" Mexico by dedicating a tenth of that sum to building 20,000 good school-houses there and giving a course in our universities to an equal number of Mexican youth to fit them to teach in these school-houses.

CHAPTER XLVI

STANDARDS

Tests

- A. Show how its standards give a society its character.
- B. Distinguish between "active" standards and "sleeping" standards.
- C. What taboos have been set up among us in our time?
- D. Point out taboos which are disappearing.
- E. Describe the case cited by Ogburn which shows that people will sacrifice on food in order to maintain their standards.
- F. Illustrate how peculiar standards originate in special experiences.
- G. Where in society are the springs from which standards of conduct flow out and down?
- H. Explain why standards may retain their power after they are no longer any good, even after they can be shown to be useless and burdensome.
- I. What is the good side of the break-up of moral traditions? the bad side?

Challenges

- 321. Give illustrations of workingmen or farmers being unduly influenced by standards which develop among business men.
- 322. Suggest other taboos it might be well to break down besides those mentioned on page 419.
- 323. What proposed new taboos are likely to stir up controversy in the course of the next twenty years?

324. May an individual so develop morally that in each situation he has to meet he may safely follow his conscience rather than the social standard?
325. Compare small town with big city in its demand that you conform to other people's standards.
326. Of your acquaintances which do you admire the more—the exalters of standards or the critics of standards? Why?
327. What life situations are likeliest to call forth raw unconventional human goodness? Which evoke "social-standard" goodness?
328. How can you tell the one kind of goodness from the other when you experience them?

CHAPTER XLVII

GROUPS

Tests

- A. Why are the bonds neighborhood begets coming to be weaker?
- B. Why is it that literature often upholds ideals of independence which most persons are unfitted to realize?
- C. Is occupation likely to play a larger rôle in the future in grouping people? Why?
- D. Account for the stupendous growth of fraternal orders in this country.
- E. Show that joint defense or advancement of common interests may not be so potent a determiner of men's groupings in the future as once it was.
- F. Illustrate how invention and discovery condition human grouping.
- G. Show that many groups are virtually petrifications.

Challenges

329. Are we promoting human happiness when we make it easier for one to quit the group he was born into and join other groups?
330. Show that the more security and benefits you get as a citizen the less tightly you tie yourself up with any group.
331. Would it be better if women of slender means paid no attention to the styles, but worked out certain types of costume which they liked, and stuck to them?
332. Tell why it is inevitable that each advanced people will limit immigrant streams from the less advanced peoples.
333. By what means do the Vested Interests contrive to keep control of our big national parties for so much of the time?
334. Says C. H. Cooley (*Life and the Student*, p. 47): "Loyalty and service flourish only in congenial association. We shall never have contented and efficient workers except as members of occupational groups, continuous, well-knit and responsible, such as we now have in the properly organized professions, bearers of tradition and standard, guaranties of security, self-expression and a human life."

Ponder this position critically, and state your reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with it.

CHAPTER XLVIII

INSTITUTIONS

Tests

- A. What are the elements of social institutions?
- B. What are the chief classes of institutions? Cite examples of each.
- C. Cite indications that religion is ceasing to be a social institution.
- D. Show that not all the recalcitrance against established social institutions emanates from selfish or headstrong individuals.
- E. Cite evidence that some persons outgrow their need of regulation by institutions.
- F. Show the value of a thorough exploration of the genesis and history of current social institutions.
- G. Why is it desirable that the claims and practical results of institutions should be tested?

Challenges

- 335. Says C. H. Cooley (*Life and the Student*, p. 219): "It is a chief use of social institutions to make up our minds for us, and when, in times of confusion, they fail to do this, there is more mind work than most of us are equal to."
Is this compatible with the position taken on page 440 of the text?
- 336. What are the traits of character which are likely to prevail in a time of shattering of institutions, *e.g.*, revolutionary Russia, China, Mexico?
- 337. Is it a disaster to *real* religion—which dwells only in minds and hearts—if organized society altogether ceases to back religious bodies with money and authority?
- 338. Can you name any institution so venerable or sacred that it ought to be protected from investigation and criticism even by competent persons?
- 339. Many feel that they are upholding the dignity of marriage when they thwart the desire of a mismatched couple for a divorce. Is it possible to preserve a prized institution without sacrificing the happiness of innocent individuals to it?

CHAPTER XLIX

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Tests

- A. What justifies the stereotyping of the man-woman relation by the marriage institution?

- B. Which sex is the more harmed from lack of stability in marriage? Why?
- C. Show that our seven-to-one increase in divorce in seventy years is no sure proof of moral deterioration.
- D. What does the text mean by "wrong attitude at marriage"?
- E. Show that couples who let a salvable union break up are behaving just like spendthrifts.
- F. Why should instruction on marriage and family be available to all college seniors?
- G. How do we know that the growth of divorce does not signify that marriage is losing in popularity?

Challenges

- 340. Does the equalization of the sexes in education, social position, self-respect, *etc.*, add *permanently* to the instability of marriage? Or only while the process is going on?
- 341. Ought we to try to get *all* sex intimacy into the marriage groove? Or should we be more tolerant than we are of "unconventional" sex relations? Reasons.
- 342. Which should women wise as to the true interests of their sex be for—greater authority of the marriage institution over inter-sex relations? Or less?
- 343. Do young people who from high school go on through college thereby improve their prospect of success in marriage? Reasons.
- 344. How do farm couples and city couples compare in their aversion to divorce? How would you account for the difference?
- 345. In the Orient marriages are arranged by the parents of the two parties concerned; here, by the parties themselves. What can be said for *their* practice? for *our* practice?
- 346. Between 1920 and 1930 the number of married women working outside the home increased 60 per cent, while the number of married women in our population rose only 23 per cent. Account for this.

CHAPTER L

THE TREATMENT OF MINORITIES

Tests

- A. Why does an anonymous crowd incline to persecute and torment any small minority which persists in being conspicuously different from the rest?
- B. How do they preserve their self-respect while indulging in such cruelty?
- C. What element in society is likeliest to appreciate the rôle of *culture* in making people what they are?
- D. How has the complete absence of legal discriminations against our foreign-born affected the speed of Americanization?
- E. Why is it more difficult now than ever before for a small tangent minority in our midst to encyst itself and defy assimilative influences?

- F. Show that popular tolerance is not a "volunteer" virtue, but needs to be constantly promoted by the *élite*.

Challenges

347. Show from history how the principle of toleration of deviant minorities got itself so well established in Great Britain.
348. What is the relation between toleration of the deviant and toleration of anti-social behavior? Do they tend to vary *together*? Or *in opposite directions*? Reasons.
349. React to this advice: "Pay little attention to what a small minority *believe* or *profess*, but mark the way they *behave*. If they prove good parents, good neighbors, good citizens, overlook their eccentricities of belief."
350. What do you think of the policy of grouping a lot of prevalent ideas, attitudes, and public policies into what is called "the American Way," then growling: "Anybody disposed to carp at our 'American way' will get out or shut up!"
351. Does our restricting foreign immigration on a "quota" basis indicate decline from our former high level of toleration?

CHAPTER LI

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF HEALTH AND DISEASE

Tests

- A. What is it that has dropped "the public health question" into our lap?
- B. Does the dose of compulsion in many public-health measures threaten our substantial liberties?
- C. Do energetic community measures to turn aside an epidemic weaken your will to do your utmost for your own health and that of your family?
- D. Why are we so much more open-handed in spending to ward off our country's *human* enemies than in spending to ward off its *bacterial* enemies?
- E. Why will children surely be the first element of our people to be given the benefit of "socialized medicine"?
- F. How account for the earlier arrival of community parks, bathing beaches, and schools than of community clinics and hospitals?
- G. What are the aims of the Health Education Movement?

Challenges

352. In our time will the average *family's* competency to ward off disease grow faster or less fast than the average *community's* competency to ward off disease?
353. If you regularly provide necessities of life for the hungry and cold, some of them are sure to become *pauperized*, *i.e.*, relax their efforts to feed and warm themselves. Why isn't the like true if you provide medical attention and medicine for those who are ill?

354. How would you interpret the fact that low-income families "experience twice the rate of disability through sickness that families in the higher-income group experience?" Choose among: (1) The healthier families win the higher incomes; (2) The brighter families are at once better income-winners and better illness-dodgers; (3) The doctor's services make a great difference in the amount of illness experienced.
355. Why should a socialization-of-medicine program have yoked with it, from its very start, a eugenics program?
356. Show the big practical differences between looking on good health as *inheritable* and looking upon it as *achievable*.

CHAPTER LII

COMMERCIALIZED VICE FROM THE SOCIAL VIEWPOINT

Tests

- A. What *is* vice?
- B. How did Bacchus get his start?
- C. Why does a people, in the course of centuries, become proof against the lure of alcoholic beverages? Give illustrations.
- D. Why is an alluring vice certain nowadays, if it is not interfered with, to be spread speedily and far?
- E. Why are we so much more wheedled and cajoled to-day to indulge in a vice, than was the case "in olden times"?
- F. Is there *any* traffic so base, pernicious, and soul-destroying that it will not find enterprisers, backers, and apologists, provided that it holds out the prospect of "fat profits"?
- G. Show why society may not shrug its shoulders and say of the victims of vice, "Didn't they bring their fate upon themselves?"
- H. Is it proper to use the public schools to make youth wary as to the many traps and pitfalls set for them by the banded Vice Interests?

Challenges

357. Is it reasonable for a state to say: "We do not allow the Liquor Interests to wheedle our people into drinking more than they crave to drink. We set up state dispensaries where those who wish may buy standard grades of liquor; *but they are not to be consumed on the premises and we tolerate no whiskey 'ads' in our newspapers.*" How many states now follow this policy?
358. Who brought about the failure of the policy of National Prohibition (1920-1933)—the *temperate* drinkers or the *intemperate* drinkers?
359. Man is supposed to have been here from a half to three-quarters of a million years. He had no opportunity to indulge in intoxicants until about five thousand years ago, when in a few places the wine grape began to be culti-

vated. In view of this what would you say to the contention that man's system *needs* a daily dose of alcohol?

360. How would you explain the fact that in the sixth century B.C. the Greek thinkers were denouncing the intemperate use of wine as vigorously as our greatest temperance orators ever did; whereas among the modern Greeks drink presents no problem?
361. Compare the New Testament with the Book of Proverbs in warnings against drink. How can you account for this difference?
362. Just why do friends of the social welfare frown on lotteries and like schemes for exploiting man's fondness for *taking a chance*?

CHAPTER LIII

CRIME

Tests

- A. What classes of acts come to be treated as "crimes"?
- B. How do Americans compare with other advanced peoples in crime rate?
- C. How is this broad difference to be accounted for?
- D. Show that its *volume of crime* is no true measure of a people's *willingness to transgress the law*.
- E. How much truth is there in the old saying, "Every society has the crime it deserves?"
- F. Why is it that, from time to time, new categories of acts are put under a ban and punished as crimes?
- G. Show why prisoners' aid societies deserve to be supported.

Challenges

363. How realize the praiseworthy aim, "Let crime-fighting and public opinion keep in step"?
364. Show that the wiping out of crime is, and must be, a vain dream; that the best we can hope for in the next century or two is to *hold it down*, rather than *extirpate* it.
365. React to the following proposition: "Before the seventeenth year it is practically settled whether or not one is going to take toward the *thou shalt not* which stands in one's way the attitude of the law-abider, or that of the law-breaker."
366. Outline a program for building up in children and youth an aversion to lawless short-cuts to one's goals and a readiness to obey the law just because *it is the law*.
367. Set forth the *pros* and *cons* of reliance upon punishment as the means of holding down the volume of crime.
368. What are the treatments relied upon to produce reformation of character in the modern reformatory?

CHAPTER LIV

THE WHOLESALE MANUFACTURE OF MISCONCEPTION

Tests

- A. Does the growing resort to campaigns of sly propaganda stand to the credit, or to the discredit, of the people's power over their government, *i.e.*, *political democracy*?
- B. What means did the Interests out to control politics rely on chiefly a century ago?
- C. What caused these Interests to shift to the new technique of *propaganda plus censorship*?
- D. Show the means that will be employed and the strings that will be pulled in "putting over" an elaborate, well-financed campaign of this type.
- E. What is the probable effect of such a campaign upon the integrity of newspapers?
- F. Why does broadcasting help the honest, public-spirited forces more than it facilitates crooked propaganda?
- G. Show that it is becoming *more difficult* rather than *less difficult* for selfish interests to keep the public fooled.

Challenges

369. Is there any reason to suppose that "key" persons (*i.e.*, those having large influence with the public) are more purchasable than they were (say) fifty years ago?
370. Are wealthy groups gaining in power to compass their political ends by the lavish but furtive use of money?
371. Can we be readily propagandized into something which clashes with our training, our experiences, our prejudices? Or are Propaganda's victories won in fields most of us know little about, *e.g.*, forest conservation, the "power" issue, America's adhesion to the World Court, etc.?
372. Which is the more deadly way of dealing with veiled propaganda: confuting its lies, fallacies and sophistries? Or showing just who is behind it, where the money comes from, how much there is of it, and who gets it?
373. Show that the principle of "academic freedom" is one safeguard against the snares of deceitful propaganda.

CHAPTER LV

SOCIAL SECURITY

Tests

- A. Show why security for the aged—altogether a *family* problem in the days of Benjamin Franklin—has come to be, more and more, a *social* problem.

- B. Why is "security" far more desirable than "relief"?
- C. Does the setting up of "social security" leave those charitably disposed toward the aged with nothing to do for them?
- D. What is the favorite line of argument of the opponents of "social security"?
- E. What are the "social consequences" of old-age security?
- F. To what extent has the policy of "social security" been adopted by other societies than ours?
- G. Show that such policies leave private capitalism much stronger in the face of Communist attack.

Challenges

- 374. In view of "the simple fact" pointed out by Professor Gillin, how would you reply to the charge by some orthodox economists that "social security" is economically unsound?
- 375. Weigh the likelihood of the dependent aged being disfranchised when those being taken care of by "social security" come to be numerous.
- 376. Will the bonds uniting the adult members of the family be weaker when parents no longer look to their grown children to take care of them in their declining years?
- 377. Is there anything about "social security" to hinder parents living with some of their grown children when the parties are agreeable thereto?
- 378. Should we wish to see "social security" so developed that the field for the exercise of "sweet charity" would be greatly narrowed?

CHAPTER LVI

FREEDOM

Tests

- A. Why does not society concede each member "the right to go to the devil in his own way"?
- B. Are the common man's enlargements of personal freedom chiefly "on the job" or "off the job"?
- C. Show that our growing dependence on the "boughten" instead of the "home-made" opens the door to a myriad of defraudings.
- D. Why is rejection of compulsory vaccination a piece of folly?
- E. One buys freedom to hunt for game any time one likes by finding nothing worth shooting at when one *does* hunt. Is this a good bargain?
- F. Show that in the degree that "Every man the architect of his own fortune!" is realized, the stirring-up of sedition will be difficult.
- G. What is the social philosophy of *gradualism*?
- H. Is it the strong régime or the weak régime which tolerates free criticism of the existing social order?

Challenges

379. Are sportsmen wise when as a group they consent to a "close" season of forty-eight weeks in order that hunting may be good during the four weeks of "open" season?
380. If forty-nine out of fifty sportsmen out of regard for next year's sport put back the little fishes they catch, while the one "game hog" who keeps everything is arrested and fined for having in his creel fish "under legal size," has liberty been curtailed?
381. Is the advance of scientific knowledge favorable or unfavorable to the preservation of human liberties?
382. Show that invention continually enlarges our sphere of effective liberty.
383. When is government "free"? When its prohibitions are few? Or when the citizen enjoys the right to protest and agitate against anything it does?
384. Does a "compulsory-schooling" law evince small regard for human freedom on the part of the legislature?
385. Generalizing from the tendencies in sight, would you say that the outlook for the enduring of human liberty in our society is dark or bright?

CHAPTER LVII

EQUALITY

Tests

- A. Do the children of a model, well-ordered family keep on with their family communism after they have reached maturity?
- B. Does the multiplication of communal sources of enjoyment which all may partake of freely point to a coming time when virtual economic equality will prevail?
- C. Which way has the Soviet Union been moving—toward equality of incomes or away from it? Motives?
- D. What ground have we for predicting that any system under which the more capable or diligent workers regularly get no more pay than the incompetent or negligent will be unstable?
- E. Does large-scale production tend to minimize the importance of ability differences among the workers or to maximize it? Why?
- F. How might the demand for economic equality put people-rule in peril?

Challenges

386. Show that the nearer a social order comes to realizing "equality of opportunity" the weaker will be response to the slogan "Equal pay!"
387. Why is it more essential for a social order to please the most capable fourth than to please the less capable *three* fourths?
388. Show that it is more important how the prospects a social order holds out appeal to those of age 18–35 than how they appeal to those above 45.
389. Show that the world-famous formula "From each according to his capacity,

to each according to his need" could be realized only in a far-from-satisfactory social order.

390. Is there any logical bond between the endeavor to abolish the class of private capitalists claiming a large part of the total product as "returns on investments" and the adoption of the above "formula for distributive justice"?

CHAPTER LVIII

THE ISMS AND SOCIOLOGY

Tests

- A. Show that there was bound to be valuable thinking about society before anyone imagined that there could be a "science" of society.
- B. Is a new ism thought of as a contribution to our knowledge of society or as a better course for society to sail by?
- C. Do isms prevail in every little-developed province of knowledge, or are they characteristic only of the *social* field?
- D. Why is the notion that society—like the earth's crust or man's *psyche*—admits of being methodically investigated unfavorable to the reign of a succession of isms?
- E. In the ism phase of thinking is there any recognition of the truth that social policy should be *relative* to the particular stage of development that society has reached?
- F. If at any time before the eighteenth century you had besought social planners to look ahead a couple of centuries, what reply would you have had?

Challenges

- 391. Show that penetrating analyses of society are likely to appear in a troubled time rather than in a quiet time.
- 392. Does it in any way discredit a social thinker's contribution if he projects a picture (Utopia) of how human life will go on in case his proposals are carried out?
- 393. Why has every social reformer insisted that, if his reform be adopted entire, society will at last be "on an even keel" and no subsequent crises will be encountered?
- 394. Why will no sociologist launch a prediction as to the form American society will exhibit a century hence?

CHAPTER LIX

SOCIAL EVOLUTION

Tests

- A. How does the idea that a social institution *was established* differ from the idea that it *evolved*?

- B. Cite some paths of evolution which have come to be familiar to historians.
- C. Why does a social institution so often fail to remain what it was when it was set up?
- D. Once an evolutionary trend has been shown, are we under any obligation to yield to it?
- E. Show that some sides of social life are much harder to bring under society's control than other sides. How would you account for this?
- F. Is there anything foolish in our trying to shape up a society which will go far to realize our ideals of opportunity, justice, and security?
- G. Contrast Nature's way of speeding the antelope with Man's way of speeding a strain of race horses.
- H. Why is it inevitable that, more and more, social planning will displace social evolution?

Challenges

- 395. Contrast the eugenics program with the yielding (eyes downcast and hands folded) to blind evolution!
- 396. Ought we to encourage a *reverential* attitude toward a venerable key institution which has not for centuries been reëxamined, or a *critical* attitude?
- 397. Consult the periodicals of sociology to discover what new worth-while things have been brought to light in the last year before this meets your eye.
- 398. Which is the more promising means of getting social legislation onto a scientific basis: elect social experts to the law-making body, or have the law-making body refer proposals involving social policy to a commission of social experts with power to investigate and report?

CHAPTER LX

SOCIAL PROPHECY

Tests

- A. Is ours a time which encourages social prophecy or discourages it? Why?
- B. Justify the saying: "Hindsight is a lot easier than foresight."
- C. How might it be possible for successful social prophecy to become more difficult although sociology is making great strides?
- D. Why is the sociologist loth to put much faith in a social panacea?
- E. Is the figure our society will exhibit to our grandchildren inevitable? Not in any way inevitable? Or partly the one and partly the other?
- F. Is the point which President Fosdick makes (p. 520) cheering or depressing?
- G. How much more important is it for us to be able to foresee *forty* years ahead rather than *twenty* years ahead?

Challenges

- 399. "[It] is—and will continue to be—foolish and rash for sociologists to prognosticate. . . ." Is not this wet-blanketing Sociology's legitimate aspirations?

400. *Sufficient unto the day is the good thereof.* Show that this might be a sound maxim for our society to adopt.
401. Show that in a time of fog—when long looks ahead cannot be had—the best thing to do is to keep our eye on *what sort of human beings are being turned out.*
402. *Preserve your soil: check the increasing of the unfit. Keep your culture abreast of the progress of the sciences.* Compare and contrast these prescriptions for safeguarding our twenty-first century.

CHAPTER LXI

RETROSPECTS AND PROSPECTS

Tests

- A. Show that in some respects every society *is unique.*
- B. What hinders the intelligent element in a society from moulding it altogether to their liking?
- C. Show that population pressure has been one of the underestimated shapers of social destiny.
- D. What elements among us show the deepest concern over society's future?
- E. Show that the social foundations of pessimism are in course of disappearing.
- F. Why is man's spirit less likely to be daunted by fatalism in the New Age?
- G. Mention six grounds of looking for social progress in the immediate future.

Challenges

403. Why is "dictatorship of the proletariat" a slogan more dangerous to the social peace than "people-rule"?
404. Is the gradual closing of the mind to new ideas inevitable as old age approaches?
405. Is there reason to suppose that upsetting "finds" in the fields of the sciences will be rarer in the *next* fifty years than they have been in the *last* fifty years?
406. If there is to be a succession of "World Wars" for power, what will be the effect upon the volume of high talent and material resources available for the maintenance of scientific research?
407. React to this: "The social sciences ought to receive more attention from college youth even at the cost of their attending less to the natural sciences."